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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

ORIGINAL ARTICLES.

Matzke, John E., The Legend of the Eaten Heart.....	1-8	Shearin, Hubert G., The Glove and the Lions in Kentucky Folk-song.....	113-114
Moore, Samuel, A Further Note on the Suitors in the <i>Parliament of Fowls</i>	8-12	-Gerould, Gordon Hall, The Transmission and Date of Genesis B.....	129-133
Brooke, C. F. Tucker, The Allegory in Lyly's <i>Endimion</i>	12-15	Kurrelmeyer, W., Die Doppeldrucke von Goethes Werken, 1806-1808.....	133-137
Brown, Carleton, The <i>Cursor Mundi</i> and the "Southern Passion".....	15-18	Wilkins, E. H., The Sonnet "Dante Alighieri Son . . . ".....	137-139
Emerson, Oliver Farrar, A New Chaucer Item.	19-21	Wells, John Edwin, Spelling in <i>The Owl</i> and <i>The Nightingale</i>	139-141
Young, Karl, A Liturgical Play of Joseph and his Brethren.....	33-37	Klaeber, Fr., Old Saxon <i>Karm</i> and <i>Herom</i> : Genesis 254, <i>Heliand</i> 2459.....	141-143
Hill, Raymond T., Two Old French Lyrics hitherto Unpublished.....	37-39	Coleman, A., Influence of English Literature on Flaubert before 1851.....	143-146
Watson, Foster, Dr. Joseph Webbe and Language Teaching (1622).....	40-46	Law, Robert Adger, Two Parallels to Greene and Lodge's <i>Looking-Glass</i>	146-148
Andrews, A. LeRoy, Old Norse Notes.....	46-50	Hanford, James Holly, The Debate of Heart and Eye.....	161-165
Strunk, W., Jr., Textual Notes on the ME. Genesis and Exodus.....	50-52	Wood, Francis A., Etymological Notes.....	166-167
Bruce, J. D., Some Proper Names in Layamon's <i>Brut</i> not Represented in Wace or Geoffrey of Monmouth.....	65-69	Kittredge, G. L., The Ballad of <i>The Den of Lions</i>	167-169
Voss, Ernst, A Summary of the Protestant Faith in Middle Low German.....	70-73	Foster, Francis A., The Mystery Plays and the <i>Northern Passion</i>	169-171
Patterson, Shirley Gale, A Note on a Borrowing from Chrétien de Troyes.....	73-74	Baker, George M., An Echo of Schiller's <i>Räuber</i> in England.....	171-172
Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, A Reproof to Lydgate.....	74-76	Moore, Samuel, The Date of Chaucer's Marriage Group.....	172-174
Foster, C. H., A Note on Chaucer's Pronunciation of <i>ai</i> , <i>ay</i> , <i>ei</i> , <i>ey</i>	76-77	Hollander, Lee M., Zu Einigen Stellen in Goethes <i>Egmont</i>	174-176
Gay, Lucy M., Notes on De Boer's Edition of <i>Philomena</i>	77-78	Richards, Alfred E., Dr. Johnson and H. P. Sturz.....	176-177
Hemingway, Samuel B., The Relation of <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> to <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	78-80	-Livingston, A. A., Pseudonyms of the Nobles of the Broglie in Venetian Popular Poetry	201-208
Phillipson, Paul H., The Direction of Thought in the Wartburglieder of 1817.....	81-83	Brown, Carleton, Another Contemporary Allusion in Chaucer's <i>Troilus</i>	208-211
Pietsch, K., Zur Spanischen Grammatik.....	97-104	Klaeber, Fr., Jottings on the <i>Hildebrandslied</i> ...	211-212
Forsythe, R. S., Certain Sources of Sir John Oldcastle.....	104-107	Adams, Jr., Joseph Quincy, Richard Brathwaite's <i>Mercurius Britannicus</i>	233-235
Ibershoff, C. H., A German Translation of Passages in Thomson's <i>Seasons</i>	107-109	Schaaffs, Georg, Zu Goethe's <i>Egmont</i>	235-237
Emerson, Oliver Farrar, The Suitors in the <i>Parlement of Foules</i> again.....	109-111	Scholl, John William, Some <i>Egmont</i> Interpretations.....	237-239
Jackson, George Pullen, Traces of Gleim's Grenadierlieder in 1809.....	112-113	Warren, F. M., A Latin Counterpart of the <i>St. Léger</i> Strophe.....	239-240
		Snyder, Franklyn Bliss, Peter Buchan and <i>It Was a' for our Rightfu' King</i>	240-242
		MacCracken, Henry Noble, A Meditation upon Death, for the Tomb of Ralph, Lord Cromwell (c. 1450), Lord Treasurer of England.....	243-244

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

iii

REVIEWS.

Pitollet, Camille, Contributions à l'Étude de l'Hispanisme de G. E. Lessing. [<i>Rudolph Schevill.</i>]	21-28	Schiff, Mario, La Fille d'alliance de Montaigne: Marie de Gournay. [<i>H. Carrington Lancaster.</i>]	125-127
Weeks, Raymond, Chevalerie Vivien. [<i>A. Terracher.</i>]	28-29	Hill, Raymond Thompson, La Mule sanz Frain. [<i>T. Atkinson Jenkins.</i>]	148-151
Olson, Magnus, Maal og Minne. [<i>L. M. Hollander.</i>]	29-30	Clarence, Reginald, The Stage Cyclopaedia. [<i>Watson Nicholson.</i>]	151-154
Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, L'Épopée Castillane. [<i>S. G. Morley.</i>]	52-56	Butler, Isabel, Tales from the Old French. [<i>E. P. Dargan.</i>]	154-155
Sauer, August, Grillparzers Werke, I. [<i>O. E. Lessing.</i>]	56-57	Schmidt, Erich, Goethes Werke in sechs Bänden. [<i>T. Moody Campbell.</i>]	155-156
Andrews, A. LeRoy, Hálf Saga ok Hálf srekka. [<i>L. M. Hollander.</i>]	58-60	Espinosa, Aurelio M., Studies in New Mexican Spanish. Part I. [<i>C. C. Marden.</i>]	156-157
Clarke, Charles C., Jr., Common Difficulties in Reading French. [<i>R. T. House.</i>]	60	Lee, Sidney, The French Renaissance in England. [<i>A. H. Upham.</i>]	177-182
Sichel, Walter, Sheridan. [<i>Joseph Quincy Adams, Jr.</i>]	60-62	Streitberg, Wilhelm, Die Gotische Bibel. [<i>Hermann Collitz.</i>]	182-184
Henning, Dr. Hans, Friedrich Spielhagen. [<i>M. M. Skinner.</i>]	83-86	Lafond, Paul, L'Aube romantique.	[<i>A. Schinz.</i>] 184-186
Lucas, St. John, The Oxford Book of Italian Verse, XIIIth-XIXth Centuries.		Séché, Léon, Muses romantiques.	
Mead, William Edward, Italy in English Poetry.		Séché, A., et J. Bertaut, Au temps du Romantisme.	
Schauffler, Robert Haven, Through Italy with the Poets.	[<i>A. A. Livingeton.</i>] 86-89	Claretie, Jules, Correspondance entre Victor Hugo et Paul Meurice.	
Wollaston, George Hyde, The Englishman in Italy.		Ríos, Blanca De Los, Del Siglo de Oro. [<i>Geo. Tyler Northup.</i>]	186-188
Phelps, Ruth Shepard, Skies Italian.		Millardet, G., Recueil de textes des anciens dialectes landais, Petit Atlas linguistique d'une région des Landes; Études de dialectologie landaise. [<i>A. Terracher.</i>]	188-193
Wright, Ernest Hunter, The Authorship of Timon of Athens. [<i>Harry Clemons.</i>]	89-91	Ransome, Arthur, A History of Story-Telling. [<i>John M. Clapp.</i>]	194
Vreeland, W. U., and R. Michaud, Anthology of French Prose and Poetry. [<i>Karl E. Weston.</i>]	91-93	Woerner, Roman, Henrik Ibsen. [<i>Henrietta Becker von Klenze.</i>]	194-196
Levi, M., Molière, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme. [<i>Murray P. Brush.</i>]	93	Krapp, George Philip, Modern English: Its Growth and Present Use. [<i>Nathaniel E. Griffin.</i>]	212-219
Keniston, Hayward, V. B. Ibáñez, La Barraca. [<i>Herbert A. Kenyon.</i>]	93-94	Vos, Bert John, Schiller's Wilhelm Tell. [<i>Starr Willard Cutting.</i>]	219-223
Hauser, Otto, Weltgeschichte der Literatur. [<i>Camillo von Klenze.</i>]	114-117	Thieme, Hugo Paul, Le Cousin Pons par Honoré de Balzac. [<i>J. L. Bergerhoff.</i>]	223-226
Stuart, Donald Clive, Stage Decorations in France in the Middle Ages. [<i>F. M. Warren.</i>]	117-119	Jameson, Russell Parsons, Montesquieu et l'esclavage. [<i>Gilbert Chinard.</i>]	227-229
Murray, John Tucker, English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642. [<i>Ashley H. Thorndike.</i>]	119-124	Howard, William G., Laokoon. [<i>J. A. C. Hildner.</i>]	229-231
		Knowles-Favard, Perfect French Possible. [<i>A. G. H. Spiers.</i>]	231-232
		Santayana, George, Three Philosophical Poets—Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe [<i>A. O. Lovejoy.</i>]	244-247
		Jenkins, T. Atkinson, Eructavit. [<i>George L. Hamilton.</i>]	247-250

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Wiehr, Joseph, Hebbel und Ibsen [<i>Henrietta Becker von Klenze</i>].....	250-252
Schaechtelin, P., Das Passé Défini und Imparfait im Altfranzösischen. [<i>Gustav G. Laubscher</i>].....	252-255
-Burnhani, Josephine May, Concessive Constructions in Old English Prose. [<i>Hu- bert G. Shearin</i>].....	255-258
Hills, Elijah Clarencé, and Reinhardt, Louis, Spanish Short Stories. [<i>S. Griswold Morley</i>].....	258-260
Tupper, Jr., Frederick, The Riddles of the Exeter Book. [<i>W. Strunk, Jr.</i>]....	260-261
Colin, Th., and Sérafin, A., Practical Lessons in French Grammar. [<i>C. J. Cipriani</i>]	261-263
Langlois, Ch. V., La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen-Age. [<i>F. L. Critchlow</i>].....	263-264

CORRESPONDENCE.

Belden, H. M., Venice: The 'Maiden City'...	31
Lang, H. R., The Eyes as Generators of Love..	31
Martin, Margretta, A Note on Ward's <i>History of English Dramatic Literature</i>	31-32
Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, A Burgundian Copy of Chaucer's <i>Troilus</i>	32
Schelling, F. E., William Lilly and <i>The Alchemist</i>	62-63
Livingston, A. A., Inclite Arti a Raddolcira Vita.....	63-64
Brooke, C. F. Tucker, A Correction.....	64
Starck, Taylor, The Bottle Imp.....	94
Forsythe, R. S., A Note on Chapman.....	95
Emerson, O. F., The New Chaucer Item	95
Boediker, A. Trampe, <i>Covacle</i> , not <i>conacle</i>	127
Gilbert, Allan H., A Note on 'A British Icarus'.....	127-128
Hulme, Wm. H., Shenstone on Richardson's <i>Pamela</i>	158-159
Rantz-Rees, Caroline, A Coincidence explained	159
Hibbard, Laura A., The <i>Nibelungenlied</i> and <i>Sir Beves of Hampton</i>	159-160
Tilley, M. P., On the Name "Seignior Propsero".....	196-197

Henning, Geo. N., Date of Hugo's <i>Expiation</i> ...	197-198
Jonas, J. B. E., "Eastward Hoe" and <i>bicched bones</i>	198
Moore, John Robert, Parallels between Peele and Tennyson.....	193-199
Cooper, Lane, 'She was a Maiden City'.....	199
Gilbert, Allan H., Milton's China.....	199-200
Kenyon, John S., A Syntactical Note.....	232
Cooper, Lane, Never less alone than when alone.....	232
Cunliffe, J. W.—Thought and Afterthought in Browning's <i>Paracelsus</i>	264
Ibershoff, C. H.—A Neglected Klopstock-Milton Parallel.....	264

BRIEF MENTION.

Bartsch-Wiese, Chrestomathie de l'ancien français.....	32
Templeton, Alexandre Dumas (Père), Pages choisies.....	32
Josselyn, Introduction to the Study of the Divine Comedy.....	64
Sommer, Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances.....	95
Gaiffe, Le Drame en France au XVIIIe Siècle...	96
Gerig, Jean Pelisson de Condrieu.....	96
Gilliéron et Edmont, Atlas linguistique de la France.....	128
Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.....	128
Archivo de Investigaciones Históricas.....	160
The Spanish <i>Tristan</i>	160
Mackenzie, A. S., The Evolution of Literature	200
Bibliotheca romanica, etc.....	200
Studi Critici; Revue de Phonétique.....	232
Hanssen, Friedrich, Spanische Grammatik.....	232
Blackburn, E. M., A Study of Words...	264
Fowler, H. W., and Fowler, F. G., The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English	264

ERRATA.

INDEX TO VOLUME XXVI, 1911.

'A British Icarus,' A Note on —.....	127-128	Brooke, C. F. Tucker, The Allegory in Lyly's <i>Endimion</i>	12-15
Adams, Jr., Joseph Quincy : Sichel, Walter, Sheridan.....	60-62	— A Correction.....	64
— Richard Brathwaite's <i>Mercurius Britan- icus</i>	233-235	Brown, Carleton, The <i>Cursor Mundi</i> and the "Southern Passion".....	15-18
<i>Alchemist</i> , William Lilly and <i>The</i> —.....	62-63	— Another Contemporary Allusion in Chaucer's <i>Troilus</i>	208-211
Andrews, A. LeRoy, Old Norse Notes.....	46-50	Browning's <i>Paracelsus</i> , Thought and After- thought in —.....	264
— Hálfs Saga ok Hálfsrekka (see Hollander)... 58-60		Bruce, J. D., Some Proper Names in Layamon's <i>Brut</i> not Represented in Wace or Geoffrey of Monmouth.....	65-69
Anthology of French Prose and Poetry (see Vreeland, Michaud, and Weston).....	91-93	— Sommer, Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances.....	95
Archivo de Investigaciones Históricas.....	160	Brush, M. P.: Templeton, Alexandre Dumas (Père), Pages choisies.....	32
Armstrong, E. C., Bartsch-Wiese, Chresto- mathie de l'ancien français.....	32	— Levi, M., Molière, Le Bourgeois Gentil- homme.....	93
— Gerig, Jean Pelisson de Condrieu.....	96	Buchan, Peter — and <i>It Was a' for our Rightfu' King</i>	240-242
— Gilliéron et Edmont, Atlas linguistique de la France.....	128	Burnham, Josephine May, Concessive Con- structions in Old English Prose (see Shearin)	255-258
— Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch	128	Butler, Isabel, Tales from the Old French (see Dargan).....	154-155
Arthurian Romances, Vulgate Version of the — (see Bruce and Sommer).....	95	Campbell, T. Moody : Schmidt, Erich, Goethes Werke in sechs Bänden.....	155-156
Atlas linguistique de la France (see Gilliéron, Edmont and Armstrong).....	128	Chapman, A Note on —.....	95
— Petit — linguistique d'une région des Landes (see Millardet and Terracher)	188-193	Chaucer, A New — Item.....	19-21
Baker, George M. , An Echo of Schiller's <i>Räuber</i> in England.....	171-172	— The New — Item.....	95
Balzac, Le Cousin Pons par Honoré de — (see Thieme and Borgerhoff).....	223-226	Chaucer's, The Date of — Marriage Group....	172-174
Bartsch-Wiese, Chrestomathie de l'ancien fran- çais (see Armstrong).....	32	— Pronunciation of <i>ai, ay, ei, ey</i> , A Note on —	76-77
Belden, H. M., Venice : The 'Maiden City'... 31		— <i>Troilus</i> , A Burgundian Copy of —.....	32
Bertaut, J., Séché, A., et —, Au Temps du Romantisme (see Schinz).....	184-186	— <i>Troilus</i> , Another Contemporary Allusion in —	208-211
<i>Beves of Hampton</i> , The <i>Nibelungenlied</i> and <i>Sir</i> — 159-160		Chevalerie Vivien (see Weeks and Terracher). 28-29	
Bibliotheca romanica.....	200	China, Milton's —.....	199-200
<i>bicched bones</i> , "Eastward Hoe" and —.....	198	Chinard, Gilbert : Jameson, Russell Parsons, Montesquieu et l'esclavage.....	227-229
Blackburn, E. M., A Study of Words (see Bright)	264	Chrestomathie de l'ancien français (see Bartsch- Wiese and Armstrong).....	32
Blasco Ibáñez V., La Barraca (see Keniston and Kenyon).....	93-94	Chrétien de Troyes, A Note on a Borrowing from —.....	73-74
Boedtker, A. Trampe, <i>Covacle</i> , not <i>conacle</i>	127	Cipriani, C. J.: Colin, Th., and Sérafon, A., Practical Lessons in French Grammar..	261-263
De Boer's Edition of <i>Philomena</i> , Notes on —.... 77-78		Clapp, John M. : Ransome, Arthur, A History of Story-Telling.....	194
Borgerhoff, J. L.: Thieme, Hugo Paul, Le Cousin Pons par Honoré de Balzac.....	223-226	Clarence, Reginald, The Stage Cyclopaedia (see Nicholson).....	151-154
Bottle Imp, The —.....	94	Claretie, Jules, Correspondance entre Victor Hugo et Paul Meurice (see Schinz).....	184-186
Brathwaite, Richard —'s <i>Mercurius Britan- icus</i>	233-235	Clarke, Charles C., Jr., Common Difficulties in Reading French (see House)..	60
Bright, J. W.: Mackenzie, The Evolutio of Literature	200	Clemons, Harry : Wright, Ernest Hunter, The Authorship of Timon of Athens.....	89-91
— Blackburn, A Study of Words.....	264		
— Fowler, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English.....	264		
Broglio, Pseudonyms of the Nobles of the — in Venetian Popular Poetry.....	201-208		

- Coincidence, A — Explained..... 159
- Coleman, A., Influence of English Literature on Flaubert before 1851..... 143-146
- Colin, Th., and Sérafon, A., Practical Lessons in French Grammar (see Cipriani). 261-263
- Collitz, Hermann: Streitberg, Wilhelm, Die Gotische Bibel..... 182-184
- conacle, Covacle, not —..... 127
- Concessive Constructions in Old English Prose (see Burnham and Shearin)..... 255-258
- Condrieu, Jean Pelisson de — (see Gerig and Armstrong)..... 96
- Connaissance, La — de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen-Age (see Critchlow and Langlois) 263-264
- Cooper, Lane, 'She was a Maiden City'..... 199
- Never less alone than when alone..... 232
- Correction, A —..... 64
- Covacle, not conacle..... 127
- Critchlow, F. L.: Langlois, Ch. V., La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen-Age..... 263-264
- Critici, Studi —..... 232
- Cromwell, A Meditation upon Death, for the Tomb of Ralph, Lord — (c. 1450), Lord Treasurer of England..... 243-244
- Cunliffe, J. W., Thought and Afterthought in Browning's *Paracelsus*..... 264
- Cursor Mundi*, The — and the "Southern Passion"..... 15-18
- Cutting, Starr Willard: Vos, Bert John, Schiller's Wilhelm Tell..... 219-223
- "Dante Alighieri son . . .," The Sonnet —... 137-139
- Three Philosophical Poets—Lucretius —, and Goethe (see Lovejoy and Santayana) 244-247
- Dargan, E. P.: Butler, Isabel, Tales from the Old French..... 154-155
- Date, The Transmission and — of Genesis B... 129-133
- Debate, The — of Heart and Eye..... 161-165
- Den of Lions*, The Ballad of *The* —..... 167-169
- Dialectes, Recueil de textes des anciens — landais (see Millardet and Terracher)..... 188-193
- Dialectologie, Études de — landaise (see Millardet and Terracher)..... 188-193
- Divine Comedy, Introduction to the Study of the — (see Josselyn and Shaw)..... 64
- Doppeldrucke, Die — von Goethes Werken, 1806-1808..... 133-137
- Dramatic Companies, English —, 1558-1642 (see Murray and Thorndike)..... 119-124
- Drame, Le — en France au XVIII^e Siècle (see Gaiffe and McKenzie)..... 96
- Dumas, Alexandre — (Père), Pages choisies (see Brush and Templeton)..... 32
- "Eastward Hoe" and *bicched bones*..... 198
- Eaten Heart, The Legend of the —..... 1-8
- Edmont, Gilliéron et —, Atlas linguistique de la France (see Armstrong)..... 128
- Egmont*, Zu einigen Stellen in Goethes —..... 174-176
- Zu Goethes —..... 235-237
- Some — Interpretations..... 237-239
- Emerson, Oliver Farrar, A New Chaucer Item. 19-21
- The New Chaucer Item..... 95
- The Suitors in the *Parlement of Foules* again. 109-111
- Endimion*, The Allegory in Lyly's —..... 12-15
- England, An Echo of Schiller's *Räuber* in —... 171-172
- The French Renaissance in — (see Lee and Upham)..... 177-182
- English, Modern —: Its Growth and Present Use (see Krapp and Griffin)..... 212-219
- Literature, Influence of — on Flaubert before 1851..... 143-146
- Englishman, The — in Italy (see Wollaston and Livingston)..... 86-89
- Epopée Castillane, L' — (see Menéndez Pidal and Morley)..... 52-56
- Eructavit (see Jenkins and Hamilton).... 247-250
- Errata 200
- Espinosa, Aurelio M., Studies in New Mexican Spanish: Part I. (see Marden)..... 156-157
- Etymological Notes..... 165-167
- Evolution, The — of Literature (see Mackenzie and Bright)..... 200
- Exeter Book, The Riddles of the — (see Strunk, Jr., and Tupper, Jr.)..... 260-261
- Exodus, Textual Notes on the ME. Genesis and —..... 50-52
- Expiation*, Date of Hugo's —..... 197-198
- Eyes, The — as Generators of Love..... 31
- Favard, Knowles**, Perfect French Possible (see Spiers)..... 231-232
- Flaubert, Influence of English Literature on — before 1851..... 143-146
- Folk-song, The Glove and the Lions in Kentucky —..... 113-114
- Forsythe, R. S., A Note on Chapman..... 95
- Certain Sources of Sir John Oldcastle..... 104-107
- Foster, C. H., A Note on Chaucer's Pronunciation of *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*..... 76-77
- Foster, Francis A., The Mystery Plays and the *Northern Passion*..... 169-171
- Fowler, F. G., Fowler, H. W. and —, The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (see Bright) 264
- Fowler, H. W., and Fowler, F. G., The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English (see Bright)..... 264
- French, Perfect — Possible (see Knowles-Favard and Spiers)..... 231-232
- Gaiffe**, Le Drame en France au XVIII^e Siècle (see McKenzie)..... 96
- Gay, Lucy M., Notes on De Boer's Edition of *Philomena*..... 77-78

Genesis, Textual Notes on the ME. — and Exodus.	50-52	Hebbel und Ibsen (see von Klenze and Wiehr)	250-252
— Old Saxon <i>Karm</i> and <i>Hröm</i> ; — 254, Heliand 2459.....	141-143	Heliand 2459, Old Saxon <i>Karm</i> and <i>Hröm</i> ; Genesis 254, —.....	141-143
— The Transmission and Date of — B.....	129-133	Hemingway, Samuel B., The Relation of <i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i> to <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	78-80
Geoffrey of Monmouth, Some Proper Names in Layamon's <i>Brut</i> not Represented in Wace or —.....	65-69	Henning, Geo. N., Date of Hugo's <i>Expiation</i> ... — Dr. Hans, Friedrich Spielhagen (see Skinner).....	197-198 83-86
Gerig, Jean Pelisson de Condrieu (see Armstrong).....	96	Hibbard, Laura A., The <i>Nibelungenlied</i> and <i>Sir Beves of Hampton</i>	159-160
German, A Summary of the Protestant Faith in Middle Low —.....	70-73	<i>Hildebrandslied</i> , Jottings on the —.....	211-212
Gerould, Gordon Hall, The Transmission and Date of Genesis B.....	129-133	Hildner, J. A. C. : Howard, Wm. G., Laokoon	229-231
Gilbert, Allan H., A Note on 'A British Icarus' — Milton's China.....	127-128 199-200	Hill, Raymond Thompson, La Mule sanz Fraín (see Jenkins).....	148-151
Gillieron et Edmont, Atlas linguistique de la France (see Armstrong).....	128	— Two Old French Lyrics hitherto Unpublished	37-39
Gleim's Grenadierlieder, Traces of — in 1809..	112-113	Hills, Elijah Clarence, and Reinhardt, Louise, Spanish Short Stories (see Morley)	258-260
Glove, The — and the Lions in Kentucky Folksong.....	113-114	Hispanisme, Contributions à l'Etude de l' — de G. E. Lessing (see Pitollot and Schevill).....	21-28
Goethe, Three Philosophical Poets — Lucretius, Dante, and — (see Lovejoy and Santayana)	244-247	Hollander, L. M. : Olson, Magnus, Maal og Minne.....	29-30
— Zu —s <i>Egmont</i>	235-237	— Andrews, A. LeRoy, Hálfs Saga ok Hálfsrekka.....	58-60
Goethes <i>Egmont</i> , Zu einigen Stellen in —.....	174-176	— Zu einigen Stellen in Goethes <i>Egmont</i>	174-176
— Werke in sechs Bänden (see Schmidt and Campbell).....	155-156	House, R. T. : Clarke, Charles C., Jr., Common Difficulties in Reading French.....	60
— Werken, Die Doppeldrucke von —, 1806-1808.....	133-137	Howard, William G., Laokoon (see Hildner)..	229-231
Gotische Bibel, Die (see Collitz and Streitberg)	182-184	<i>Hröm</i> , Old Saxon <i>Karm</i> and — ; Genesis 254, Heliand 2459.....	141-143
Gournay, La fille d'alliance de Montaigne : Marie de — (see Schiff and Lancaster).....	125-127	Hugo, Correspondance entre Victor — et Paul Meurice (see Claretie and Schinz).....	184-186
Grammar, Practical Lessons in French — (see Cipriani, Colin and Sérafon)....	261-263	— Date of —'s <i>Expiation</i>	197-198
Grammatik, Zur spanischen —.....	97-104	Hulme, Wm. H., Shenstone on Richardson's <i>Pamela</i>	158-159
— Spanische — (see Hanssen and Marden)....	232	Ibershoff, C. H., A German Translation of Passages in Thomson's <i>Seasons</i>	107-109
Greene and Lodge's <i>Looking-glass</i> , Two Parallels to —.....	146-148	— A Neglected Klopstock-Milton Parallel..	264
Grenadierlieder, Traces of Gleim's — in 1809..	112-113	Ibsen, Henrik (see von Klenze and Woerner)..	194-196
Griffin, Nathaniel E. : Krapp, George Philip, Modern English : Its Growth and Present Use.....	212-219	— Hebbel und — (see von Klenze and Wiehr)	250-252
Grillparzers Werke, I. (see Sauer and Lessing)	56-57	Icarus,' A Note on 'A British —.....	127-128
<i>Halfs Saga ok Hálfsrekka</i> (see Andrews and Hollander).....	58-60	Imparfait, Das Passé Défini und — im Altfranzösischen (see Laubscher and Schaehtelin)	252-255
Hamilton, George L. : Jenkins, T. Atkinson, Eructavit	247-250	Inclite Arti a Raddolcir la Vita.....	63-64
Hammond, Eleanor Prescott, A Burgundian Copy of Chaucer's <i>Troilus</i>	32	<i>It Was a' for our Rightfu' King</i> , Peter Buchan and —.....	240-242
— A Reproof to Lydgate.....	74-76	Italian, Skies — (see Livingston and Phelps)..	86-89
Hanford, James Holly, The Debate of Heart and Eye.....	161-165	— The Oxford Book of — Verse, xiiith-xixth Centuries (see Lucas and Livingston).....	86-89
Hanssen, Friedrich, Spanische Grammatik (see Marden).....	232	Italy in English Poetry (see Livingston and Mead).....	86-89
Hauser, Otto, Weltgeschichte der Literatur (see von Klenze).....	114-117	— The Englishman in — (see Livingston and Wollaston).....	86-89
Heart, The Legend of the Eaten —.....	1-8	— Through — with the Poets (see Livingston and Schaufli).....	86-89
— The Debate of — and Eye.....	161-165		

- Jackson, George Pullen, *Traces of Gleim's Grenadierlieder in 1809*..... 112-113
- Jameson, Russell Parsons, *Montesquieu et l'esclavage* (see Chinard)..... 227-229
- Jenkins, T. Atkinson : Hill, Raymond Thompson, *La Mule sanz Fraim*..... 148-151
- *Eructavit* (see Hamilton)..... 247-250
- Johnson, Dr. — and H. P. Sturz..... 176-177
- Jonas, J. B. E., "Eastward Hoe" and *bicched bones*..... 198
- Joseph, A *Liturgical Play of — and his Brethren*..... 33-37
- Josselyn, *Introduction to the Study of the Divine Comedy* (see Shaw)..... 64
- Jottings on the *Hildebrandslied*..... 211-212
- Karm, Old Saxon — and *Hrôm*; Genesis 254, *Heliand* 2459..... 141-143
- Keniston, Hayward, V. Blasco Ibáñez, *La Barraca* (see Kenyon)..... 93-94
- Kentucky, *The Glove and the Lion in — Folk-song*..... 113-114
- Kenyon, Herbert A. : Keniston, Hayward, V. Blasco Ibáñez, *La Barraca*..... 93-94
- John S., *A Syntactical Note*..... 232
- Kittredge, G. L., *The Ballad of The Den of Lions*..... 167-169
- Klaeber, Fr., *Jottings on the Hildebrandslied*... 211-212
- Old Saxon *Karm* and *Hrôm*; Genesis 254, *Heliand* 2459..... 141-143
- von Klenze, Camillo : Hauser, Otto, *Weltgeschichte der Literatur*..... 114-117
- Henrietta Becker : Woerner, Roman, *Henrik Ibsen*..... 194-196
- : Wiehr, Joseph, *Hebbel und Ibsen*... 250-252
- Klopstock, A *Neglected — Milton Parallel*..... 264
- Knowles-Favard, *Perfect French Possible* (see Spiers)..... 231-232
- Krapp, George Philip, *Modern English : Its Growth and Present Use* (see Griffin)..... 212-219
- Kurrelmeyer, W., *Die Doppeldrucke von Goethes Werken, 1806-1808*..... 133-137
- Lafond, Paul, *L'Aube romantique* (see Schinz) 184-186
- Lancaster, H. Carrington : Schiff, Mario, *La fille d'alliance de Montaigne : Marie de Gournay*..... 125-127
- Landais, *Recueil de textes des anciens dialectes —* (see Millardet and Terracher)..... 188-193
- Landaise, *Études de dialectologie —* (see Millardet and Terracher)..... 188-193
- Landes, *Petit Atlas linguistique d'une région des —* (see Millardet and Terracher)..... 188-193
- Lang, H. R., *The Eyes as Generators of Love*. 31
- Langlois, Ch. V., *La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen-Age* (see Critchlow)..... 263-264
- Language Teaching, Dr. Joseph Webbe and — (1622)..... 40-46
- Laokoon (see Howard and Hildner)..... 229-231
- Laubscher, Gustav G. : Schaechtelin, P., *Das Passé Défini und Imparfait im Altfranzösischen*..... 252-255
- Law, Robert Adger, *Two Parallels to Greene and Lodge's Looking-glass*..... 146-148
- Layamon's *Brut*, *Some Proper Names in — not represented in Wace or Geoffrey of Monmouth*..... 65-69
- Lee, Sidney, *The French Renaissance in England* (see Upham)..... 177-182
- Léger, A *Latin Counterpart of the St. — Strophe*..... 239-240
- Lessing, *Contributions à l'Etude de l'Hispanisme de G. E.* — (see Pitollot and Schevill) 21-28
- O. E. : Sauer, August, *Grillparzers Werke*, I. 56-57
- Levi, M., *Molière, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme* (see Brush)..... 93
- Lilly, William, and *The Alchemist*..... 62-63
- Literatur, *Weltgeschichte der —* (see Hauser and von Klenze)..... 114-117
- Livingston, A. A., *Inclite Arti a Raddolcir la Vita*..... 63-64
- Lucas, St. John, *The Oxford Book of Italian Verse, XIIIth-XIXth Centuries*..... 86-89
- Mead, Wm. Edward, *Italy in English Poetry*..... 86-89
- Phelps, Ruth Shepard, *Skies Italian*..... 86-89
- Pseudonyms of the Nobles of the Broglio in Venetian Popular Poetry..... 201-208
- Schaufler, Robert Haven, *Through Italy with the Poets*..... 86-89
- Wollaston, George Hyde, *The Englishman in Italy*..... 86-89
- Lodge, *Two Parallels to Greene and —'s Looking-glass*..... 146-148
- Looking-glass*, *Two Parallels to Greene and Lodge's —*..... 146-148
- Love, *The Eyes as Generators of —*..... 31
- Lovejoy, A. O. : Santayana, George, *Three Philosophical Poets — Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe*..... 244-247
- Lucas, St. John, *The Oxford Book of Italian Verse, XIIIth-XIXth Centuries* (see Livingston)..... 86-89
- Lucretius, *Three Philosophical Poets — Dante, and Goethe* (see Lovejoy and Santayana)..... 244-247
- Lydgate, A *Reproof to —*..... 74-76
- Lyly, *The Allegory in —'s Endimion*..... 12-15
- Maal og Minne (see Olson and Hollander).... 29-30
- MacCracken, Henry Noble, *A Meditation upon Death, for the Tomb of Ralph, Lord Cromwell (c. 1450), Lord Treasurer of England*..... 243-244
- Mackenzie, A. S., *The Evolution of Literature* (see Bright)..... 200
- 'Maiden City,' Venice : *The —*..... 31
- 'She was a — City'..... 199

Marden, C. Carroll: Espinosa, Aurelio M., Studies in New Mexican Spanish. Part I.	156-157	Muses romantiques (see Schinz and Séché).....	184-186
— Hansen, Spanische Grammatik.....	232	Mystery Plays, The — and the <i>Northern Passion</i>	169-171
Marriage Group, The Date of Chaucer's —.....	172-174	Never less alone than when alone	232
Martin, Margretta, A Note on Ward's <i>History</i> of <i>English Dramatic Literature</i>	31-32	New Mexican, Studies in — Spanish. Part I. (see Espinosa and Marden).....	156-157
Matzke, John E., The Legend of the Eaten Heart.....	1-8	<i>Nibelungenlied</i> , The — and <i>Sir Beves of Hampton</i>	159-160
McKenzie, Kenneth: Gaiffe, Le Drame en France au XVIII ^e siècle.....	96	Nicholson, Watson: Clarence, Reginald, The Stage Cyclopaedia.....	151-154
Mead, William Edward, Italy in English Poetry (see Livingston).....	86-89	<i>Nightingale</i> , Spelling in <i>The Owl</i> and <i>The</i> —....	139-141
Meditation, A — upon Death, for the Tomb of Ralph, Lord Cromwell (c. 1450), Lord Treasurer of England.....	243-244	Norse, Old — Notes.....	46-50
Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, L'Épopée Castillane (see S. G. Morley).....	52-56	<i>Northern Passion</i> , The Mystery Plays and the —	169-171
<i>Mercurius Britannicus</i> , Richard Brathwaite's —	233-235	Northup, George Tyler: De Los Rios, Blanca, Del Siglo de Oro.....	186-188
Meurice, Correspondance entre Victor Hugo et Paul — (see Claretie and Schinz).....	184-186	Old English Prose , Concessive Construc- tions in — (see Burnham and Shearin)	255-258
Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (see Armstrong).....	128	— French, Tales from the — (see Butler and Dargan).....	154-155
Michaud, R., Vreeland, W. U., and —, An- thology of French Prose and Poetry (see Weston).....	91-93	— Two — French Lyrics hitherto Unpub- lished	37-39
<i>Midsummer Night's Dream</i> , The Relation of A — to <i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	78-80	— Norse Notes.....	46-50
Millardet, G., Études de dialectologie landaise (see Terracher).....	188-193	— Saxon <i>Karm</i> and <i>HRōm</i> ; Genesis 254, <i>Heliand</i> 2459.....	141-143
— Petit Atlas linguistique d'une région des Landes (see Terracher).....	188-193	Oldecastle, Certain Sources of Sir John —..	104-107
— Recueil de textes des anciens dialectes landais (see Terracher).....	188-193	Olson, Magnus, Maal og Minne (see Hol- lander)	29-30
Milton, A Neglected Klopstock — Parallel	264	<i>Owl</i> , Spelling in <i>The</i> — and <i>The Nightin- gale</i>	139-141
Milton's China.....	199-200	Oxford, The — Book of Italian Verse, XIIIth- XIXth Centuries (see Lucas and Living- ston)	86-89
Molière, Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme (see Brush and Levi).....	93	Oxford Dictionary, The Concise — of Cur- rent English (see Fowler and Bright) ..	264
Montaigne, La fille d'alliance de — : Marie de Gournay (see Lancaster and Schiff)... ..	125-127	Paracelsus , Thought and Afterthought in Browning's —	264
Montesquieu et l'esclavage (see Jameson and Chinard).....	227-229	<i>Parlement of Foules</i> , The Suitors in the — again	109-111
Moore, John Robert, Parallels between Peele and Tennyson.....	198-199	<i>Parliament of Fowls</i> , A Further Note on the Suitors in the —.....	8-12
— Samuel, A Further Note on the Suitors in the <i>Parliament of Fowls</i>	8-12	Passé Défini, Das — und Imparfait im Altfranzösischen (see Laubscher and Schachtelin)	252-255
— Samuel, The Date of Chaucer's Marriage Group.....	172-174	Patterson, Shirley Gale, A Note on a Bor- rowing from Chrétien de Troyes.....	73-74
Morley, S. G.: Menéndez Pidal, Ramón, L'Épo- pée Castillane.....	52-56	Peele, Parallels between — and Tennyson..	198-199
— Hills, Elijah Clarence, and Reinhardt, Louise, Spanish Short Stories.....	258-260	Phelps, Ruth Shepard, Skies Italian (see Livingston)	86-89
Moyen-Age, La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au — (see Critchlow and Langlois)	263-264	Phillipson, Paul H., The Direction of Thought in the Wartburglieder of 1817..	81-83
Mule sanz Frain, La — (see Hill and Jenkins)	148-151	<i>Philomena</i> , Notes on De Boer's Edition of —	77-78
Murray, John Tucker, English Dramatic Com- panies, 1558-1642 (see Thorndike).....	119-124	Phonétique, Revue de —.....	232
		Pietsch, K., Zur Spanischen Grammatik...	97-104
		Pitollet, Camille, Contributions à l'étude de l'Hispanisme de G. E. Lessing (see Schevill)	21-28

- Poetry, Italy in English — (see Livingston and Mead)..... 86-89
- Poets, Through Italy with the — (see Livingston and Schaufler)..... 86-89
- Pons, Le Cousin — par Honoré de Balzac (see Thieme and Borgerhoff)..... 223-226
- Practical Lessons in French Grammar (see Cipriani, Colin, and Sérafon).... 261-263
- Propsero," On the Name "Seignior —..... 196-197
- Protestant, A Summary of the — Faith in Middle Low German..... 70-73
- Pseudonyms of the Nobles of the Broglio in Venetian Popular Poetry..... 201-208
- Ransome, Arthur, A History of Story-telling** (see Clapp)..... 194
- Räuber*, An Echo of Schiller's — in England 171-172
- Reading, Common Difficulties in — French (see Clarke and House)..... 60
- Reinhardt, Louise, Hills, Elijah Clarence and —, Spanish Short Stories (see Morley) 258-260
- Renaissance, The French — in England (see Lee and Upham)..... 177-182
- Revue de Phonétique..... 232
- Richards, Alfred E., Dr. Johnson and H. P. Sturz 176-177
- Richardson's *Pamela*, Shenstone on —.... 158-159
- Riddles, The — of the Exeter Book (see Strunk, Jr., and Tupper, Jr.)..... 260-261
- De Los Rios, Blanca, Del Siglo de Oro (see Northup) 186-188
- Romanica, Bibliotheca —..... 200
- Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch (see Meyer-Lübke and Armstrong)..... 128
- Romantique, L'Aube — (see Lafond and Schinz) 184-186
- Romantisme, Au Temps du — (see Schinz and Séché) 184-186
- Romeo and Juliet*, The Relation of A *Midsummer Night's Dream* to —..... 78-80
- Ruutz-Rees, Caroline, A Coincidence Explained 159
- Santayana, George, Three Philosophical Poets — Lucretius, Dante and Goethe** (see Lovejoy)..... 244-247
- Sauer, August, Grillparzers Werke, I (see O. E. Lessing)..... 56-57
- Schaafts, Georg, Zu Goethe's *Egmont*.... 235-237
- Schaechtelin, P., Das Passé Défini und Imparfait im Altfranzösischen (see Laub-scher) 252-255
- Schaufler, Robert Haven, Through Italy with the Poets (see Livingston)..... 86-89
- Schelling, F. E., William Lilly and *The Alchemist* 62-63
- Schevill, Rudolph: Pitoulet, Camille, Contributions à l'étude de l'Hispanisme de G. E. Lessing..... 21-28
- Schiff, Mario, La fille d'alliance de Montaigne: Marie de Gournay (see Lancaster) 125-127
- Schiller's *Räuber*, An Echo of — in England 171-172
- Wilhelm Tell (see Vos and Cutting)... 219-223
- Schinz, A.: Claretie, Jules, Correspondance entre Victor Hugo et Paul Meurice.... 184-186
- Lafond, Paul, L'Aube Romantique..... 184-186
- Séché, Léon, Muses romantiques..... 184-186
- Séché, A., et J. Bertaut, Au Temps du Romantisme 184-186
- Schmidt, Erich, Goethes Werke in sechs Bänden (see Campbell)..... 155-156
- Scholl, John William, Some *Egmont* Interpretations 237-239
- Sché, A., et J. Bertaut, Au Temps du Romantisme (see Schinz)..... 184-186
- Léon, Muses romantiques (see Schinz).. 184-186
- "Seignior Propsero," On the Name —.... 196-197
- Sérafon, A., Colin, Th., and —, Practical Lessons in French Grammar** (see Cipriani) 261-263
- Shaw, J. E.: Josselyn, Introduction to the Study of the Divine Comedy..... 64
- Shearin, Hubert G., The Glove and the Lions in Kentucky Folk-Song..... 113-114
- Burnham, Josephine May, Concessive Constructions in Old English Prose.. 255-258
- Shenstone on Richardson's *Pamela*..... 158-159
- Sheridan (see Adams and Sichel)..... 60-62
- Sichel, Walter, Sheridan (see Adams).... 60-62
- Siglo de Oro, Del — (see De Los Rios and Northup) 186-188
- Skinner, M. M.: Henning, Dr. Hans, Friedrich Spielhagen..... 83-86
- Snyder, Franklyn Bliss, Peter Buchan and *It Was a' for our Rightfu' King*..... 240-242
- Sommer, Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances (see Bruce)..... 95
- Sources, Certain — of Sir John Oldcastle.. 104-107
- "Southern Passion," The *Cursor Mundi* and the — 15-18
- Spanische Grammatik (see Hanssen and Marden).... 232
- Spanish, The — *Tristan*..... 160
- Spanish Short Stories (see Hills, Morley, and Reinhardt) 258-260
- Spelling in *The Owl* and *The Nightingale*.. 139-141
- Spielhagen, Friedrich (see Henning and Skinner) 83-86
- Spiers, A. G. H.: Knowles-Favard, Perfect French Possible..... 231-232
- Stage, The — Cyclopædia (see Clarence and Nicholson) 151-154

Stage Decorations in France in the Middle Ages (see Stuart and Warren).....	117-119	<i>Troilus</i> , Another Contemporary Allusion in Chaucer's —	208-211
Starck, Taylor, The Bottle Imp.....	94	Tupper, Jr., Frederick, The Riddles of the Exeter Book (see Strunk, Jr.).....	260-261
Story-telling, A History of — (see Clapp and Ransome).....	194	Upham, A. H.: Lee, Sidney, The French Renaissance in England.....	177-182
Streitberg, Wilhelm, Die Gotische Bibel (see Collitz).....	182-184	Venetian, Pseudonyms of the Nobles of the Broglio in — Popular Poetry.....	201-208
Strunk, W., Jr., Textual Notes on the ME. Genesis and Exodus.....	50-52	Venice: The 'Maiden City'.....	31
—Tupper, Jr., Frederick, The Riddles of the Exeter Book.....	260-261	Vos, Bert John, Schiller's Wilhelm Tell (see Cutting)	219-223
Stuart, Donald Clive, Stage Decorations in France in the Middle Ages (see Warren)	117-119	Voss, Ernst, A Summary of the Protestant Faith in Middle Low German.....	70-73
Studi Critici.....	232	Vreeland, W. U., and R. Michaud, Anthology of French Prose and Poetry (see Weston)	91-93
Study of Words, A — (see Blackburn and Bright)	264	Wace, Some Proper Names in Layamon's Brut not Represented in — or Geoffrey of Monmouth.....	65-69
Sturz, Dr. Johnson and H. P. —.....	176-177	Ward's History of English Dramatic Literature, A Note on —.....	31-32
Suitors, A Further Note on the — in the Parliament of Fowls.....	8-12	Warren, F. M.: Stuart, Donald Clive, Stage Decorations in France in the Middle Ages	117-119
—The — in the Parlement of Foules again Syntactical, A — Note.....	109-111	—A Latin Counterpart of the <i>St. Léger</i> Strophe	239-240
	232	Wartburglieder, The Direction of Thought in the — of 1817.....	81-83
Tales from the Old French (see Butler and Dargan)	154-155	Watson, Foster, Dr. Joseph Webbe and Language Teaching (1622).....	40-46
Tell, Schiller's Wilhelm — (see Vos and Cutting)	219-223	Webbe, Dr. Joseph — and Language Teaching (1622).....	40-46
Templeton, Alexander Dumas (Père), Pages choisies (see Brush).....	32	Weeks, Raymond, Chevalerie Vivien (see Terracher)	28-29
Tennyson, Parallels between Peele and —..	198-199	Wells, John Edwin, Spelling in <i>The Owl</i> and <i>The Nightingale</i>	139-141
Terracher, A.: Millardet, G., Études de dialectologie landaise.....	188-193	Weston, Karl E.: Vreeland, W. U., and R. Michaud, Anthology of French Prose and Poetry	91-93
—Millardet, G., Petit Atlas linguistique d'une région des Landes.....	188-193	Wiehr, Joseph, Hebbel und Ibsen (see von Klenze)	250-252
—Millardet, G., Recueil de textes des anciens dialectes landais.....	188-193	Wilkins, E. H., The Sonnet "Dante Alighieri son . . .".....	137-139
—Weeks, Raymond, Chevalerie Vivien....	28-29	Woerner, Roman, Henrik Ibsen (see von Klenze)	194-196
Thieme, Hugo Paul, Le Cousin Pons par Honoré de Balzac (see Borgerhoff).....	223-226	Wollaston, George Hyde, The Englishman in Italy (see Livingston).....	86-89
Thomson's Seasons, A German Translation of Passages in —.....	107-109	Wood, Francis A., Etymological Notes....	166-167
Thorndike, Ashley H.: Murray, John Tucker, English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642	119-124	Wright, Ernest Hunter, The Authorship of Timon of Athens (see Clemons).....	89-91
Thought, The Direction of — in the Wartburglieder of 1817.....	81-83	Young, Karl, A Liturgical Play of Joseph and his Brethren.....	33-37
Tilley, M. P., On the Name "Seignior Propsero"	196-197		
Timon of Athens, The Authorship of — (see Clemons and Wright).....	89-91		
Translation, A German — of Passages in Thomson's Seasons.....	107-109		
Transmission, The — and Date of Genesis B	129-133		
Tristan, The Spanish —.....	160		
Troilus, A Burgundian Copy of Chaucer's..	32		

which resulted in their marriage in January, 1382. This interpretation having been accepted by Chaucerian scholars almost with unanimity since its first proposal, Prof. O. F. Emerson's recent paper on *The Suitors in Chaucer's Parlement of Foules*,² advocating an important modification of the accepted theory, is one of unusual interest. It is the purpose of the present note to add to the discussion a certain amount of evidence that will, I think, reinforce Prof. Emerson's already strong case.

According to the old theory of the allegory, the three male eagles of the *Parliament of Fowls* symbolise Anne's three suitors, Guillaume de Bavière, betrothed to her in 1371, Friedrich of Meissen, betrothed to her in 1373, and Richard II, who became a suitor for her in 1380. According to the new theory they represent Friedrich of Meissen, Charles VI of France (whom Prof. Emerson has shown³ to have been a candidate for her hand in 1379 and 1380), and Richard. No one who has read Prof. Emerson's article can have, it seems to me, the smallest doubt that the allegory represents Charles in the guise of the third eagle. It is equally certain that Richard is the first eagle. The only uncertainty still remaining relates to the identity of the second eagle. Did Chaucer intend him to represent Guillaume de Bavière, or Friedrich of Meissen?

Prof. Emerson decides without hesitation that the second eagle represents Friedrich of Meissen. His chief reason for the decision is that it would be "a strange procedure on Chaucer's part to introduce, as a rival suitor of Richard, one whose betrothal had been broken off as early as 1373, at least seven, perhaps nine years, before the time of the poem."⁴ He offers, however, no evidence of

the breaking off of the earlier match. The betrothal of Anne to Friedrich in 1373 is of course good evidence of the attitude of *her* family in the matter, but what was the attitude of the Duke Albert de Bavière, the father of Guillaume?⁵ Did he continue to assert his right to the fulfilment of the old marriage contract,⁶ or did he acquiesce in its abrogation?

Upon this point we have information that

⁵ The identification of Anne's first suitor with Guillaume de Bavière, or Wilhelm von Baiern-Holland, rests upon the authority of Höfler's *Anna von Luxemburg, Denkschriften Wien. Akad. Phil.-Hist. Cl.*, xx, p. 128: "Sie [Anna] wurde im Jahre 1371 dem Herzoge Wilhelm von Baiern-Holland als Braut zugesagt; der Bräutigam heiratete jedoch 1386 die Prinzessin Margaretha, Tochter Philipp des Kühnen, Herzogs von Burgund." Höfler has been followed by Tatlock, *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 42, and Emerson, *l. c.*, p. 47. Pelzel, *Lebensgeschichte des römischen und böhmischen Königs Wenceslaus*, p. 28, says: "Es ward auch damals zwischen dem Sohne des Herzogs Albrecht von Bayern und der kaiserlichen Prinzessin Anna eine Vermählung verabredet." On p. 33, however, Pelzel says: "Der Kaiser, sein [Wenzels] Vater, gerieth damals mit dem Hause Bayern wegen Brandenburg in Zwisstigkeit. Die ersten Folgen davon waren, dass die oben erwähnte Heyrath zwischen dem jungen Herzog Albrecht, und Wenzels Schwester Anna, zurückgieng," (italics mine). This raises the question, which of Albert's sons was Anna betrothed to? Guillaume, born 1365, was the eldest, and Albert was the second, son of Albert de Bavière (see *Allgemeine deutsche Biographie*, i, 231 and XLIII, 90-92). Pelzel does not state the source of his information, tho a note on the sentence quoted above from p. 28 says: "Sie war im Jahr 1366. den 11. May geboren. Beness Minorita, p. 47." It is possible that Beness, who is not accessible to me, may have some statement about the match. This author is contained in *Monumentorum Boh.*, Tom. iv, Praga, 1779, 4to, ed. Cl. Dohnerus (Pelzel, Verzeichniss, p. xi). Höfler gives no reference to his source, but refers directly after to Pelzel, p. 33, as authority for Anne's betrothal to Friedrich. The identity of this suitor must remain uncertain until we can find Pelzel's source for this detail. It seems, *a priori*, very unlikely that the emperor should have betrothed Anne, who was later esteemed such a desirable match, to Albert's second son. We should certainly expect her to be matched with the heir, Guillaume. In view of this, and of the ease with which a blunder of this sort might have got into Pelzel's text, we are justified in holding to Höfler's view until further evidence is produced.

⁶ Cf. for example the case of Friedrich of Meissen, whose engagement "was never formally broken, but merely set aside by Anne's imperial brother" (Emerson, p. 50), so that Friedrich still claimed rights based upon the marriage contract of 1373 (Emerson, pp. 49, 50).

² *Modern Philology*, VIII, 45-62, July, 1910.

³ *Modern Philology*, VIII, 51 ff.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47. As another reason for doubting that Guillaume de Bavière is represented in the second eagle, Prof. Emerson says: "Others may have wondered what reason we have to suppose that Chaucer even knew of such an engagement. Such news would surely not have had international circulation, nor would it have been freely communicated to those interested in this new match" (p. 47). The force of this latter argument is destroyed by the facts presented a little later in the present paper, showing the intimate relation in which Guillaume de Bavière's father stood to the English court.

makes it clear that Albert de Bavière had no reason to be dissatisfied with the annulment of the contract, for we find him arranging for his son shortly after 1373, a marriage that was at least as advantageous, probably more so, than the one that had been abandoned. On February 6, 1374, Charles V of France charged commissioners to treat in his name in regard to the marriage of Marie his daughter with Guillaume the eldest son of the Duke Albert de Bavière.⁷ On February 10, Albert empowered five commissioners to draw up a treaty of marriage.⁸ This treaty was drawn up by the commissioners, submitted by them to Charles and Albert on March 3, 1374,⁹ and confirmed by Charles on March 16, 1375.¹⁰ The new marriage contract would, of course, have completely annulled any right Guillaume might have retained to the hand of Anne, even if the match had been broken off by Anne's father without the consent of Albert. It would therefore have been impossible for Chaucer in the *Parliament of Fowls* to represent Guillaume as one of Anne's suitors; a rival of Charles VI, his brother-in-law elect. That the marriage of Guillaume de Bavière and Marie de France did not take place but was prevented by the death of Marie in 1377,¹¹ does not affect the situation.

Here the question may perhaps be raised, how much of this information is likely to have been in the possession of Chaucer and the English court? Considering the fact that Chaucer himself had been commissioned to treat in regard to a marriage between Richard II and one of the daughters of Charles V,¹² we must say if Chaucer ever had any information, he certainly knew that the princess Marie had been betrothed to Guillaume de Bavière. If he had not had such information, he would not have been competent to perform the commission on which he was sent. And altogether apart from this special interest that Chaucer and the English court had in the daughters of Charles

V between 1377 and 1380, Albert de Bavière had for a long time been well-known to them, for he was the son of Queen Philippa's sister, Margaret of Hainaut. Of his visit to England in 1367, Froissart speaks as follows:

En ce meysme temps passa li dus Aubiers ad ce dont baus de Haynnau, de Hollandes et de Zellandes, et vint en Engleterre en grant arroy de chevaliers et d'escuiers de son pays, pour veoir le roy englès, son oncle, et madame la royne Phelippe, sa tante, et ses chiers cousins, leurs enfans. Si fu des dessus dis bien conjoïs et festyès à Londres et ou castiel de Windesore, et quant il eut là esté xv jours, il s'en parti et prist congiet au roy et à le royne, qui li donnèrent pluisseurs biaux jeuiaux, et à ses chevaliers ossi. Si repassa li dis dus Aubiers la mer à Douvres, et arriva à Callais, et revint arrière au Kesnoy en Haynnau, dont il estoit premièrement partis, deviers madame Marguerite, la duchoise sa femme.¹³

At a later time, after the death of Edward III, there was talk in England of marrying Richard to a daughter of Albert de Bavière, says Froissart:

En celle saison eut grans consaulx en Engletierre des oncles dou roy, des prélas et des barons dou pais pour le jone roy Richart d'Engletierre maryer, et euissent volentiers li Englès veu que il se fuist maryés en Haynnau pour l'amour de la bonne royne Phelippe leur dame, qui leur fu si bonne, si large et si honnable, qui avoit esté de Haynnau; mais li dus Aubiers en che tamps n'avoit nulle fille en point pour marier.¹⁴

Later in the reign of Richard, Guillaume de Bavière also became a conspicuous figure in England, for in 1384 he was sought by John of Gaunt as a husband for his daughter Philippa,¹⁵ and when he visited England in 1391, distinguished himself by his jousting, and received the Order of the Garter.¹⁶

These facts make it evident that Chaucer in

¹³ *Oeuvres de Froissart*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove; *Chroniques*, VII, 243, 244; for date see editor's note, p. 521.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, IX, 212.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, X, 307: veoit-elle [Jehane de Braibant] le duc Aubert, bail de Haynnau, et la duchoise sa femme avoir des biaux enfans, dont il y en avoit jusques à deus fils et filles tous mariavles, et entendoit que li dus de Lancastre rendoit et mettoit grant paine à ce que Philippe sa fille, que il ot de la bonne duchoise Blance, sa première femme, fu marie à l'ainsné fil dou duc Aubert qui par droit devoit estre hiretiers de la conté de Haynnau, de Hollandes et de Zellandes.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XIV, 255-269; for date see Nicholas, *Orders of British Knighthood*, L. 1842, II, p. liii, Append.

⁷ Devillers, *Cartulaire des comtes de Hainaut*, Bruxelles, Académie Royale des Sciences, 1881, VI, pt. 1, 393.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 395.

¹¹ *Histoire généalogique de la maison de France*, P. 1547; I, 616.

¹² *Life-records of Chaucer*, Chaucer Soc., Pt. 4, Doc. 143, p. 230: "causa locucionis habite de maritagio inter ipsum Dominum Regem nunc et filiam eiusdem aduersarii sui Francie."

1380 or 1381 could not have intended to represent Guillaume de Bavière as a suitor for the hand of Anne. If we had still any doubt upon the point, that doubt would be resolved by the fact that on her journey from Bohemia to England at the end of the year 1381, to be married to Richard, Anne was for three or four days the guest of Albert and his duchess at Ath.¹⁷ We could have no better evidence of the friendly feeling that existed between the families of Guillaume and Anne.

Since the time of Tyrwhitt Chaucerian scholars have been unanimous in their opinion that the composition of the *Parliament of Fowls* was in some way related to a royal marriage or some other definite occasion of that nature. Ten Brink says :

Das parlament der vögel trägt alle merkmale eines gelegenheitsgedichts,¹⁸

tho he does not state precisely what these "merkmale" are, and had perhaps never actually formulated them. Now, apart from the undefined impression we all have that this poem is the kind of thing that is likely to contain a double meaning, does the *Parliament of Fowls* contain any specific indication that Chaucer is addressing his work to a particular individual in the hope of giving pleasure and receiving a reward? I think it does.

The beginning of the *Parliament of Fowls* tells us, it will be remembered, how Chaucer's reading provided him with the subject matter of his poem. After spending the day reading *Scipio's Dream* he fell asleep. In a vision Scipio Africanus appeared to him and said that as a reward for the attention Chaucer had given to his old book he would give him matter to write about.

¹⁷ Devillers, v, 657, 658 :—

24 novembre.—"Données à Mons en Haynnau, le vintequatreisme jour dou mois et l'an dessusdit (novembre, l'an quatrevins et un)." Mandement du duc Albert à Lambert de Lobbes, pour le paiement de ses dépenses et de celles de la duchesse et de leur hôtel faites à Ath, à la venue de la reine d'Angleterre du (20) au samedi (23) novembre, au dîner.

24 novembre.—Mandement du duc Albert à Thierri de Presiel, châtelain d'Ath, pour le paiement "des frais et hostages de le roinc d'Engletière, de ses gens et de leurs chevaux, fais à Ath depuis le merkedî au disner xx^e jour dou mois de novembre, l'an quatre-vins et un, jusquez au venredi après enssuivant."

¹⁸ *Chaucer Studien*, 127.

thou hast thee so wel born
In loking of myn olde book to-torn,
Of which Macrobie roghte nat a lyte,
That somdel of thy labour wolde I quyte!¹⁹

says Scipio. And a little later, when he has brought Chaucer to the gate of the Garden of Love, he says :

And if thou haddest cunning for t'endyte,
I shal thee shewen mater of to wryte.²⁰

The concluding stanza of the poem refers back unmistakably to this introduction :

And with the showing, whan hir song was do,
That foules maden at hir flight a-way,
I wook, and other bokes took me to
To rede upon, and yet I rede alway ;
I hope, y-wis, to rede so som day
That I shal mete som thing for to fare
The bet ; and thus to rede I nil not spare.

Is it not fair to paraphrase the last five lines of this stanza as follows? "I have always been, and shall continue to be, a great reader. This very dream I have been telling you about came to me because of a book I read. I hope it may some day or other be my good fortune to read a book that will cause me to have a dream that will result in something that will be to my advantage." According to this interpretation of the lines, Chaucer here recommends himself to the King, and in a delicate and characteristic manner expresses his hope for some mark of royal favor.²¹

¹⁹ Ll. 109-112.

²⁰ Ll. 167, 168.

²¹ This interpretation, so far as I have been able to find, has never before been brought into the discussion of the poem. Koch discusses the stanza both in *Englische Studien* and in *Essays on Chaucer*. Exactly what his interpretation was is by no means clear, but it was at all events something quite different from that presented in the present paper. For facility of comparison I give here the comments he makes upon the passage.

Referring to the Ten Brink's characterisation of the *Parliament of Fowls* as a "gelegenhetsgedicht," he says : Doch betrachten wir die öfters erwähnte schlusstrophe, so können wir es nur in dem sinne als ein solches bezeichnen, als ein bestimmter äusserer anlass den dichter zur composition desselben angeregt hat. Es kann nicht so aufgefasst werden, als ob Chaucer es auf bestellung einer hochgestellten persönlichkeit oder als dedication an eine solche zur feier einer brautwerbung gefertigt habe, woran zu denken man wohl durch den zu allgemein gehaltenen ausdruck "gelegenhetsgedicht" verführt wäre. Denn erstlich ist in dieser beziehung das werkchen unvollendet : es

If this interpretation be accepted it offers a certain amount of independent evidence of the existence of an allegory, for such a dedication would very properly lead one to suspect, on mere *a priori* grounds, that the poem carried a double meaning. When, in addition to this *a priori* evidence, we have very strong *a posteriori* evidence, namely, an explanation of the allegory that accords admirably with the details of the poem, with the time at which, on other grounds, it is likely to have been composed, and with the known facts of Chaucer's relations with Richard II and the court, we may justly say that Koch's theory as modified by Prof. Emerson rests upon grounds of proof that come little short of amounting to a demonstration.

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THE ALLEGORY IN LYLY'S *ENDIMION*.

It is probable that most readers of Professor Feuillerat's splendid new book on John Lyly (Cambridge University Press, 1910) will feel genuine disappointment and vexation when they come to the chapter in which he treats the play of *Endimion* (*Première Partie* VII, pp. 141-190). That a critic so deeply learned and so charming in expression should lend the weight of his deserved

fehlt eine befriedigende antwort der umworbenen schönen, wenn man auch eine solche aus der haltung des ganzen im voraus entnehmen könnte. Zweitens widersprechen einer solchen auffassung die oben citirten worte: "I rede alway . . . and hope . . . I shal mete sommethyng for to fare the bet . . .," worte, die unmöglich an das ende eines hochzeitscarmen gepasst hätten." (*Englische Studien*, I, 287.)

In the English version of the essay Koch is a little more definite. His chief dicta, omitting what is in substance only what has just been quoted from his first version of the essay, are these: "But if we look at the last stanza [of the *P. of F.*] we see that Chaucer was searching for a new subject to work on" (*Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Society, Pt. IV, p. 402). "Supposing the *House of Fame* to be the 'comedy' our poet wished to write, the *Parlament of Foules* would be a prelude of it, a kind of preparation for it. 'I hope,' he says, 'I shal mete sommethyng for to fare the bet' (*ibid.*, pp. 403, 404). And finally: '... consulting the last stanza, ... the concluding words of which would have been no compliment to the dedicatee, we must deny any relation of this sort' " (*ibid.*, p. 405).

authority to the fantastic interpretation there promulgated of the allegory in the play seems not only a misfortune to the many who will gain pleasure from his volume, but a veritable obstruction to the progress of the scientific scholarship which he elsewhere advances so notably.

During the last twenty years several hundreds of pages have been filled with explanations of the personal symbolism in *Endimion*, all mutually antagonistic and, it seems to me, fatally super-subtle. During these years, Lyly criticism has run wild through the same chaos of unbased and over-refined conjecture which made up much of the Shakespeare criticism of the eighteenth century; till it is hardly surprising that several writers—notably the late Professor Morley and Mr. Percy W. Long—have closed their eyes in disgust upon the whole problem and declined to admit that any personal allegory exists. Professor Feuillerat's interpretation, supplanting those of Halpin, of Professor Baker, and of Mr. Bond, is the most ingeniously worked out and the most eloquently delivered of all; equally, it is the most astounding and the one most contradictory of what we know or can reasonably infer concerning the purpose and nature of the play.

The Reverend N. J. Halpin first suggested, in 1843, that *Endimion* is an allegory of court life, portraying fashionable characters of the day, of whom the most important are Queen Elizabeth (Cynthia), the Earl of Leicester (Endimion), and Leicester's two living wives, Lady Sheffield (Tellus) and Lady Essex (Floscula). In 1894, Professor Baker presented a somewhat different and more ambitious explanation, according to which the piece is to be regarded as a play of political import, written in 1579 in direct championship of the Earl of Leicester. In 1902, Mr. Bond, the editor of Lyly, argued at large in favor of 'widening the scope' of the allegory, and did widen it to the extent of introducing as the prototype of Tellus the personage next in historic conspicuousness to Queen Elizabeth herself—Mary Queen of Scots. And now M. Feuillerat stretches the allegory yet farther, till, retaining Bond's identification of Tellus with Mary, he accomplishes the amazing result of pronouncing Endimion—the lover who sways between Cynthia and Tellus—no less a person than the third political dignitary of the

age, James of Scotland, Mary's son. Is not this continuous 'widening of the allegory' to include more and more of the figures whose names are writ largest in the text-books of history—when taken in connexion with the extreme ease with which each hypothesis is overthrown by the advocates of the rest—merely a proof that such sober probabilities as really exist are being rapidly dragged out into elemental chaos? Surely, the time has come to take stock of our real knowledge of Lyly's allegorical procedure—to set limits to imaginative speculation, acknowledging the deadly danger of argument from vague parallels—and to put up before the paths which have been proved illusory the warning so frequent and necessary in the field of Shakespeare investigation: 'That way madness lies.'

The reasons which Mr. Bond has offered for his alteration of Halpin's main theory are entirely negligible (see *Lyly*, ed. Bond, III, pp. 88-90); those which Professor Feuillerat now urges in support of his far more sweeping change appear to me most inadmissible. They are just four:

1. Lyly would not have dared, in dramatizing the affair between Leicester and Elizabeth, to portray on the stage the private emotions of the Queen (pp. 148-149).

2. Lyly's purpose in treating this subject could only have been the gaining of Leicester's favor, and Leicester was the open enemy of Lyly's patrons, Burleigh and Oxford (pp. 149, 150).

3. Lyly presents Endimion as young and as having led a solitary life for seven years from love of Cynthia, whereas we know the true Leicester to have been about fifty and a notorious gallant (pp. 151, 152).

4. The incidents of the play do not agree in detail with the actual facts (pp. 152-154).

When Professor Feuillerat asks, with reference to his first point (p. 148): 'Comment peut-on admettre qu'un dramatis-te ait été assez audacieux pour mettre à la scène les sentiments les plus intimes, les plus secrets de la reine?' is he not putting a wholly pointless question? Instead of being in any sense an exposé of the Queen's 'most secret sentiments,' the play is an extravagantly adulatory and untruthful denial of a scandal everywhere current; and when Professor Feuillerat tells us

that the Queen and the Master of the Revels would have treated such a bit of coarse flattery about fashionable gossip many years old with less indulgence than the minutely accurate presentation of a contemporary diplomatic intrigue, which he discerns, he involves himself in an assumption certainly not justified either by our knowledge of Elizabeth's character or by the *lèse majesté* principles of the day.

The second objection seems to arise from a misconception of the object of the play. Surely, *Endimion* must not be read as a kind of analogue to *Hernani*—the dramatic mouthpiece of one court party against another. The only ulterior purpose which can be safely predicated of this play or of the other fashionable comedies of the time is direct flattery of Elizabeth; and the fact that Cynthia's lover is here endowed with the indispensable minimum of constancy, amiability, and beauty no more indicates that Lyly was in collusion with the original of his portrait than does the parallel treatment of Phao in *Sapho and Phao* prove a desire in Lyly to advance the fortunes of the departed and hopeless Alençon. Thus, Professor Baker's idea that the play must have been written at the time when it would have done Leicester the most good and Professor Feuillerat's that it cannot refer to Leicester at all because Lyly was not a personal adherent of the latter seem to me equally unfounded.

Professor Feuillerat's last two objections, which together make but a single point, constitute a clear case of the 'hobbling of Pegasus,' so strongly condemned by Professor Morley. How could Lyly present Endimion as anything but young and beautiful, whether he thought of him as the Greek shepherd or as the court favorite and long acknowledged lover of the Queen, with whom Leicester was in point of age a precise contemporary? And as regards Endimion's occasional avowals of his solitary devotion to Cynthia, it is difficult to see how, in the face of his relations to Tellus, he can be held unduly constant or innocent. In any case, the poetic exaltation of Cynthia's lover violates fact far less than that bestowed on Sapho's lover in the parallel play, where the identification of Phao is unquestioned.

I am aware of no indication that Mr. Bond's imaginative explanation of the allegory in *Endi-*

mion has been anywhere seriously accepted; and the bolder theory just promulgated by Professor Feuillerat seems still less likely to make its way. In anticipation of further divergent attempts at purely speculative solution of a question which mere speculation will never be able to solve, are we not justified in laying down the following preliminary theses, all apparently well founded in our present knowledge of Lyly's dramatic practice?

1. That the main object of his courtly allegorical plays, apart from the motive of pure art—and presumably the sole object, in the absence of proof to the contrary—was the flattery of Queen Elizabeth.

2. That the character of his allegory was personal and sentimental, rather than diplomatic. *Midas*, a personal satire on Philip II's greed and folly, is no exception to this rule.

3. That Lyly dealt in his allegorical plays only with *faits accomplis*, gracefully eulogizing the Queen upon the outcome of some incident safely past, and never attempting to influence her to specific action or to strengthen one particular party in a controversy as yet undetermined.

4. That the deliberate, continuous symbolism in these plays probably extends only to a very few of the main characters. That Lyly should have put into plays so light, and so clearly intended for oral representation rather than careful reading, an intricate and detailed allegory such as still puzzles students of the *Faery Queene* would appear unreasonable, and is certainly suggested by no evidence.

5. That the author's purpose was certainly not to give an accurate transcript of the incidents he treated. Such procedure would have made the plays either dull or impolitic, or both. Rather, we have to do in each case with a tissue of harmlessly imaginary pictures shot through with idealized references to such actual happenings as the poet might feel to be wholly free from offence to his royal auditors.

For each of the principles above there exists very substantial *prima facie* evidence, and we have every right to insist that critics who in future disregard them take upon themselves a burden of proof far heavier than either Mr. Bond or Professor Feuillerat has been willing to assume.

I believe that most of the students of Lyly who may be impelled by Professor Feuillerat's valuable and interesting book to a thorough reconsideration of the allegorical element in *Endimion* will come to the conclusion that little progress has been made since Halpin's day toward the establishment of the real truth of the matter. The sane interpretation seems still the obvious one, which Halpin pointed out, that this play agrees with *Sapho and Phao* in being a highly poetic and idealized version, flattering to Elizabeth, of a past love adventure, where Cynthia stands for the Queen, Endimion for Leicester, and Tellus for Leicester's wife—rather the third wife, Lettice Countess of Essex, as Mr. Baker suggests, and as Mr. Halpin would probably have willingly granted, than his second wife, Lady Sheffield. In the years just before and after 1579, this affair had been very acute; but in 1585-6, when *Endimion* seems to have been written, the crisis was well past. Leicester had apparently abjured his exorbitant ambition for the Queen's personal favor, Elizabeth's anger at his secret marriage had cooled, and the earl was at the moment engaged in military service in the Low Countries.

There seems, then, good cause to regard *Endimion* as a loose, but infinitely tactful and graceful sketch of the relations of Elizabeth and Leicester previous to 1585. Leicester's presumptuous pursuit of the celestial beauty, and his juggling between Tellus and Cynthia, are punished by that mistrust on the part of the sovereign which actually existed strongly for several years after 1579, and to which the play alludes repeatedly (*Endimion*, ed. Bond, I. iv, 40-44; II. i, 27-30; II. iii, 2, 3; IV. i, 15, 16; IV. iii, 79-81). The consequences are represented in the sleep into which Endimion falls, thus losing the youthful beauty naturally belonging to him as Elizabeth's avowed lover, and lying dead (*i. e.*, disgraced at court) till his overweening arrogance has been chastened, when the magnanimity of Eumenides and the lofty compassion of Cynthia restore him to purely political and impersonal favor. Meantime, Cynthia is, of course, presented—as the Queen would demand to appear, and as Shakespeare also paints her—as continuing through the play 'in maiden meditation fancy-free,' entirely unaware of the overwhelming adoration she has inspired in sublunary breasts.

Three additional considerations, of no very great individual consequence, bear out the interpretation of *Endimion* just given; they appear so obvious that it is strange to find them hitherto overlooked:

1. 'Tellus'—not quite the most natural antonym to 'Cynthia'—is an anagram of Lettice (Lletus), the third wife of Leicester and the immediate cause of his disgrace with Elizabeth in 1579. This fact, which may, of course, be mere accident, is given for what it may be worth.

2. The notes of time in the play are patently fanciful and inconsequent. The forty years' sleep of Endimion (v. i, 50) does not correspond with any alteration in the other mortal figures: it is merely emblematic of Leicester's actual change during the period 1579-1586 from the youthful part of the Queen's lover to the elderly rôle of military general and political adviser. The only reference to time to which specific application can reasonably be attributed is that contained in Endimion's lamentation over Cynthia's disfavor (II. i, 14-22): 'Remember my solitarie life, almost these seauen yeeres: whom haue I entertained but mine owne thoughts, and thy vertues? What companie haue I vsed but contemplation? Whom haue I wondred at but thee? Nay whom haue I not contemned, for thee? Haue I not crept to those on whom I might haue trodden, onelie because thou didst shine vpon them? Haue not iniuries beene sweet to mee, if thou vouchsafedst I should beare them? Haue I not spent my golden yeeres in hopes, waxing old with wishing nothing but thy loue.' It is worth noting that 'almost . . . seauen yeeres' is the precise interval between the affair of 1579 and the acting of the play (Feb. 2, 1586?), and the text describes very well Leicester's difficult position during that period. The spending of golden years in hopes and the waxing old are quite out of keeping with the imaginary youthful Endimion, and must, one would suppose, have topical significance.

3. It is very uncritical to read in the play a compliment to the original of Endimion. Surely, the reverse is true. For obvious reasons, dramatic and politic, Lyly could not make his titular hero positively odious; but the inferences from Endimion's relations to Cynthia and Tellus, his foolish ambition, deserved punishment, and final luke-

warm pardon are by no means flattering to that character. The ideal male figure in the play is, evidently, not Endimion but Eumenides; and if one feels confidence to proceed in one's identification beyond the three most important persons, the next natural step will probably be to recognize Lyly's patron Burleigh, only five years senior to Leicester and the Queen, in Eumenides, the faithful servant and counsellor of Cynthia, who reprimands the aspiring Endimion, and afterward by his generosity makes possible the latter's reconciliation with his mistress.

Interpret the allegory as we may—and it seems clear to me that only one reasonable interpretation so far exists—the general purport of Endimion remains certain. From the point of view of Cynthia, the play contrasts selfish and unselfish service in Endimion and Eumenides. From the point of view of Endimion, it is the old story of the opposition between earthly and ideal love—the theme suggested by the opening line of Shakespeare's 144th sonnet, 'Two loves I have of comfort and despair.'

This is undoubtedly what the poet saw in his play and what he expected his audience to see. Any attempt to explain the piece as an elaborate parable, not reflecting true love or real personal service, but mystically enshrouding the great political and diplomatic events of the age, involves a complete distortion. It results from viewing sixteenth century life through the inverted perspective of political history, and indicates a failure to apprehend the actual range of interest of Lyly's local, courtly public.

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THE *CURSOR MUNDI* AND THE "SOUTHERN PASSION."

In the Cotton MS. of the *Cursor Mundi* a later hand (xv century) has inserted two passages of considerable length, the first treating of the sufferings of Christ on the Cross, and the second of the Resurrection. The description of the MS. given by Dr. Hupe¹ makes it clear that the interpolated

¹ *Cursor Mundi*, E. E. T. S., pp. 124*-125*.

passages were added after the ms. had been completed. The interpolator, wishing to attach the story of the Resurrection at a point half-way down the second column of fol. 95b, erased the remainder of the column in order to make room for the addition, and afterwards copied the erased lines (17,289-316) at the end of col. 2, fol. 98b.

The story of the Resurrection thus inserted in the Cotton ms. was taken, as Horstmann² has already noted, from the "Southern Passion." I wish now to point out that the other inserted passage, on the Sufferings on the Cross, was borrowed from the same source. This "Southern Passion," which is included in a number of the mss. of the South English Legendary, has, so far as I am aware, never been printed.³ The extract which I present herewith for comparison with the text of the Cotton ms. is taken from the earliest extant text of the Southern Passion—that in Harl. 2277, a manuscript written about 1300.⁴ The parallel lines in the Cotton *Cursor* begin at v. 16749, the very point at which the later hand makes its appearance—though Morris, in numbering the lines of the Cotton text, marks the divergence from the other *Cursor* mss. as beginning 15 lines further on. The Cotton interpolator, beginning at v. 16,749, replaced 54 lines of the *Cursor* text by 163 lines taken from the "Southern Passion." He then returned to the text of the *Cursor* for 12 lines (16,803-14), and followed these by a second borrowing (72 lines) from the "Passion."

Though the scribe of Harl. 2277 writes his text in long lines, the metre is identical with that of the *Cursor*, in which the septenary has been split into short lines.⁵

(fol. 12a)

16749 Bi ihesus Rode stod: his moder þat cam
þerto
& Marie Cleofe: his moder soster also

² *Altengl. Legend.*, Neue Folge, p. lxxvii.

³ One of my students, Miss M. M. Keiller, has undertaken to edit the complete text of the "Southern Passion" from several mss.

⁴ Laud ms. 108, slightly earlier than Harl. 2277, preserves a fragment (141 lines) of the "Southern Passion." This will be found in Horstmann's *Leben Jesu* (Münster, 1873) beginning at line 761.

⁵ The numbers in the margin refer to the corresponding lines in the Cotton text of the *Cursor*, as numbered in the E. E. T. S. edition.

& Marie magdalene: and þo ihesus iseg
His moder & his disciple: seint Iohn
þat stod hire neg
þat he louede þo he seide: to his moder
anon

- 16757 Womman lo her þi sone: þo seide he to
seint Iohn
Lo her þi moder & seint Iohn: as þulke
tyme iwis
In his poer vnderfeng; þe hege quene
of blis
Our leuedi as hire owe sone; he bitoc
seint Iohn
As ho saiþ beo þu hire sone: on me naþ
heo non
- 3-10 We ne fyndeþ nogt iwrite: þat oure
leuedi in all hire sore
Spac ogt bote makede deol: ne migte no
womman more
Hire deol passede alle deoles: heo nolde
confort non
þat suerd heo felde at hire hurte: þat
bihet hire symeon.

(Here follow 20 lines which have no equivalent in the Cotton text.)

- 11 Wel pitousliche oure louerd seide: nou
hit is ido
þo þe gywes brougte oure louerd: galle
& vynegre also
- (fol. 12b)
- þo bigonne tenebres: & were her an
vrþe idon
In þe sixte tide of þe day: þat we
clipieþ non
- 24-30 þe tenebres is dorchede: þer nas no
more ligt
purfout al middel erþe: þan hit were
midnigt
Hit began at ouernon: & forte þe
noegeþe tide ilaste
þo wolde beo ouernon: þo were þe
schrewen agaste
þe sonne was blac hit was eclips: agen
cunde ynoug
Ne migte þe sonne schyne no leng: þan
he to depe droug
- 31-38 Lute wonder me þingþ hit was þo: þeg
heo ne migte schyne
Whan þe maister of sonne & mone: an
vrþe þolede such pyne
þe sonne wipdroug hire ligt also: & non
an vrþe ne sende
for he nolde schyne on hem: þat oure
louerd an vrþe schende
- 39-58 Meni grete clerkes: þat were in oper
londe
I-sege & ne migte on þe eclips: no
reisoun vnderstonde

& of oure louerd hi nuste nogt : & gut
 þurf clergie hi þogte
 þat liþere men her an vrþe : oure louerd
 to deþe brogte
 & vnderstode of godes cunde : þat he
 was flesch & bon
 & þer-þurf were sibbe i-cristned & seint
 Denys was þat on
 For seint Denys þulke tyme : in Atte-
 nesse was
 He seg þe eclips age cunde : him won-
 drede of þat cas
 & noþing he nuste of god : for cristine
 nas he nogt
 & gut þurf his clergie : þis word com on
 his þogt
 Oþer god þoleþ deþ in flesch : oþer wor-
 dles cunde
 Is ibrogt al vp & doun : & þis word was
 in munde
 & þurf þulke word þer afterward : as
 seint poul bi him com
 & þurf þur reisoun of his clergie : he
 afeng cristendom

59-69 Ac in þe neogeþe tide of þe dai : oure
 louerd gan crie & grede
 ffor grete angusse of þe deþes þrowe : &
 þuse wordes sede
 Mi god whi hastou me forsake : eft sone
 he seide so
 Mi god whi hastou me forsake : þo þe
 gost scholde out go
 ffor sake he huld him for no man : for
 his wonden stronge
 Ne turnde to him bote þe þeof : þat bi
 him was anhonge
 & þat greuede him more þan his deþ :
 þerfore þis he sede
 Heli ·heli · as ge hureþ : in þe passioun
 rede
 þat was þe langage of ebreu : þat among
 þe gywes is
 To sigge as ich seide er : an englich al
 þis
 Mi god whi hastou me forsake : & þo
 anon gan crie
 þe Romeyns þat ihurde þis : seide he
 clipeþ Elie

(fol. 13a)

Loke we wher Elie come : to bringe
 him from þe deþ
 70-76 Mi fader ihesus seide þo : mid wel softe
 breþ
 Ich bitake mi gost in his hond : & began
 to closi his ege
 & his heued heng adoun : & mid þat
 word gan deye
 Ou ihesu ho mai þis ihureþ : wiþoute
 wop of hurte
 Hardi is þe hurte þat hit hureþ : bote
 he wepe & smurte

þat þu scholdest so bitere wepe for
 ous : & so bitere grede
 & for ous lete þi lyf : allas oure wrec-
 chede
 Ne migte þe vrþe bere þi deþ : þat is
 þing wiþoute rede
 þat heo grisliche ne quakede : as ho saiþ
 for drede

98-101 Allas man whar is þyn hurte : hou
 migtou ihure þis
 Bote þu quake for sorwe : gret deol of þe
 hit is
 Treo ne stones ne þolede nogt : þat his
 hurte to breke atuo
 Aboute þe place in meni stede : þat hi
 ne berste also
 Cloþes þat in þe temple were : to-cloue
 also amidde
 Dede menne þrouges to-bersten ek : as
 merci to bidde
 Ou ihesu strong was þi deþ : whan harde
 treon & stones
 To-berste þo þin hurte to-brac : &
 prouges mid menne bones
 Man hou migtou þis ihure : þat þin
 hurte ne bregþ anon
 Allas man which is þin hurte : hardere
 þan eni ston
 þi louerd deide in stronge pyne : & in
 stronge deþe
 ffor þe & þu ert his hyne : & ert sori
 vneþe
 þe sonne ligt & heuene brigþ : here
 vertu gonne quenche

104-5 & þu for wham he þolede al þat : vneþe
 wolt þeron þenche [þis dede]

106-17 A prophete of oure louerd : longe bifore
 As þurf oure louerdas mouþ : & þuse
 wordes sede
 An ox [sic] him nai fynde a sti : & a
 turtle a nest also
 Whar on sitte & walewy : & þeron reste
 þerto
 And ihesus nis an vrþe nogt : so moche
 god bileued
 Wher-vpe he mowe enes : reste his
 weri heued
 Ou ihesu suete þing : were þu so riche þo
 Nere þu king of alle kinges : wher was
 þi god ago

118-25 þe nas nogt ileued so moche god : wher
 on þu migtest deye
 Ne a wrecche turf of hard vrþe : vp in
 þe eyr an heye
 Ne þi seli lymes nere : i-granted þo no
 þe mo
 þat eni migte helpe oþer : hou migte
 beo more wo
 Hou migte so pore deþ : eni man iseo

- Biter & strong & eke pore! louerd
 ihered þu beo
 (fol. 13b) 138-49 No wonder hit nas þeg þe sonne! wer
 in duredede ido
 Whan treon & harde stones! & cloþes
 burste atuo
 þe gywes þat him sloge! þo hi sege al
 þis cas
 gut hi seide þis man her! for soþe rigt-
 ful was
 Menie þat in þe place stode! i-baptiged
 were
 (Second insertion.) ffor miracles þat hi sege! & also for
 fere
 1-4 þo was here lawe if eni nan! were to
 deþe ibrogt
 Aboute þe feste of ester! þat he ne
 bileuede þer nogt
 Ac adoun for þe hege feste! of þe Rode
 were ido
 Nyme hi wolde oure louerd adoun! &
 þe þeoues also
 Ac to beo siker þat he were ded! his
 þien hi to-breke
 Ac þo hi to oure louerd come! more
 schame hi him speke
 23-28 Longius a blynd knigt þer stod! a spere
 hi him caste
 & sette him to oure louerd's rigt side!
 & bede him scheoue faste
 31-36 þat spere he schof to his hurte! þer com
 out water & blod
 His egen þerwip he wipede; & hadde
 sigt wel god
 Merci he cride oure louerd! & let him
 baptige iwis
 & sipþe he was y-martird! & god halewe
 in heuene is.

(Here follow 20 lines which have no equivalent
 in the Cotton text.)

- (fol. 14a) Whan þe endes were y-opened þere! in
 gret angusse & sore
 Clene orn out þe veyne blod! þat þer ne
 com out no more
 37-44 þer ne migte suete þing on þe; no more
 blod beo ifounde
 Bote hit were þe suete lyues drope! at
 þyn hurte grounde
 gut nolde þe gywes þat bileoue! as hi
 nome red
 þo me schof þe spere þerto! for loken
 whar þu were ded
 45-52 Suete ihesu moche was þe loue! þat þu
 cuddest þere
 þu woldest we were i-saued! þat no
 defeaute nere
 Mid þe leste drope of þi blod! þu migtest
 habbe ibought
 & þu geue for ous euerech drope! þat
 þer ne bileuede nogt

- 53-60 No more vylt þan hi dude! ne migte þe
 gywes þe do
 Bituene tui gywes [sic] hi þe honge! &
 in wyld stede also
 ffor vpe þe hul of Caluarie! whan eni
 þeoues were
 Inome for þeofþe & idemd! anhonge hi
 were þere
 61-64 & anhonge on þe Rode! as þu were
 ihesu also
 Nobing nas vilere þan þe Rode! er þu
 were on ido
 þat was þe stede vil! & þe dom & þe
 treo
 þat þu were on to deþe ido! ihesu iherep
 þu beo
 69-72 ffor þe gywes to soþe isege! þat oure
 louerd was ded
 ffor þe feste hi þogte him nyme adoun!
 as hi hadde er ised
 5-12 An old knigt þat hadde oure louerd
 longe iloued! Ioseph of Arymathie
 Ac he ne þerfte þerof beo iknowe! for
 doute of asprie
 He bad pilatus ihesus bodi! and he gaf
 hit him anon
 þo nam he wip him Nichodemus! & to
 þe Rode gan gon
 & to þe sepulcre þe bodi here! & nome
 adoun of þe Rode.

Comparing this extract from the "Southern
 Passion" with the interpolated passage in the
 Cotton text of the *Cursor*, one sees that the inter-
 polator, though directly depending on the "Pas-
 sion," has treated his original with freedom, re-
 lieving much of its prolixity by varying or omit-
 ting at his pleasure. It is interesting to note, fur-
 ther, the appearance here and there of lines and
 phrases from the original text of the *Cursor*, which
 the interpolation displaced.⁶ The weaving in of
 this material, moreover, has been intelligently,
 even skilfully, accomplished. In a word, the in-
 terpolation in the Cotton MS. of the *Cursor Mundi*
 must be recognized as the work of an editor rather
 than of a scribe.

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⁶ Following is a list of the lines in the Cotton interpo-
 lation which appear to derive from the original text in the
Cursor: Cott. 12 = *Cursor* 16767, Cott. 14-16 = *Curs.*
 16772-3, Cott. 23 = *Curs.* 16783, Cott. 78-81 = *Curs.*
 16779-82, Cott. 82-85 = *Curs.* 16783-6. Second inser-
 tion: Cott. 17-22 = *Curs.* 16829-34, Cott. 29-30 = *Curs.*
 16843.

A NEW CHAUCER ITEM.

Every detail in the life or work of one of our older authors is so important, so necessary in building a structure that can never be too complete, that we all wish to know as early as possible any new discovery. It is pleasant, therefore, to call attention to a new ray of light on the life of Chaucer, first seen by a worker in another field. In the scholarly and ample *Histoire de Charles V* by R. Delachenal, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1909, the author notes that Chaucer acted as confidential messenger to Edward III in connection with the peace negotiations at Calais in 1360. The record, though brief, is more than suggestive of larger things. In the Exchequer Accounts preserved in the Public Record Office, Bundle 314, no. 1, M. Delachenal found this slight entry :¹

“Datum Galfrido Chauceer, per preceptum domini, eundo cum litteris in Angliam iii real. [. .] x s.”

To understand the relations of this brief entry it is necessary to bear in mind the events of this important time. In the spring of 1359 the truce of Bordeaux had expired, together with its extensions to St. John's day, June 24. During the summer the English king made extraordinary preparations for an army to crush France once for all.² With this army, too, Chauceer, then a young man of nineteen or twenty, entered upon his first military experience. At the last of October the grand army of Edward left England, and early in November marched from Calais, its objective the holy city of Reims where French kings had been crowned for centuries. There it was Edward's purpose to take the French crown,

which he claimed as his by right of inheritance. Then he would conquer the country he already considered his own. But the campaign went badly for the great commander, as it went badly for his less exalted subject, the young esquire. Reims would not surrender herself even to the great Edward, and the young Chaucer, probably in some too-bold foraging expedition, fell into the hands of the enemy.

After the unsuccessful siege of Reims for some weeks, Edward salved his wounded vanity by marching still further into the heart of France in January, 1360. On March first of that year he also ransomed his young retainer, the poet, perhaps with money he had too easily extorted from the duke of Burgundy for immunity from invasion of his lands. When the English king finally reached Paris, things went little better than they had done at Reims. The crafty duke of Normandy would not accept Edward's challenge to fight, and famine forced him to march off toward Brittany. In May, however, while at Brétigny near Chartres, the English king was persuaded to accept terms of peace. These terms, roughly sketched at the little village which gives its name to the treaty, were to be worked out in detail at Calais during the following months.

Immediately after the peace preliminaries at Brétigny, Edward III and the four sons who had accompanied him³ in the campaign returned to England.⁴ Edward, and doubtless his sons, sailed from Honfleur, landing at Rye on the evening of the 18th of May. Then, too, if the usually reliable *Fœdera*⁵ is to be followed, the king mounted his horse at once and reached London by nine o'clock the next morning. That the Black Prince, the prince of Wales, was also in England soon after is evident from another fact. In July, with the duke of Lancaster, he escorted the captive king, John of France, to Dover, perhaps to Calais, on the return of the prisoner to his native country. The company rode by way of Canterbury, made the same halts for the night as

¹ *Histoire de Charles V*, II, 241, footnote. In reviewing M. Delachenal (*Eng. Hist. Review*, Jan., 1910, p. 160), J. F. Tout mentions the latter's note on Chaucer thus: "M. Delachenal (II, 241) quotes from an Exchequer Account evidence that Geoffrey Chaucer, already ransomed from his short captivity, was a humble participant in the negotiations of October, 1360, at Calais, being sent thence by royal precept with letters to England." From this, however, one would scarcely gather the importance of this new note.

² Froissart's *Chronicles*, I, ch. cevi; Johnes's *trans.*, I, 269.

³ Froissart's *Chron.*, I, ch. ccvii; Johnes, I, 269.

⁴ Thomas Gray's *Scalacronica*, p. 196.

⁵ Rymer's *Fœdera*, VI, 196. It is a tall tale, since Rye is fifty-five miles from London as the crow flies. But sometimes distances, like nice customs, "curtsy to great kings"; or better still, such a journey was not impossible to strenuous Edward, not yet forty-eight years old.

Chaucer's Pilgrims are generally believed to have done, that is at Dartford, Rochester, and Ospringe,⁶ and like them reached Canterbury on the fourth day. As Chaucer was in the household of Lionel, or of his countess wife, we must suppose that he too returned to England in May, 1360.

In August Edward sent the prince of Wales over to Calais, to continue the negotiations begun at Brétigny and elaborate in detail the terms of peace. He left London August 24 and remained at Calais until November 6, when he was again in London. This exact statement of time is based upon another Exchequer record found by M. Delachenal. It shows that the prince was paid a pound a day for seventy-five days, or from August 24 to November 6 inclusive.⁷ The treaty itself was signed October 24.

It was during these negotiations that Chaucer was a bearer of letters to England. So far as we know, Lionel, earl of Ulster, to whose household Chaucer was attached, had not gone over to Calais with the prince of Wales. This would seem to show that Chaucer must have been detached, temporarily at least, from Lionel's household, and have been more directly in the king's, or at least the prince's employ. While both Lionel and Edmund, as well as the prince of Wales, were with their father, the king, in the final ratification of the treaty, there is no reason to believe that they preceded him to Calais. Edward himself did not go until October. On the other hand we do know that Chaucer had ridden the campaign in France with the division of the prince of Wales, to which the other sons of Edward were attached, and possibly at this time the future poet had attracted the attention of the Black Prince.⁸ In any case, the payment for Chaucer's services on this occasion, by order of the king himself, throws new light upon the poet's detachment from the service of Lionel.

⁶ Furnivall, *Temporary Preface to the Canterbury Tales*, p. 129; based on *Comptes de l'Argenterie*, published for the Société de l'histoire de France by L. Douet-d'Arq.

⁷ *Histoire de Charles V*, II, 241; Exchequer Accounts, Bundle 314, no. 2.

⁸ Froissart's *Chron.*, I, chap. ccvii; Johnes, I, 269: "Next marched the strong battalion of the prince of Wales; he was accompanied by his brothers." I hope soon to print a study of this campaign of 1359-60, with special reference to Chaucer, and shall then give more fully my authority for some of these statements.

The record gives no further hint of the character of Chaucer's services. The "letters" doubtless related to the peace negotiations themselves, probably to difficult points upon which the prince of Wales wished special advice from the king. Perhaps they referred to a most vital point then being pressed by the French representatives, the renunciation of the title "king of France" made by Edward III at Brétigny. This renunciation was now wholly omitted from the terms of the treaty of Calais. It was a clever move on the part of the French negotiators, for by this omission the treaty appeared to disregard such claim on the part of Edward. Whatever we conjecture, the service itself speaks for the recognized trustworthiness of the young poet. It was a first, and possibly not an unimportant step toward the position in the king's household of a few years later, and even toward the diplomatic positions which another decade brought to him.

Further than this, the new fact regarding Chaucer gives at least some definite data for a period hitherto a blank in his life. After his ransom by the king, March 1, 1360, we have had no record of him until June 20, 1367, when the king granted him a pension of twenty marks a year as "our chosen valet."⁹ It is true that a pension of ten marks a year to Philippa Chaucer, on September 12, 1366,¹⁰ is usually supposed to be indirectly connected with her marriage to the poet about that time. But direct reference to Chaucer himself does not occur until the following year.

We now know, however, that as early as the beginning of the period 1360-67 Chaucer had been selected for a mission of trust by the king, or by the highest in authority next to the king, the prince of Wales. There is thus more ground than has generally been supposed for believing Chaucer may have had, even so early, some connection with the king's service. Some years ago Professor Skeat conjectured this with assurance. He says: "He [Chaucer] must have been attached to the royal household not long after the return of the English army from France."¹¹ Mr. Kirk, also, in *Forewords to Life Records* (1901) argues for the same idea, on the ground that the annuity granted Chaucer in 1367 must have been

⁹ *Life Records of Chaucer*, p. 160.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 158.

¹¹ *Works of Geoffrey Chaucer*, I, xx (1894).

for service extending over some considerable time.¹²

One further note of interpretation may be ventured. Apparently the record above was made at Calais, since it refers to bearing letters to England [in Angliam] rather than from France. This would also account for the reckoning of the compensation in French reals, followed by the statement in English shillings. At least such a supposition would explain the last part of the entry, even though the ms. is illegible, as shown by the brackets. Exactly the same reckoning in French and English money occurs in the expense accounts¹³ of King John's return to France, already mentioned as taking place in this same year. We there learn also the value of the real, three times mentioned as equivalent to three shillings.¹⁴ We may thus infer that the completed Exchequer record would probably read, "iii real[s, some word for 'valued at', i]x s."

The French historian adds no comment on the record he has discovered, except to say that he does not know whether it has been found by Chaucer's biographers. Nor does he suggest the possibility of other information regarding Chaucer in the unpublished Exchequer accounts. It would seem not unlikely that something more may yet be found, in spite of the fairly thorough search which has been made. Yet even if this should not prove true, every Chaucer student will be grateful to M. Delachenal for this single gleaning regarding the poet's life.

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Contributions à l'Étude de l'Hispanisme de G. E. Lessing, par CAMILLE PITOLLET, Paris, Félix Alcan, éditeur, 108, Boulevard St.-Germain, 1909, large 8vo., xiii and 342 pp.¹

It is impossible to follow this work throughout all of its details, without a study quite as minute and painstaking as that of the author. From this may be inferred that the material gathered from everywhere is unusually large. This review will therefore be limited to two considerations: first, the value of the work as a scientific contribution; second, its qualities apart from the subject, that is, its readableness. These two must be kept separate for reasons which will become evident.

The author divides the book into two parts, and proposes to answer two questions: first, "à quel degré Lessing savait-il l'espagnol?" In this connection he uses "several translations or fragments of translations which were made by Lessing at different stages of his career." Second: "à quelles sources Lessing a-t-il puisé lorsqu'il a parlé de l'Espagne?" Here the author intends to show, that, in as much as Lessing had only "confused and rudimentary" notions of the language (a basis to be established by the answer to the first proposition), he must have had recourse to intermediate sources for his information and judgment on Spanish writers.

An unbiased and careful examination of the question of Lessing's *hispanisme* makes it undeniable that the very general traditional acceptance of his authority in the field of Spanish has gone too far; that the available facts of his learning and of his sources have not been accorded the full investigation which they have deserved. Owing to this circumstance, literary historians in general, and *Lessingforscher* in particular, were not only sure to meet with criticism of their own attitude, they were bound to witness an inevitable reaction against the prestige enjoyed by Lessing in Hispanic matters. It was, therefore, merely a ques-

¹² "He was in the king's service during the greater part of that period [1350-67], as he received an annuity at the end of it. *Life Records of Chaucer*, p. xv.

¹³ *Life Records of Chaucer*, Appendix II, p. 129.

¹⁴ Compare, "Le Roy, offerande a la messe, a Eltan [Eltham], 1 royaun, 3 s."—p. 129. "Monseigneur Philippe, pour semblable, en ce lieu, 16 royaux, 3 s. piece, valent, par mons. de Jargny, 48 s."—p. 131. "Mons. Philippe, pour semblable, 1 royaun, 3 s."—p. 132.

¹ Cf. also a Reprint from "Vragen en Mededeelingen op het Gebied der Geschiedenis, Taal en Letterkunde," entitled *L'Hispanisme de Lessing*, by the same author, in which he says: "Nous voudrions, dans l'objective *Selbstanzeige* qui va suivre, donner . . . quelques nécessaires compléments, dont plusieurs ne seront que des corrections, etc."

tion of the extreme to which such criticism or such reaction would go when it came. The extreme way was pointed some years ago by Paul Albrecht, who in his *Lessings Plagiate*, 1890-91, accuses Lessing of manifold plagiarism in his dramatic and other works; and it is continued with something of the same spirit by the author of the present *Contributions*, etc., who has carried the campaign into the Spanish field, and who has, with unwearying labor, searched out every possible defect in Lessing's armor.

The first part of the book contains five sections of translations intended to show the character of Lessing's work, the most important, as regards serious effort, being those which deal with his version of Huarte's *Examen de ingenios para las ciencias* etc., *Johann Huarts Prüfung der Köpfe zu den Wissenschaften* etc., p. 3, the play *Essex*, p. 22, and the *Marañón*, being Pedro Cudena's *Discripcion . . . de Brasil* etc., p. 32. Numerous parallels of the Spanish and German texts are given to demonstrate the insufficiency of the translations, and many of them are shown to be wrong. The most satisfactory evidence of an inadequate acquaintance with Spanish, on the part of Lessing, is the comparison of the entire text of Cudena's *Discripcion* with the whole German version and its corrections. The latter translation, it will be remembered, had been first made by an anonymous person, and was edited by Lessing, "mit Anmerkungen und Zusätzen begleitet, von Chr. Leiste" in 1780.

In the case of some of the examples cited, it must be objected that the method pursued by the author of paralleling isolated phrases or sentences is by no means always convincing; that it would be most unjust to class all of the examples as 'colossales bévues.' Notably some of the dramatic translations are very fair, such as occur in the *Essex*, for example; they not only surpassed the standards of the time, but served their particular purpose well, as fair consideration of all that was given to the public in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* will show.

Some of the following translations, though rather free at times, are not as objectionable as we are led to suppose:

Y echan a perder la salud
de los hombres [los que son
inhábiles par la medicina].
(Huarte, p. 6.)

Gleichfalls ist die Gesundheit der Menschen in nicht geringer Gefahr [da sich die Leute die ganz ungeschickt zur Medicin sind, damit abgeben].

(Cf. also the whole of p. 9 ff., where single words and fragments of sentences without the context are, in several cases, an unsatisfactory proof of their inadequacy.)

The double meaning of *avcis menester asiento*, "you must be seated," and "you must be deliberate," is hard to give, and Lessing has only the first. Eraclio und Argila, p. 14.

Bien sabeis . . . Ihr wisst es allzuwohl.

—P. 14, *Eraclio und Argila*.

y bien sabeis, que mi vida
està asida al postrer hilo,
al mas roto, y mas gastado,
que el tiempo le ha consumido,
y que no tiene seguro,
porque ya el fiero cuchillo
de la muerte le amenaza
sin que de otro quede
asido; etc.

pues soy tres para ayudarte
a sentir.

Ea, dime tu pesar, . . .

Malogrose nuestro oido. . . .

Harto el no ofrla he sentido.

En fin quieres que la
cuente?

Ya te aguardo. . . .

porque la naturaleza,
quando los segundos nacen,
lo que en el poder les quita,
en el valor les añade.

Ihr wisst auch, dass mein Leben an dem letzten Faden hängt, der zugleich der schwächlichste ist, und dass ich unsicher bin, dass ihm nicht die grausame Sens des Todes drohe, ohne dass es an einem andern hänge.—*Eraclio und Argila*, p. 14.²

Ich kann dir als eine dreyfache Person mit tragen helfen. (*Fenix*, p. 17.)

Gestehe mir also deine Unruhe. (*Fenix*, p. 17.)

Unscr Zuhören hat also schon ein Ende.

Das verdrüssst mich, dass ichs nicht hören soll. (*Fenix*, p. 18.)

Du willst also, dass ichs dir erzehle?

Ich warte eben darauf. (*Fenix*, p. 18.)

Es scheint, als wolle die Natur, bey Erzeugung der Jüngeren Prinzen, das, was ihnen an Macht abgeht, durch ihren inneren Werth ersetzen. (*Fenix*, p. 20.)

(Cf. also in connection with the same translation, n. 3, p. 20, *Lessing dénature triplement la phrase castillane* etc., which is a case of *hacer de una pulga un elefante*.)

² The italics represent the author's heavy type.

The author says, speaking of the *Essex*: "Lessing *paraphrase* presque constamment plutôt qu'il ne traduit les passages dont il entend illustrer son commentaire, tout en donnant tacitement et implicitement pour une véritable traduction ces in-exacts spécimens" (p. 22). In the first place, Lessing gives a resumé of some scenes, without any translations, and, in the second, specimen versions of others, which, together with some paraphrases, contain very fair renderings of the Spanish text. He gave what was needed to illustrate his principles and to make known the character of the play to the public. Consequently, while the inaccuracy and incorrectness of occasional passages must be admitted, it is exaggerated to condemn all of the examples which are cited. Compare, for example, the following :

REIN. Loco amor.—COND.	DIE KÖNIGINN.—Thörichte
<i>Necio imposible.</i>	Liebe!
REIN. Què ciego.—COND.	ESSEX.—Eitler Wahnsinn.
<i>Què temerario.</i>	DIE KÖNIGINN. — Wie
REIN. <i>Me abatis a tal bazeza—</i>	blind!
COND. <i>Me quierces subir tan alto. . .</i>	ESSEX.—Wie verwegen!
	DIE KÖNIGINN. — <i>So tief willst du, dass ich mich herabsetze?</i>
	ESSEX.— <i>So hoch willst du, dass ich mich versteige?</i>
	(P. 27.)

and the rather free translation :

BLANCA.	BL.— <i>Schmeicheleyen</i> , Seufzer, <i>Liebkosungen</i> , und besonders Thränen, sind vermögend, auch die reinste Tugend zu untergraben. Wie theuer kommt mir diese Erfahrung zu stehen!
Pues requiebros y suspiros, Amores, ansias, finezas, Y lágrimas sobre todo, Son, aunque el honor no quiera,	Der Graf. . . . DIE KÖNIGINN.—Der Graf?
<i>Limbo sorda del secreto En la muger mas honesta. Oh, cuán a mi costa supe Desta verdad la experiencia!</i>	<i>Was für ein Graf?</i>
Porque el Conde. . . .	BL.—Von Essex. —
REIN. El donde? BLANCA.	DIE KÖNIGINN.—Was höre ich? BL.—Seine verführerische Zärtlichkeit . . . —
El mismo.	DIE KÖNIGINN.—Der Graf von Essex? BL.—Er selbst, Königin. (P. 29.)
REIN. (ap.) Qué escucho?	
BLANCA.—Con sus ternezas de amor. . . .	
REIN.—El Conde de Sex?	
BLANCA.—Sí, Señora.	

These translations are certainly spirited, and give a fair idea of the dialogue. On the other hand,

Lessing no doubt missed the peculiarly Spanish quality of some passages.

But the most convincing evidence of Lessing's superficial acquaintance with the Spanish language may be found in the parallel columns of the *Marañón*; that he should have edited the work with such mistakes, makes it clear that he could not have had sufficient information nor experience to translate carefully or interpret adequately a very difficult Spanish text.

But before closing the section on Lessing's translations, a fuller discussion of the tools which he had at his disposal (cf. n. 1, p. 50) would have been desirable. As translations, the efforts of Lessing must be judged only from the standpoint of his own times and of the methods and instruments then employed. There were certainly few translating and defining dictionaries of any merit, (bilingual, trilingual or otherwise) no helpful grammar, wretchedly printed texts, and no scientific method of deciphering their meaning. As late as 1769, the Velázquez-Dieze (*Gesch. der Spanischen Dichtkunst*) makes no mention, to my knowledge, of a Spanish-German dictionary worth consulting;³ while two specimens in my possession, one a trilingual dictionary and the other a grammar, will illustrate not only what Lessing had to contend with, but how backward the study of Spanish still was. The first is entitled :

Tesoro de las tres Lengvas, Española, Francesa, y Italiana. Thresor des trois Langues, etc. . . . Diuisé en trois parties. Le tout recueilli des plus célèbres Auteurs, etc., par Hierosme Victor Bolonnois. Dernière édition reueuë, etc., A Geneve, Iaques Crespin. M. DC. XLIV., 8vo.⁴

Some of the definitions of words which are wrongly translated by Lessing—who was misled,

³ This Dieze would have done, had there been one, cf. p. 122, n. a; Franceson, *Nuevo Dicionario de las lenguas española y alemana tan completo como los mejores de tamaño mayor, etc.*, 1st edit. 1829-33, says in the preface: "Aunque tenia la docta Alemania varios diccionarios portátiles de las demas lenguas cultas de la Europa, de la francesa, italiana, y inglesa, le faltaba todavía á este pais un diccionario de aquel género: etc."; cf. 2nd edition.

⁴ Other editions of this work are: *Tesoro, etc.*, Geneve, 1609, 4to., two parts; Dernière édition . . . augmentée, Cologni (*sic*) 1637, 4to., three parts; another, Cologne, 1671, showing that it was much used; these are in the British Museum.

perhaps, by the source he used—are the following: “*exemplar, exemplaire, patron sur lequel on fait quelque ouvrage, essemplio, modello, mostra di qualche cosa da fare*,” followed by *exemplar castigo*, intended to illustrate its use as an adjective also; (cf. his translation ‘*Neue Beispiele*’ for ‘*novelas exemplares*.’)—“*Valor, valeur, prix, valore, pretio, valuta*”; Lessing has stretched this to “*innerer Werth*,” a possible translation, in this place, p. 20, but better as ‘*valor*,’ ‘*gallantry*.’ Some definitions of the *Tesoro* are wholly incorrect: “*malograr, detester, detestare, maledire*.”—“*Seguro*” (a noun in the text, p. 14) is given only as an adjective.—“*Fineza*,” ‘*act of courtesy*,’ or ‘*friendly zeal*,’ is rendered as “*finesse, perfection, excellence, acutezza, perfettione, eccellentia*,” which do not fit Lessing’s text.—“*El para bien*,” is printed as two words (cf. p. 11). Considering the date of this dictionary, however, it has some merit, and we are bound to admit that it could have suggested to Lessing—if it was among those which he knew—a closer definition of certain words than he saw fit to give. But in the translation of idiomatic phrases, the *Tesoro* could render little or no assistance, especially to a novice.

The title of the little grammar runs as follows:

Deutsch-Spanischer Richtiger und Regul-mässiger Sprach-Zeiger/ vorstellend Wie man nicht nur diese Helden-Sprache recht aussprechen und *decliniren*/ sondern auch bey denen vorfallenden Begebenheiten/ als auf der Reis/ Wirths-Häusern/ *Assembléen*, und Zusammenkünften/ Ball- oder andern Spielen u. d. gl. in Gesprächen sich verhalten/ anbey Frag und Antwort geben soll; Allen denenjenigen/ so zu Erlernung der Spanischen Sprache nicht viel Zeit übrig haben/ doch Amts und Verrichtungs oder Wohlstands wegen etwas wissen müssen/ höchst-nützlich/ In diesem bequemen Format mit vielen 1000. Wörtern/ Redens-Arten und Gesprächen heraus gegeben von A. P. (?) K. Nürnberg/ verlegt Johann Leonhard Buggel. Anno 1712., 12mo.⁵

A short preface urging the reader to learn Spanish is followed by some suggestions on the pronun-

ciation; then comes an explanation of the forms of nouns and adjectives with paradigms of their declensions after the classical manner; finally, after treating the pronouns very briefly, the author leaves the grammatical part of his book without a word on the verbs, saying: “[*wir wollen*] *aller Weitläufigkeit zu entgehen/ die Verba mit einander weg lassen*.” Then follow various lists of nouns in groups, and finally the *Gespräche*. Thus this Grammar, which, with all of its sins of omission and commission, attempted to popularize Spanish, deserves brief mention for two reasons. In the first place, it could have been of no assistance whatsoever to anyone in construing sentences. Now Lessing’s work shows that he was especially weak in rendering difficult constructions which turned on the form and meaning of a verb; therefore, such grammars as this could give him no light where he needed it most. To be sure, it will probably never be known how and with what assistance he learned such Spanish as he possessed; nevertheless, it is possible that the “*conversation in Spanish*” which he carried on with his friend Mylius while walking “*unter den Linden*” (alluded to by Karl Lessing) was merely an attempt to practice (“*er plauderte zur Uebung*”) such *Gespräche* as are given in the *Sprachzeiger*. In the second place, this work brings home to us the difficulties in the way of those who, in the days of Lessing’s youth, desired to learn Spanish, and had to use such a book as an instrument of study.

The second part of the author’s work: *La nature et les sources de l’hispanisme de Lessing*, has twenty-nine subdivisions followed by an appendix; the material is given in chronological order, and treats individually the subjects of a Spanish character in any way touched upon by Lessing. Some of his sources, hitherto unknown, have been traced with great perseverance. The date of an occasional article being still a matter of dispute, it remains for *Lessingforscher* to determine it. The more important divisions are the following: *Montiano*, p. 84, the source of which is

(Phil. Garnerius) Parigi, 1627; *Dialogues en quatre langues, françoise, espagnole, italienne et flamende* par P. G., etc., Amsterdam, 1656; *Dialogues en cinq langues, Espagnolle, Italienne, Latine, Françoise, et Allemande*, etc., Strasbourg, 1659. Cf. also Stengel, *Chronologisches Verzeichniss franz. Grammatiken vom Ende des 14. bis zum Ausgange des 18. Jahrh.*, Oppeln, 1890, p. 33.

⁵ This little book was probably intended as a companion to a “*Latein- und Teutscher Sprachzeiger*,” Nürnberg-Buggel, 1711? 12mo. Cf. T. Georgi, *Allgem. Europ. Bücher-Lexicon*, 1742. The *Gespräche* were modeled by the compiler on the *Dialogues* of Philippe Garnier, of which there were editions in Italian and French: *I quattro dialogi*,

an article in the *Journal des Scavans*. The author condemns the very youthful Lessing for his "shameless plagiarism," a term too severe in connection with a piece of hack work which was merely the brief announcement of a new book. In the minor articles *Guevara*, p. 94, *Aleman*, p. 96, *Novelas Ejemplares*, p. 103, and others, much erudite bibliographical matter is given, making evident some of the defects of Lessing's learning. But it is excessive to condemn the youthful critic for not having the information of the modern scholar. The author also shows very well in some of these briefer discussions, that on the strength of an occasional mere reference to something Spanish, more credit has been given to Lessing than he deserved. The *Huarte*, p. 113, has numerous new bibliographical details, but is much spoiled by digressions and unsifted erudition. To the author's strictures on Lessing's translation the objection may again be urged, that Lessing's youth explains many of his shortcomings; that it is asking a great deal of Lessing (in 1751-2) to add "une discussion serrée et précise de la signification philosophique et culturelle de [Juan Huarte]" (p. 119). Lessing's condemnation of the Latin version of Joachim Cæsar was so severe that it would have been instructive to give some details, by way of comparison, to show how much better the translation by Lessing is than the Latin version. The author finds, after a careful examination of all previous versions, that the translation by Lessing betrays no imitation of the others; he gives in the following sentence a fair appreciation of the German work: "C'est une composition besogneuse et laborieuse, dont les fautes résultent surtout de l'ignorance où se trouve le traducteur des tournures spécifiques et des habitudes gènuines du parler castillan, etc.," (p. 5). The article *Gracián*, p. 135, does not show whether Lessing did or did not know the Spanish writer, and is mostly gratuitous. In *Montiano et la Virginia*, p. 144, the author reprints the source of Lessing's account of Montiano, from the "Theatralische Bibliothek," showing how freely the German critic used the preface to D'Hermilly's French version of the Spanish writer. Lessing is again accused of plagiarism, although he did make acknowledgment of his indebtedness. The author's procedure is misleading, to say the least, for he breaks off his

quotation from Lessing, p. 145, just before the following: "Der eine Band (of D'Hermilly) enthält die erste der angeführten Abhandlungen über die Spanischen Tragödien, und der andere eine abgekürzte Uebersetzung der Virginia; beyden ist ein historisches Register der in der Abhandlung erwähnten Verfasser zur Helfte beigefügt, welches eine Arbeit des Herrn Hermilly ist. Eben diesem habe ich auch die angeführten Lebensumstände des Spanischen Dichters zu danken, die ihm dieser selbst überschrieben hat, etc."⁶ Thus the reprinting of the biography of Montiano by D'Hermilly side by side with that of Lessing would become justifiable only through a clear and fair presentation of Lessing's case, which cannot be characterized and dismissed with the word "plagiarism."⁷ Under *Eraclio und Argila*, p. 157, and *Fenix*, p. 166, the author discusses these two fragments of translations from the Spanish, giving a resumé of the original of the former, with numerous bibliographical details of value. He attributes to these fragments a much later date (1760-65) than do such authorities as Muncker, who dates them about 1750. The latter date seems more tenable in the absence of better evidence for the former. The author also blames the *Lessingforscher* for not utilizing the contributions of Albrecht who had pointed out the sources of Lessing in 1890; in the first place, Muncker's volume which reprints the

⁶ Cf. Muncker's edition of Lessing's works, VI, p. 72.

⁷ Furthermore, in 1754 Lessing's opinion of the *Virginia* of Montiano was very favorable; in 1767 (*Hamburg. Dramat.*) he spoke slightly of it: korrekt, regelmässig, frostig, are his words. This change the author attributes to the influence of Dieze. Now the latter, on p. 265 of his translation of Velázquez has the following high praise for Montiano: "[scinc beyden vortrefflichen Trauerspiele] verdienen den Beyfell, den sie bey dem aufgeklärtesten Theile der Spanier gefunden haben. . . . Nicht allein im Drama, sondern auch in andern Arten von Gedichten ist Don Agustin de Montiano ein grosser Dichter." But on p. 373, Dieze calls these same plays "die regelmässigsten . . . die die Spanier haben," and adds: "Sie sind ganz nach französischem Schnitte," the whole of the latter passage being quoted by the author, p. 151. But to get around the priority of Lessing's printed statement, he says: "le passage sur Montiano . . . n'est sans doute que la transcription des remontrances amicales adressées à Lessing." This arbitrary assumption makes the influence of Dieze upon Lessing (by letter) possible, without considering the chance that it may have been the other way about.

fragments is dated 1887, a fact not made evident in the author's censure of Lessing's editor; in the second place, the manner and the methods of Albrecht were bound to discredit most of his results. The article on the play *Essex*, p. 169, gives a resumé of the known facts about this Spanish *comedia* and shows that most of them were unknown to Lessing. Although the author again goes to extremes in calling the exposition of *el Conde de Sex* "plates élucubrations," he is justified in finding Lessing's criticism of the play, as well as his analysis of Spanish dramatic principles, scant and inadequate—though we are bound to add—in the light of what we know to-day. Moreover, there is no need of characterizing Lessing's very succinct description of the *comedia* as "plagiarism"; his ideas are expressed in phrases more or less common among those who have given their opinion on the Spanish stage, and to any cultured reader such phrases as "sinnreiche Verwicklung," "Theaterstreiche," "Würde," etc., might suggest themselves. Pp. 185 ff. contain a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the extent to which the Spanish drama was translated and appreciated outside of Spain during the eighteenth century. Yet the presentation of these facts weakens the author's position on Lessing; in France, we learn, efforts to incline the people's taste toward the *comedia* were frustrated by the indifference of the public; in Germany, on the other hand, the appreciation of certain qualities of Spanish literature took root in the eighteenth century, and became a definite influence on German thought. The part played in this connection by Lessing is incontrovertible, and the author's attempt to put Johann Andreas Dieze into his place as the first 'Hispanist' of Germany, clouds the issue. It may be asserted that Dieze knew very much more of Spanish literature and bibliography than Lessing; that "he has the merit of having called attention to the prototypes and of speaking of them appreciatively" (p. 199); yet this does not change the fact that the influence of Lessing was incomparably greater. It is futile to insist for a moment that Dieze's translation of Velázquez with annotations ("die Velázquez'sche Arbeit fast ersäufend, aber auch ergänzend"—Ticknor-Julius) ever rises to the level upon which Lessing's virile exposition stands. Dieze's book could never

have furthered any rising interest in Spanish by the repellant character of his pages, by his aimless method of pocketing bits of information or bibliography in the notes which the ordinary reader was sure to disregard. Of his work the greatest Hispanist, Ferdinand Wolf, has left no uncertain opinion, calling it a book "dessen nach einem äusserst mangelhaften und einseitigen Plan und ohne allen kritischen und pragmatischen Geist verfasstes Original durch die allerdings grosse Belesenheit des gelehrten Uebersetzers nur wenig gewann."⁸ Of Lessing's work, on the other hand, in which his *hispanisme*, deficient, and even second hand, as it was at times, has a part, Goethe said to Eckermann: "Lessing wollte den hohen Titel eines Genies ablehnen, allein seine dauernden Wirkungen zeugen wider ihn selber." Science of to-day may disclose his relatively meager equipment in Hispanic matters, but the amount of his definite achievement cannot be thereby appreciably reduced.

Pp. 202 ff. deal with Lessing's discussion of Lope de Vega's *Arte nuevo de hacer comedias*, wherein, according to the author, he makes evident "son ignorance de détails élémentaires de littérature espagnole." Then follows a very good bibliographical study of the *Arte nuevo* and its appearance outside of Spain, touching also upon related theories of dramatic art, with the conclusion that Lessing's references to the *Arte* had neither novelty nor originality. Aside from the evident exaggeration of these strictures, a palpable injustice is the criticism of Lessing's version of an extract from the *Arte* (*Hamb. Dram.*, 69tes Stück), which is called "une prétendue traduction, qui n'est en réalité qu'une glose imprécise." Lessing nowhere calls it a translation, though he does put his version—which is certainly more than a *glose imprécise*—into quotation marks. The following comparison will speak for itself:

Elijase el sujeto, y no se mire	"Auch Könige, sagt er, könnet ihr in euern Komödien auftreten lassen. Ich höre zwar, dass unser weiser Monarch (Philipp der Zweite) dieses nicht gebilligt; es sei nun, weil er einsah, dass es wider die
(Perdonen los preceptos) si es de reyes,	
Aunque por esto entiendo que el prudente	
Filipo, rey de España y señor nuestro,	

⁸ Cf. *Studien*, etc., Berlin, 1859, p. 1.

En viendo un rey en ellas
se enfadava,
O fuesse el ver que al arte
contradize,
O que la autoridad real no
deve
Andar fingida entre la hu-
milde plebe.
Esto es bolver a la comedia
antigua,
Donde vemos, que Plauto
puso Dioses,
Como en su Anfitrión lo
muestra Jupiter.
Sabe Dios, que me pesa de
aprobarlo,
Porque Plutarcó, hablando
de Menandro,
No siente bien de la co-
media antigua.
Mas pues del arte vamos
tan remotos,
Y en España le hazemos
mil agravios,
Cierren los doctos esta vez
los labios.
Lo trágico, y lo cómico
mezclado,
Y Terencio con Seneca,
aunque sea,
Como otro Minotauro de
Pasífae,
Haran grave una parte,
otra ridícula,
Que aquesta variedad de-
leyta mucho.
Buen exemplo nos da na-
turaliza,
Que por tal variedad tiene
belleza.

Regeln laufe, oder weil er
es der Würde eines Königs
zuwider glaubte, so mit
unter den Pöbel gemengt
zu werden. Ich gebe auch
geru zu, dass dieses wieder
zur ältesten Komödie zu-
rückkehren heisst, die selbst
Götter einführte; wie unter
andern in dem Amphitruo
des Plautus zu sehen: und
ich weiss gar wohl, dass
Plutarch, wenn er von Me-
nandern redet, die älteste
Komödie nicht sehr lobt.
Es fällt mir also frei-
lich schwer, unsere Mode
zu billigen. Aber da wir
uns nun einmal in Spanien
so weit von der Kunst ent-
fernen: so müssen die Ge-
lehrten schon auch hier-
über schweigen. Es ist
wahr, das Komische mit
dem Tragischen vermischt,
Seneca mit dem Terenz zu-
sammengeschnitten, giebt
kein geringeres Ungeheuer,
als der Minotaurus der Pa-
siphäe war. Doch diese Ab-
wechslung gefällt nun ein-
mal; man will nun einmal
keine andere Stücke sehen,
als die halb ernsthaft und
halb lustig sind; die Natur
selbst lehrt uns diese Man-
nigfaltigkeit, von der sie
einen Teil ihrer Schönheit
entlehnt."

The author's conclusion: "Il reste que Lessing n'a rien compris à ce document, comme il ne sait rien de l'art de Lope," p. 215, is purely arbitrary.

On various minor matters, such as the *Gracioso*, p. 216, the *glosa*, p. 218, the supposed indebtedness of the *Haupt- und Staatsaktionen* to Spanish models, p. 221, etc., the author makes his point, and shows that Lessing was meagerly informed; that some of his inaccuracy is due to his repetition of statements found elsewhere. On various occasions, hitherto unknown sources of some of Lessing's material have been traced with perseverance and good fortune. *Ex.*, pp. 77, 257, 269, and notably the article on the *Alcalde de Zalamea*, p. 272. Where Lessing's source is unknown, it is arbitrary to surmise that it must have been French.

To resume, the conclusions to be drawn from the first part are, that Lessing's acquaintance with the Spanish language was much less comprehensive than has hitherto been taken for granted; and, from the second part, that much of his information or erudition in Hispanic matters was gleaned from intermediate sources, conclusions which may be accepted with the qualification that Spanish and Spanish literature were little cultivated in Lessing's day,⁹ and that Lessing, who never boasted of his *hispanisme*, had neither adequate instruments to resort to, nor any scientific method to guide him.

A great deal of the erudition displayed in the book is not germane to the subject, while some interesting bibliographical material is safely buried in both text and notes. The style, which is often trying, becomes at times harsh, cumbersome and unrestrained. Cf. for ex. sentences pp. x, xi, and 199.

Having now spoken of the contribution which this work makes to the subject, it remains for me to touch upon its readableness. No one will deny a writer praise for speaking the truth fearlessly, but who will listen to it, when every principle of moderation and propriety is thrown to the winds? The presentation of the case of Lessing develops into an intemperate attack through the repetition of dozens of phrases like the following: "Celui qui ne comprend pas, c'est Lessing, qui n'entrevoit Essex qu'à travers les verres fumés de l'*Aufklärung*, p. 24; [Lessing] a terminé ses arides excursions de cabinet *tras los montes* comme il les avait inaugurées: en *Stümper*" (p. 34); "un contresens de cancre" (p. 62). Countless digressions filled with generalities and personalities spare neither *Lessingforscher* nor Hispanic scholars:

⁹ This statement is supported by the competent Diez himself in his *Geschichte*, etc., called by the author "une œuvre d'extraordinaire mérite," p. 151; he says: "Man lebt nicht allein in einer gänzlichen Unwissenheit [der spanischen Literatur], man ist auch so gleichgültig, dass man sich nicht einmal die Mühe giebt, zu untersuchen, ob sie unsere Achtung verdiene, ja man ist wohl gar so ungerecht, sie ohne Prüfung schlechterdings zu verachten. Die Schwürigkeiten, gelehrte Nachrichten von den Spaniern zu erhalten, die Seltenheit ihrer Schriften unter uns, die bey uns ganz verloschene Kenntniss ihrer Sprache, doch mehr als alle diese Umstände, unsere Vorurtheile haben vieles beygetragen, dass die spanische Literatur gänzlich vernachlässiget wird." Vorrede.

"M. E. Schmidt définit l'*Examen* : 'das emsig gefeilte Buch.' Notons, en passant, . . . qu'on ne saurait en dire autant de certains ouvrages qui se réclament du contrôle littéraire de M. E. Schmidt, tel ce *Kaiser Wilhelm und die Begründung des Reiches* . . . du prof. Lorenz, l'ex-garçon de laboratoire du broyeur de poisons historiques que fut le duc Ernst, etc." (p. 117 and n. 2); "logique de *Geh. Regierungsrat*" (p. 147); "Cette besogne eût été pour le professeur de littérature allemande de l'Université de Berlin au moins aussi aisée à mener à bonne fin que la construction de certain de ses discours—tel, pour nous borner au dernier etc." (p. 159); "Il est amusant d'observer que pas plus M. R. Beer que M. Fitzmaurice-Kelly ne sont capable de parler exactement etc.," (apropos of a date, p. 66 n.); "l'optimisme volontaire de M. A. Farinelli" (p. 197); "Un certain W. W. Comfort a cependant cru devoir 'réconforter' de son approbation les élucubrations de Salillas etc." (p. 118 n.); ["le jugement de Lessing sur Lope] que M. A. Morel-Fatio, pour n'avoir lu que le ch. 69 de la *Dramaturgie* . . . et nous ne savons si le passage de M. Morel-Fatio n'est pas allé contaminer le Dr. R. Beer à deux ans de distance—a cru, lui aussi, devoir vanter etc." (p. 214); "ce chauvin de Schack—qui, on s'en souviendra, fut fait comte en 1876 par l'empereur allemand, auquel il a légué ses tableaux etc." (p. 199); "mais quelle bizarre logique que celle, parfois, du 'peuple des penseurs'" (p. 180); "D'autres *Lessingforscher* ont recours à de moins ingénues périphrases pour masquer leur ignorance" (p. 103, n. 2); and lest anyone might be omitted, all those who are shocked by the author's "façon d'entendre la besogne scientifique," are characterized as "faux bronzes de littérature" (cf. Reprint from *Vragen etc.*, p. 2). Finally, while the tone of such phrases as "On aurait le droit de demander à M. Menéndez y Pelayo s'il parle en son nom propre quand il formule ce jugement, . . . ou s'il n'est que l'écho impersonnel de ces erreurs etc.," (p. 177), needs no comment; while the frequent use of "plagiat," "élucubrations," "banalités," "lamentables platitudes," "gallophobie," "ignorance," "l'hypnose lessingophile," may be set down to bad taste; and, while the mental attitude displayed in innumerable indiscriminate slurs upon eminent men—dead no less than living—must turn readers

away from the book, one grave procedure stands out above the rest. It is that of asking a distinguished authority for information by letter, and then printing the reply without permission and with exclamation points and with "(sic)." (Cf. pp. xiii, 102, 175, and *Reprint*, p. 38).

After all this, what becomes of the sincerity of that citation in the preface, in which, as it seems, we are urged "einander freundschaftlich die Hände zu reichen?"

The conclusion on the work as a whole then is: while it makes some contributions of value to our knowledge of Lessing's *hispanisme*, it concedes to that field of his activities too much importance in proportion to his other "dauernde Wirkungen"; it has defeated its own purpose, in being in no sense a readable book.

Poca hiel amarga mucha miel.

RUDOLPH SCHEVILL.

University of California.

Chevalerie Vivien. Facsimile phototypes of the Sancti Bertini manuscript of the Bibliothèque Municipale of Boulogne-sur-Mer, with an introduction and notes by RAYMOND WEEKS. Published by the University of Missouri, 1909 [The University of Missouri Studies: Literary and Linguistic Series, vol. 1].

Le manuscrit no. 192 de la Bibliothèque Municipale de Boulogne-sur-Mer offre en général (comme on sait) pour les chansons du cycle de Guillaume qu'il renferme une rédaction plus ou moins différente de celles que nous ont conservées les autres manuscrits cycliques. Jusqu'ici éditeurs et critiques se sont à l'ordinaire bornés à signaler cette divergence sans en chercher l'explication. M. Weeks vient de faire plus et mieux: pour l'une de ces chansons (la *Chevalerie Vivien*) il nous donne en 24 planches la reproduction photographique—aussi parfaite qu'il est souhaitable—des feuillets du manuscrit (81 v°—93 r°) qui la contiennent, et il a doté cette splendide publication d'une introduction précieuse où se trouvent examinés de près les passages principaux où la rédaction de Boulogne se sépare du reste de la tradition manuscrite.

Dans un article antérieur,¹ M. Weeks reconnaissait en la plupart de ces passages (v. 40-45 : allusion aux *Enfances Vivien* ; v. 113 : souvenir d'*Aliscans* ; v. 192-194 : mention de Rainouart ; v. 950-1070 : épisodes du païen enfermé dans le château et de Gaudin et Guielin refusant d'aller à Orange ; v. 1205-1244 : arrivée à Orange de Guichardin, frère de Vivien ; v. 1418-1438 : adoubement de Guichardin) des additions dues à un remanieur picard,² poète aussi médiocre que versificateur maladroit ; il voyait par contre, dans les v. 129-165 (détail des expéditions de Vivien en Espagne : prise de Barcelone, Balesgués, Tourtoulouse, Portpaillart sur mer), le souvenir —également remanié—d'une tradition ancienne.

L'introduction de la présente publication diffère très peu de cet article. M. Weeks a simplement ajouté de brèves observations sur le manuscrit de Berne (qui contient aussi une rédaction particulière du poème, spécialement au début) ; en outre, il reconnaît également une addition du remanieur dans les v. 129-165 (Barcelone, Balesgués, Tourtoulouse, Portpaillart sur mer ont été conquises par presque tous les héros du cycle) ; un seul passage (v. 1783-1792 : rencontre de Guichard et de Vivien) pourrait, lui semble-t-il, être aussi bien primitif qu'intercalé par le remanieur.—En terminant il propose—avec raison—de lire en quelques endroits³ un peu autrement que je ne l'ai fait.

Je ne puis ici discuter en détail l'opinion de M. Weeks, qui est—au total—la mienne : on trouvera dans le second volume de mon édition toute une

série d'observations linguistiques, prosodiques et métriques qui la fortifient en la précisant.⁴

A. TERRACHER.

The Johns Hopkins University.

'*Maal og Minne.*' (Norske Studier.) Edited by MAGNUS OLSON. 1909. Nos. 1-3. Kristiania : Aschehoug & Co. Subscription 3 kr.

Under this name there appeared in April, 1909, the first number of a new periodical designed to do for Norway what 'Nyare bidrag til kannedom om de svenska landsmälen och svenskt folkli'f' is doing for Sweden, and, more particularly, 'Danske Studier' for Denmark : "It is to offer contributions toward the study of Norwegian life, from the oldest times down to our days. It will consider as within its domain language and linguistic antiquities of all kinds (as *e. g.*, names of places), the written literature, folksong and folk-music, village law, popular beliefs and medicine, and all that which in word or picture contains reminiscences of ancient customs, whether in town or in country."

Seeing the extraordinary interest taken in Norway in philological and historical studies, there is no doubt but that this program will be carried out successfully ; not only as to contributors, but also as to readers : since it is, very commendably, proposed to have the articles as untechnical and readable as is consonant with scientific methods and accuracy. But, unfortunately, this will, *eo ipso*, exclude dialect studies, which of necessity must be technical and descriptive—even if the manage-

¹ Voir *The Modern Language Review*, v, no. 1 (1910), p. 54-67.—Les numéros des vers que je cite renvoient au premier volume de mon édition (*La Chevalerie Vivien*, I, Textes, Paris, 1909).

² La seule laisse pure en -an (xxx) se trouve dans un passage dû au remanieur, tandis que *an* et *en* sont confondus dans les assonances lorsque le ms. de Boulogne offre un texte parallèle aux autres mss. ; *Vivien* assonne en -an au v. 1542 (commun à tous les mss.), mais en -iē dans les parties spéciales au ms. de Boulogne.

³ Au v. 1096 (notes sur le texte du ms.) *Nen* est une faute d'impression pour *N'en*, de même au v. 1768 *dis* au lieu de *di*. La seule observation de M. Weeks importante pour le texte concerne le v. 955 où j'ai imprimé par erreur *a l'entour* au lieu de *a l'entree* ; au v. 1436, le ms. écrit bien *Autor franchois*, mais je suis porté à préférer *Autor F.* à *Au tor fr.* (Weeks) à cause du v. 67 (*Entor F.*), les deux passages étant calqués l'un sur l'autre.

⁴ M. Weeks, sachant que je préparais une édition du poème, a eu la délicate attention de retarder de deux ans sa publication ; je tiens à lui en exprimer toute ma gratitude. Je dois ajouter que nous sommes arrivés l'un et l'autre, au même moment, par des méthodes différentes et tout à fait indépendamment l'un de l'autre, à une conclusion presque identique ; j'ai signalé en janvier 1910 (v. *Annales du Midi*, p. 10, n. 2) la contradiction que révèle le ms. de Boulogne pour le traitement du nom de *Vivien* à l'assonance et j'ai déposé en Sorbonne à la fin du même mois le manuscrit de ma thèse complémentaire (première partie de mon *Introduction*) où sont exposées longuement mes remarques sur les rédactions de Boulogne et de Berne. Ce travail est actuellement sous presse.

ment, for other reasons, have not been able to include them in their program. Exceedingly little has been published along that line in Norway, which is all the more to be regretted since the agitators for 'landsmaal' are becoming increasingly aggressive. For presenting, as it does, a sort of common denominator, for the Western dialects especially, landsmaal is bound to work confusion in the speech of the people.

Indirectly, the new periodical also owes its origin to this unfortunate agitation. It is published by the so-called Bymaals- or Rigsmåls-lag, a society which, together with the Landsmåls-lag now forms the Norske samlag. "Both organizations have the purpose, each from its side, to strengthen and further Norwegian—the landsmaal society taking the country dialects for their starting point; the Bymaal society, the city dialects." 'Maal and Minne' (M. M.), published with the resources of the latter faction, refrains from any propaganda, as is guaranteed already by the name of its editor, the successor to the chair of Sophus Bugge.

It may not be amiss, at this place to call to mind the singularly brilliant line of men of genius who, since the foundation of the University of Kristiania, have occupied its chair of Old Norse philology: Rudolf Keyser, P. A. Munch, Oluf Rygh, Gustav Storm, culminating, not ending, with Sophus Bugge. His gentle spirit auspiciously hovers over the new undertaking.

With eminent propriety, the first pages are given up to an important article by Moltke Moe, close friend and frequent collaborator of the deceased, on 'The Mythical Mode of Thought,' written in that delightfully stimulating style and with that easy mastery of his subject which we have learned to expect from him. Moe mediates between the 'Ethnological' school of Lang and Tylor (who regard mythical traditions in their entirety as common to the human race), and the (Northern) Historic-geographic school of Kaarle Krohn and Axel Olrik (who, on the contrary, are bent on tracing the origin of stories and their migrations along routes of civilizatory influences). An analysis of the most common conceptions shows that the smallest epic units of the myth, legend, etc., are universally present, and ever generated afresh, in the childlike and uncritical primitive

mind. Even in their simpler combinations into riddles and the like we need not necessarily assume borrowing. Larger conglomerations into legends, myths, and narratives in general of course presuppose foreign material. Hence, different methods of investigation are called for, the latter requiring an historic, the former a psychologic study. At present, the compilation of a lexicon of smallest epic units is a desideratum to furnish a more solid basis to either study.

The second article, 'Concerning Old Norse Myth and Cult,' by Magnus Olson, exhibits the same gift for daring combination and lucid exposition which renders the most technical papers of Sophus Bugge, his master, a source of pleasure. Contrary to him, and agreeing with Kock and others, Olson interprets the wooing of Gerþr by Freyr (in the *Skirnismál*) as a myth symbolizing the reawakening to life and fertility of the wintry earth by the divine light and warmth; and, with the additional support of runes in the stave-church of Borgund (Valdres), recently deciphered by him, of East European popular traditions, and of recently unearthed votive tablets, conjectures this Eddic poem to be an incantation to be recited at the festivals of an agrarian Frey-cult, in the manner of the *Loddfáfnismál* (*Hávamál* 111 f.).

Instructive articles, many of them of a remarkably high standard, are contributed by K. Liebstöl, on the origin and wanderings of the ballad of *The Two Sisters*; F. Grön, on 'Folkemedicin i Setesdalen'; C. Elling, on 'Petter Dass og Folkeliedene'; A. B. Larsen, on the use of prepositions with Norwegian names of places (shown to be, secondarily, dependent on the presence, or absence, of the postpositive article); Hj. Falk, on the origin of Dan. *Stue*, Germ. *Stube*; H. Logeman (Gent), on the etymology of *Perial* and *Fiale*; F. Paasche, on Ibsen's 'Olaf Liljekrans' and his use of ballads. A lively controversy—*as yet ancipiti fortuna*—has sprung up between M. Olson and Andreas Hansen on the problematic language of the Sea-Finns, according to the testimony of Peder Claussön. Space is reserved at the end of each number for some minor articles and notes that round out this meaty little volume.

LEE M. HOLLANDER.

Ann Arbor, Mich.

CORRESPONDENCE.

VENICE: THE 'MAIDEN CITY.'

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—It has already been pointed out by a correspondent in the *Nation* for August 25th that Coryat can hardly have supposed himself to be doing anything original, as Professor Mead suggests (*M. L. N.*, xxv, 174 ff.), in applying the term "maiden city" to Venice. As to Wordsworth's acquaintance with the phrase, he might have found it used, insisted upon, and twisted into all the conceits it would bear in a book considerably more popular and better known than Coryat's. In sixteen pages of Howell's *Familiar Letters* Venice is six times described as the "maiden city" or "virgin city" in as many separate letters dated from Venice between April 30 and August 12, 1621 (pp. 62, 63, 68, 73, 75, 78 of Joseph Jacobs' reprint of the 1737 edition). In one of these, addrest to his "Dear Dick" Altham of Gray's Inn, Howell rings the changes upon the conceit as follows:

"I have now a good while since taken footing in *Venice*, this admired Maiden-City, so call'd, because she was never deflowered by any Enemy since she had a Being, not since her *Rialto* was first erected, which is now above twelve Ages ago.

"I protest to you, at my first landing I was for some days ravished with the high Beauty of this Maid, with her lovely Countenance. I admired her magnificent Buildings, her marvellous Situation, her dainty smooth new Streets, whereon you may walk most days in the year in a Silk Stockin and Sattin-Slippers, without soiling them; nor can the Streets of *Paris* be so foul as these are fair. This beauteous Maid hath been often attempted to be vitiated; some have courted her, some bribed her, some would have forc'd her, yet she hath still preserv'd her Chastity entire: and tho' she hath lived so many Ages, and passed so many shrewd brunts, yet she continueth fresh to this very day without the least Wrinkle of old Age, or any symptoms of Decay, whereunto political Bodies, as well as natural, use to be liable. Beside, she hath wrestled with the greatest Potentates upon Earth; the Emperor, the King of *France*, and most of the other Princes of Christendom, in that famous League of *Cambray*, would have sunk her; but she bore up still within her Lakes, and broke that League to pieces with her Wit; The Grand *Turk* hath been often at her, and tho' he could not have his will of her, yet he took away the richest Jewel she wore in her *Coronet*, and put it in his *Turban*; I mean the Kingdom of *Cyprus*, the only Royal Gem she

had; he hath set upon her Skirts often since, and tho' she clos'd with him sometimes, yet she came off still with her Maidenhead; tho' some that envy her happiness would brand her to be of late times a kind of *Concubine* to him, and that she gives him ready Money once a year to lie with her, which she minceth by the name of *Present*, tho' it be indeed rather a *Tribute*."

H. M. BELDEN.

Columbia, Mo.

THE EYES AS GENERATORS OF LOVE.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In volume x of *Kritischer Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der Romanischen Philologie* (herausg. Juli 1910), II, p. 6, Mr. A. Hilka expresses himself as follows with reference to my letter on the above-mentioned subject printed in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, 1908, pp. 126–127: "Zu den *Augen als Liebeszeugern* ergreift auch H. R. Lang das Wort, um zur Ergänzung von *MLN.*, 1907, S. 232 für dies ungemein häufige dichterische Motiv Beispiele aus dem Klassischen Altertum—wobei er es aber unterlässt auf die förmliche Technik bei den griechischen Romanschriftstellern (vgl. E. Rhode, griech. Roman) und deren Nachahmern einzugehen—und aus englischen Dichtungen vor Shakespeare, so aus Gowers *Confessio Amantis* nebst Balladen und aus Chaucers *Romaunt de la Rose* beizubringen." Now, any careful reader of my letter will see that it was not, as is here assumed, written with the object of adding a few more to the many familiar examples of this theme, but explicitly for the purpose of correcting the theory of its itinerary among mediæval authors laid down in the passage I cited from a communication published in the *Mod. Lang. Notes* a few months before. And this being my only purpose, I adduced only such evidence from classical antiquity and from pre-Shakespearean poets as bore directly upon the point in question, the very universality of the theme rendering it unnecessary to do more.

H. R. LANG.

Yale University.

A NOTE ON WARD'S *History of English Dramatic Literature*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—An interesting example of an error caused through carelessness in re-wording another man's summary may be found in Ward's account of the morality play *Mankind* (*History of English Dramatic Literature*, 2d ed., Vol. I, p. 116).

Mr. Ward, as is evident from his statement on page 113 and from the second footnote there, knew this play only from the summary in Collier's *Annals of the Stage* (2d ed., Vol. II, p. 214). Here Collier says, quite correctly, "Mankind, weary with labour, lays down his spade, and *Tutivillus*, invisible, carries it off. Mankind goes out into a place called 'the yerde,' but soon returns and falls asleep upon the bare ground. *Tutivillus* causes him to dream that his friend Mercy is hanged . . . Mankind wakes, transformed to all evil dispositions. . . ." Mr. Ward's statement, based on this, is as follows:—"Having taken away from the sleeping *Mankind* his spade, the symbol of work, this impersonation of the lust of the flesh corrupts the soul of the sleeper by an evil dream, from which he wakes as a thorough scoundrel." In thus representing Mankind as asleep when the spade is stolen, Mr. Ward is in error.

The revision of Ward's *English Dramatic Literature* is dated, by the preface, July, 1898. The question arises whether Mr. Ward should not at that time have been in possession of Professor Manley's reprint of the text of *Mankind* (*Specimens of the Pre-Shakespearean Drama*, Vol. I, 1897). That he was not is evident from his statement (Vol. I, p. 113) that of the Macro Moralities only one, which he specifies (p. 113, footnote 3) as the *Castle of Perseverance*, had been printed.

MARGRETTA MARTIN.

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A BURGUNDIAN COPY OF CHAUCER'S *Troilus*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The work by Barrois entitled *Bibliothèque Prototypographique, ou Librairies des Fils du roi Jean*, Paris, 1830, contains as entry No. 790 the following:—"Ung autre livre en parchemin couvert d'ais rouges, intitulé en la fin, *Explicit liber Tiriq Cirserd*, en langage anglois, comançant au second feuillet *It is wel*, et au dernier, *a yonge fuissehe*." As No. 1964 of the same series of lists appears:—"Ung autre livre couvert de cuir rouge, en engles, à deux clouans de léton, escript en rime, comenchant ou second feuillet, *It is wel wist*, et finissant ou derrenier, fort loe of maide." This latter is from the inventory of the Duke of Burgundy's possessions at Brussels, made in 1487; the former is from the Bruges inventory of 1467. Both books, if two be meant, are copies of Chaucer's *Troilus and Cressida*; the ninth stanza of that poem, just after the prologue, begins "It is wel wist how that the Grekes stronge," while the last stanza of the poem begins

"For love of maide," and the two hundred and sixty-third of the concluding book begins "O yonge fresshe folkes."

ELEANOR PRESCOTT HAMMOND.

Chicago.

BRIEF MENTION.

The appearance of a tenth edition of Bartsch-Wiese, *Chrestomathie de l'ancien français* (Leipzig, Vogel, 1910) so soon after the ninth (1908) bears witness to the continued popularity of a work that has had nearly a half century of life. No radical changes are introduced in the new edition, but Professor Wiese has utilized recent studies and editions to make some modifications of detail. The pagination remains practically unchanged. At the end, two lists have been added, one classing the selections chronologically and the other by literary type. So long as the chrestomathy continues to be kept up to date in this effective fashion there is no prospect that it will be superseded.

Professor Templeton's selections from Dumas form the third book in the new series of textbooks for teaching French¹ now being issued by the Oxford University Press, under the general supervision of Professor D. L. Savory of Dublin University. Like the first two books of the series, this work is intended for use in teaching by the 'direct method,' and is exceedingly well arranged for this purpose. Only the most vivid scenes are chosen and these are taken from Dumas' principal works, so that the student's interest is kept up at every moment; each scene is then followed by a *questionnaire* covering not only the subject matter but also grammatical forms and constructions, and at the end of the book is a sixty-eight page vocabulary with the explanation of the words in French and with the pronunciation of each word in phonetic transcription. The whole series is very well adapted to teaching by the direct method, and no matter what the method used, every teacher will find in it valuable assistance in stimulating the practical and conversational side of his class-room work; it is perhaps doubtful if the series could be used by itself as a complete system of instruction.

¹ *Trois semaines en France*, A French Reader, by L. Chouville, with questions for conversation and grammatical exercises by Frances M. S. Batchelor, 1908; *Histoires courtes et longues*, by L. Chouville, 1909; *Alexandre Dumas (Père), Pages choisies*, par B. L. Templeton, 1910.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 2.

A LITURGICAL PLAY OF JOSEPH AND HIS BRETHREN.

Some years ago, as an appendix to *Ordinaires de l'Église Cathédrale de Laon*,¹ M. le Chanoine Ulysse Chevalier published two dramatic texts from MS. 263 of the Bibliothèque de Laon,—an *Ordo Prophetarum*² and an *Ordo Stelle*,³—each of which was a valuable contribution to the study of a type of play already well known.⁴ MS. 263, however, contains another dramatic text,—an *Ordo Joseph*, treating the story of Joseph and his brethren,—of a type hitherto unknown to liturgical drama.

The manuscript before us is officially described as follows :

263. In—folio sur vélin.—(Hymni et prosae).—
xiii^e siècle. Provient de Notre-Dame.⁵

The manuscript is a Troparium-Hynarium-Prosarium of the cathedral church of Laon. The dramatic texts already mentioned⁶ appear in the manuscript in an unbroken series, as follows :

¹ *Ordinaires de l'Église Cathédrale de Laon (xiii^e et xiv^e siècles) suivis de deux Mystères liturgiques publiés d'après les manuscrits originaux* par le Chanoine Ulysse Chevalier, Paris, Picard, 1897 (Bibliothèque Liturgique, Tome Sixième).

² *Id.*, pp. 385–389. ³ *Id.*, pp. 389–394.

⁴ See E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, Oxford, 1903, Vol. II, pp. 41–56; H. Anz, *Die lateinischen Magierspiele*, Leipzig, 1905; M. Sepet, *Les Prophètes du Christ*, Paris, 1878.

⁵ *Catalogue général des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques publiques des Départements*, t. I, Paris, 1849, p. 155.

⁶ The manuscript contains (fol. 145^v) also an unimportant version of the well known *Visitatio Sepulchri*, furnished with musical notation on four red lines. This text, which follows immediately upon the Magnificat of the First Vespers of Easter, is as follows :

In aurora processio ad Sepulchrum. Duo in albis capis intrant cantantes :

Ardens est cor nostrum.

Angeli ad eos :

Quem queritis in sepulchro, o Xpisticole ?

(1) *Ordo Prophetarum*, fol. 147^v–149^r;

(2) *Ordo Stelle*, fol. 149^r–151^r;

(3) *Ordo Joseph*, fol. 151^r–153^v,

None of these texts has musical notation.

The *Ordo Prophetarum* and the *Ordo Stelle* were, no doubt, performed at Christmas and Epiphany, respectively. Although the manuscript furnishes no indication as to the liturgical associations of the *Ordo Joseph*, printed below, this play may well have been attached to the third Sunday of Lent (Dominica III in Quadragesima), for the Lessons of Matins of this day provide a substantial part of the story of Joseph.⁷ In general the play follows closely the substance of the Biblical account.

The text below is, perhaps, a grateful addition to the body of liturgical plays for two reasons : first, in that it introduces a new subject into the repertory ; and secondly, in that it is one of the very few liturgical plays that treat stories from the Old Testament.

< fol. 151^r > ORDO IOSEPH.⁸

Letetur hodie
Chorus fidelium ;
Quiescant fabule,
Crescat silentium.
Sequantur homines

Respondent :

Ihesum nazarenum crucifixum, o celicole.

Angelus :

Non est hic ; surrexit sicut predixerat ; ite, nuntiate
quia surrexit, dicentes :

Duo :

Surrexit Dominus uere, alleluia.

Cantor :

Xpistus resurgens.

The text and the page end here. The next page (fol. 145^v) begins : In die sancto Pasche ad processionem.

⁷ Genesis, cap. xxxvii.

⁸ Bibliothèque de Laon, MS. 263, fol. 151^r–153^v. The heading is preceded immediately by the concluding words of the *Ordo Stelle* (fol. 149^r–151^r),—Ey dolor est ; nolo consolari, quia non sunt. See *Ordinaires*, p. 394.

Ioseph consilium ;
 Vitent mulieres
 Nature uitium.
 Iam recitabitur
 Grauis inuidia,
 Quom Ioseph pertulit
 Fratrum nequitia.
 Si fratri nocuit
 Fraternum odium,
 Fratibus profuit
 Ioseph dominium.
 Si scire placeat
 Que sint exordia,
 De Iacob Moysi

< fol. 151' > Narrat historia.

Audite pariter
 Que causa fuerit,
 Cur domus Israel
 Mare transierit.

Iacob uocat Ioseph et dicit :

Ioseph, nate
 Mi dilecte,
 Scire uolo, prospera
 Circa fratres
 Atque greges,
 Si sint cuncta prospera.

Ille, accepto baculo, uadit. Fratres eum
 uidentes dicunt :

Ecce uenit
 Somniator,
 Nobis datur copia.
 Occidamus,
 Videamus,
 Si quid prosint somnia.

Ruben eum uolens liberare dicit :

Non est bonum
 Ut fraternum
 Effundamus sanguinem ;
 Sed exutum
 Recondamus
 In cisternam ueterem.
 Vestem eius
 In edinum
 Polluamus sanguinem,
 Atque patri

Per ignotum
 Remittamus hominem.

Exuunt illum et ponunt in cisternam. Appar-
 ent Hismaelite, quos uidens Iudas dicit ad fratres :

Mercatores
 Hismaelis
 Veniunt de finibus.
 Venundetur
 Transmarinis
 Et ignotis partibus ;
 Vivat puer,
 Impollutis
 Et nos simus manibus.

Iudas extrahit eum de lacu, et ducens secum ad
 mercatores dicit :

State, queso.
 Vobis uendo
 Puerum egregium :
 Vos bis denos
 Mihi nummos
 Dabitis in pretium.

Unus de mercatoribus ad socios dicit :

Festinate, socii,
 Soluite marsupium.
 Donentur argentei,
 Bonum est commercium.

Iudas, acceptis argenteis, redit et diuidit inter
 fratres. Hismaelite Ioseph splendida ueste indu-
 tum ducunt, et uenientes ante Pharaonem dicunt :

Viuat rex in eternum.

Et transeuntes < fol. 152' > Futiphar eunucum
 dicunt :

Puerum de nobili
 Genitum prosapia,
 Quem ostendit nobilem
 Facies eximia,
 Regali seruitio
 Volumus relinquere,
 Emptum graui precio,
 Si plus uelis emere.

Phutifar, uocato consilio, intuens puerum dicit :

Ex aspectu pueri

Bonam spem concipio.
 Nostro bene poterit
 Servire palatio.
 Date quod exigitur
 Pretium pro puero.

Consilarii surgunt, et leti de puero dicunt ad
dominum suum :

Libenter agimus
 Tuum imperium ;
 Gratanter addimus
 Nostrum consilium.
 Videtur utilis
 Ista mercatio.
 Dimittant puerum,
 Accepto pretio.

Mercatores, parata statera, ponderant argentum,
 et inclinantes regi, in partem uadunt. Ruben
 reuersus ad puteum et non inueniens puerum dicit :

Querens non inuenio,
 Quo me uertam nescio.
 Qui pro nobis exiit,
 Per nos frater periit.

Interim peregrinus quidam iuxta fratres Ioseph
 transiens uocatur. Dant illi tunicam Ioseph et
 dicunt :

Redde patri
 Vestem nati,
 Defunctumque nuntia.
 Si tristatur,
 Illum nostra
 Leuabit presentia.

Vadit peregrinus ad Iacob, excitat illum, os-
 endit tunicam, et dicit :

Vide, uestis
 An sit ista
 Ioseph tui filii ?
 Eius quippe
 Credens esse,
 Reportare uolui.

Iacob pauefactus surgit. Tunicam agnoscens
 dicit :

Ioseph, fili,
 Cur te misit
 Paterna stultitia !

Te crudelis
 Deuorauit
 Et insana < fol. 152^v > bestia !

Quo dicto cadit pasmatus. Accedunt filii eius
 et leuantes eum dicunt :

Care pater,
 Ne te tanti
 Vis doloris superet.
 Cum profecto
 Vitam nemo
 Mortuus recuperet.

Iacob iterum clamat :

Ioseph, fili, ut supra.

Iterum filii eius consolantur eum et dicunt :

Audi, pater,
 Liberorum
 Preces et solatia.
 Certe nosti
 Quia multos
 Occidit tristitia.

Quiescit Iacob ; sedent filii eius circa eum.
 Iterum uxor Phutifar diligens Ioseph uocat eum
 secreto. Ioseph non concedit consilio, quo uolente
 discedere, illa clamidem rapit. Ioseph dimisit et
 fugit. Illa festinat ut innocenti culpam⁹ impo-
 nat. Ante dominum suum uenit, clamidem secum
 ferens ; clamorem in hec uerba facit :

Ioseph ille
 Cui tantam
 Dedisti potentiam,
 Nos offendit
 Atque summam
 Maiestatem regiam !
 Me lasciuus
 In conclau
 Voluit opprimere !

Et ostendens clamidem dicit :

Ecce clamis
 Quam amisit
 Cum uellet discedere !

Facto clamore discedit. Eunucus ad famulos :

⁹ MS., culpam.

Hic ebreus
 Quasi reus
 Seruetur in carcere ;
 Qui dilectam
 Nobis sponsam
 Voluit opprimere.

Ioseph in carcerem uadit. Rex recordatus
 pistoris et pincerne produci iubet e carcere. Pistor
 exit cum nebulis et cophino, et pincerna cum uite
 et racemis ; quibus ante regem presentatis, pin-
 cerna ait :

Ioseph nobis sapiens
 Reuelauit somnia,
 Quod haberem gratiam
 Et pistor suspendia.

Pistor ad regem :

Parce tuo < fol. 153^r > famulo,
 Rex inuicte, Pharao !
 Si recusas parcere,
 Fiat tua iussio.

Rex ait de pistore :

Hic dampnetur,

De pincerna :

Et hic suo
 Reddatur officio.
 Sic de illis
 Curialis
 Ordinauit ratio.

Iterum rex mittit, et Ioseph de carcere educto
 et uenienti ante se dicit :

Non ignoro
 Quanta tui
 Cordis sit prudentia,
 Qui tam mire
 Visionis
 Reuelasti somnia.

Et porrigens ei sceptrum dicit :

Per te bona
 Regni nostri
 Disponantur omnia.

Ioseph, osculata dextera, et genu inclinans regi

sessum uadit. Surgunt filii Iacob, et excitantes
 patrem dicunt :

Audi, pater,
 Nos instant
 Fames urget ualida.
 Nobis dictum
 In Egiptum
 Quod sit ingens copia.
 Vis eamus
 Vel mittamus
 Comparandi gratia ?

Iacob dans eis argentum dicit :

Hoc argento
 De frumento
 Quod est necessarium.
 Comparete
 Reportantes
 Ad uite subsidium.
 Benjamin
 Exiguum
 Habebo solatium ;
 Hic mecum remaneat,
 In uia ne pereat.

Vadunt in Egyptum, et uenientes ante Ioseph
 dicunt :

Te, ministrum tanti regis,
 Qui sub rege cuncta regis,
 Salutantes ueneramur,
 Ne superbi uideamur.

Ioseph ad fratres :

Scire uolo
 Que sit uobis
 Veniendi ratio.
 Enarrate
 Qui uos estis,
 Et que uestra natio.

Respondent fratres et adeuntes Ioseph < h >
 dicunt :

Procurator
 Et saluator
 Totius prouincie,
 Regnum regis
 Pharaonis
 Subintramus hodie,

Ut argento
Comparatis
Onerati frugibus.

<fol. 153^v> Ioseph suscipit argentum, dat eis
in saculis frumentum, et cum frumento reponit
argentum. Et fratres discedunt securi. Et Ioseph
uocat famulos et mittit post illos dicens :

Que mora iam nostros
Detinet famulos ?
Currite citius,
Solute saculos ;
Frumentum deferunt
Atque pecuniam.
Pati non possumus
Talem iniuriam.

Famuli ad fratres :

Fultum fecistis ;
Tormenta pati meruistis.
Procuratori
Si placet, ite mori.

Reducuntur fratres ; inuenta est pecunia in sacu-
lis ; confusi uerecundia tacent. Dicit eis Ioseph :

Furti quidem conscii
Omnes estis socii.
Sed unum de fratribus
Tenebo pro omnibus.
Carcere hunc custodiat
Donec ille ueniat
Quem pater retinuit,
Qui plus ei placuit.

Unus tenetur captus ; alii discedunt inter se
dicentes :

Merito grauissimam
Patimur iniuriam.
Talis retributio
Est pro fratre uendito.

Venientes ad patrem deponunt sacculos et
dicunt :

Pater dilectissime,
Nobis male contigit.
Pro nobis in laqueum
Frater noster incidit.
Quolibet euadere
Pretio non poterit,

Nisi prius Benjamin
Princeps ille uiderit.

Iacob amplexatus Benjamin exclamat :

Eya, fili Benjamin,
Fili mi, quid faciam ?
Quo te fratres distrahunt
Ad innotam patriam.
Deus te reliquerat
Pro Ioseph solatium ;
Quod te perdam, fili mi,
Mortis est inditium.

Iudas ad patrem :

Esto, queso, patiens,
Sicut pater sapiens.
Me seruum pro puero.¹⁰

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TWO OLD FRENCH LYRICS HITHERTO UNPUBLISHED.

In a recent book on the musical notation of the
lyrics¹ of mediæval France, Dr. Jean B. Beck
divides the types of music into three classes or
modi. The first modus is arranged for a verse of
seven syllables. It consists of a musical scheme,
which comprises a regular alternation of long and
short notes, the first note and the last being long.
An example of such a verse is the song '*En mai
quant la matinée.*' A variation of this modus is
arranged for eight syllables instead of seven. In
this case the line begins with a short note, but in
other respects it is wholly like the form for a verse
of seven syllables. A poem of this second type is
the second one published in the present article,
'*En la douce saison d'estey.*' The second modus
is arranged for a seven syllable verse, but differs

¹⁰ Here ends the page and the fragment. Two folios
have been torn out at this point. On folio 154^r begins, in
a later hand (saec xiv in.), a series of hymns of the
Canonical Office.

¹ J. B. Beck ; *Die Melodien der Troubadours*. Strass-
burg, 1908.

from the first modus, in that the accented syllable comes on a short note. Both of these modi count two syllables to a measure. The third modus is for the decasyllabic verse and has three syllables to the measure instead of two. It is the second modus which Beck considers the genuine French rhythm, because it represents equality in the value of the principal and minor word accents, since the stronger beats fall on the short notes, while the weakness of accent is compensated by its connection with the long note. This view has been criticised by Schläger,² who doubts whether this modus can be recognized in the early notation. He thinks also that an accent on a short note shows a separation of the musical notation from the text. The same belief is expressed by Riemann,³ namely, that if the second modus had existed in early times, it would have conformed to the word-rhythm and become the eight syllable variety of the first modus.

It is not my purpose here to go into a discussion of these theories, but whether or not Beck's idea is ultimately accepted, it is interesting to consider one of the poems, which he cites as an example of this genuine French rhythm. Furthermore, the poem itself is an unusually charming and graceful composition, and its musical accompaniment is singularly appropriate. Beck publishes only the first two lines in his large volume,⁴ but in a short article in the Riemann *Festschrift*⁵ he prints the first stanza entire together with the notation.

The poem in question is found in three manuscripts: Bib. Nat. 846, 847 and Nouv. Ac. 1050. Raynaud gives a brief description of these manuscripts.⁶ All three are of the thirteenth century and in all of them the writing is quite distinct. Except for considerable orthographical differences the three versions of the poem present few variants. For convenience in comparing the manuscripts I shall designate 846 by A, 847 by B, and

1050 Nouv. Ac. by C. B and C have many orthographic resemblances, which separate them from A. C is inferior in the text, as II 1, where C omits *mes*; III 1, A B *sa*, C *da*; IV 5, A B *crou*, C *croi*; V 5, A B *foles*, C *foloies*; the latter form is impossible for the metre; this is also true in V 8, *carele*, where A B have *quele*. A and B are almost equally good. B is to be preferred in IV 2, where A repeats *crien* from III 2. A is better in II 1 and V 1, *mes cuers* for *mon cuer*; II 8, A *soz*, B *sor*; IV 7, A *dur*, B *du*. Therefore in publishing the text I have followed A rather than B or C, but have given the variants for all except purely orthographic differences. It is also from A that Beck printed the stanza above mentioned.

The second poem offers a pleasing contrast to the vigorous, impressive melody of the first. Its plaintive delicacy and its musical setting naturally suggest comparison with the well-known song of the 'Flajolet':⁷ '*En mai quant li rossignolet*,' for the melodies of both belong to the second class of the first modus; i. e., where the first syllable of the verse falls on a short note. The graceful charm and fitting melody of this second song make it a particularly suitable companion piece to '*Apris ai*.' Both are anonymous, which probably accounts for the fact that neither has been published before. The second is found in only one manuscript, Bib. Nat. 846,⁸ fol. 51a.

VERSIFICATION. The first song consists of five strophes of eight verses each and a refrain of two verses:

7a 5b 7a 5b 7a 5b 7a 5b ! 7C 7C
((((

The rhyme changes with each strophe. The second song has five strophes of eight verses and an envoi of four verses. It does not have any refrain:

8a 6b 8a 6b 8a 6b 8a 8a.
((((

Strophe II has the same rhymes as strophe I, and strophe IV the same as strophe III. The rhymes of the envoi correspond to the last four lines of strophe V.

² LBL, 1909, pp. 282-289. Cf. E. Stengel, *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, xxxv, pp. 156-161.

³ *Die Erschliessung des Melodienschatzes der Troubadours und Trouvères*; Max Hesse's *Deutscher Musik-Kalendar*, 1909, 136 ff.

⁴ Beck, l. c., p. 124.

⁵ Leipzig, 1909. Also in *La Musique des Troubadours* (Paris, 1910), p. 84.

⁶ *Bibliographie des Chansonniers Français*, Vol. I, pp. 110 f., 123, and 201.

⁷ Beck, l. c., p. 117, prints the first stanza and notation for this song.

⁸ Beck, l. c., p. 117, prints the first stanza of this song, together with the musical notation. Cf. also p. 193, where he speaks of its literary quality.

- I Apris ai qu'en chantant plour
Plus qu'en nule guise ;
Pour abatre ma dolour
Que si me justise,
5 Cent sopirs fais ehaseun jor,
C'est ma rente assise ;
Et le bien que j'ai d'amours,
C'est par mon servise.
Chaseuns dit que je foloi,
Mais nuns nel set mieuz de moi.
- II Mes cuers a raison et droit,
S'en li met m'entente,
Car a ehaseun qui la voit
Plait et atalente.
5 Nuns n'en dit bien qui n'i soit,
Ne mal qu'il ne mente.
Gariz iert qui la tendroit
En ehambre ou soz ente.
Chaseuns dit que je foloi,
Mais nuns nel set mieuz de moi.
- III Sa hauteee et son vis eler
Crien, ou trop se fie.
Las ! el ne mi vuet amer,
S'el ne s'en troblie.
5 Trop a en moi poure per
A si bele amie,
Mais ce me fait eonforter
Qu'amors n'eslit mie.
Chaseuns dit que je foloi,
Mais nuns nel set mieuz de moi.
- IV Mout la pris et mout la lo.
Qu'el n'en soit plus fiere !
Avis m'est que j'en di pou,
Tant l'a mes euers chiere.
5 Bien voi que trop haut m'enerou,
Mais mout vaut proiere.
Aigue pereee dur ehaillou,
Por qu'ades i fiere.
Chaseuns dit que je foloi,
Mais nuns nel set mieuz de moi.
- V Mes cuers ne me fait nul bien,
Fors poinne et damage ;
Ja nou verrai lige mien
En tout mon aaige.
5 Cuers, tu foles. Car t'en tien !
Or ai dit outraige,
Mes ser la sor toute rien
Qu'ele est prouz et saige.
Chaseuns dit que je foloi,
Mais nuns nel set mieuz de moi.

repeated from III 2 ; 3, A ie, B ien, C gen ; A doi, BC di ; A uoi, BC sai ; 5, AB crou, C croi ; 7, AC dur, B du. —v : 1, AC mes euers, B mon cuer ; 5, AC cuers, B car ; AB foles, C foloies ; A cor ten tieng, B car ten tien, C car ten ten ; 8, AB quele, C carele.

- I En la douee saison d'estey,
Que renverdist la fueille,
Ai amoreusement ehanthey,
Coment que je m'en dueille.
J'ai un fin euer desmesuré
Qu'en bien amer s'orgueille.
S'a son outrage en lëautey
Et en fine amour assamblé.
- II Je requier ma dame por deu,
Qu'en pitié me reeuille
Et s'aeun bien m'avoit doné
Qu'ele nou me retuille ;
Q'ou mont n'a honor ne bonté
Ne riens que je plus vuille,
Fors que vivre à sa volunté
Et que l'amasse par son gré.
- III Sui biau paller, sui aeointier,
Sa douee compaignie
Me feront penser et veillier
Toz les jors de ma vie ;
Et me font de mes inaus cuidier
Biens, et sens de folie.
Je n'en puis garir ne ne quier :
Or, pant dex dou rasoagier !
- IV J'atent ma joie à grant dongier,
Ploins d'esmai et d'envie ;
Ne raisons ne me puet aidier,
Se pitiez ne m'ahie.
Dame eui j'aing sanz losengier,
Por deu ne vos griet mie,
Se de merei vos os proier,
C'onques de rien n'oi tel mestier.
- V Bien voi que ma dame ne ehaut
De rien fors dou destroindre ;
Quant plus m'a conquis, plus m'asaut,
Ne n'en puis tote ataindre ;
Tant à son voloir me travailte
Et lait plorer et plaindre.
Je l'amerai coment qu'il m'aut ;
Helas ! j'aing bien, mais pou mi vaut.
- VI Hugues compains, se dex me saut,
J'aing lëaument sanz faindre ;
Si e'uns souls poinz d'amors n'i faut,
Se ce n'est eil, que j'aing trop haut.

VARIANTS.—I : 3, A ma, BC la ; 4, A que, BC qui.—II : 1, A mes cuers, B mon cuer, C cuers ; 2, AB met, C ment ; A mentente, BC sentente. 6, A quil, BC qui ; AC ne, B nen. 8, A soz, B sor, C souz.—III : 1, AB sa, C da ; 4, AC sen, B men ; 1, AC me, B mi.—IV : 2, A crien,

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DR. JOSEPH WEBBE AND LANGUAGE TEACHING (1622).

I. GRAMMAR AS A HINDRANCE TO LEARNING LATIN.

The great Grammar War of the seventeenth century was concerned with the dispute: Shall Latin be taught as a living language, or through the grammar? The advantage of the grammar-method was that uniformity of procedure was secured throughout the schools. "To make pupils perfect in an ordinary Grammar," says Philoponus in Brinsley's *Ludus literarius*, "by the use whereof alone so many excellent scholars have been; then they will be sure to go forward in any school or course, and to be well liked by every one." But every one admitted that this was a long, tiresome, repellant course. The argument in its favour was that if slow, it was sure, though its opponents doubted even this certainty. Montaigne's experience (1533-1592) is almost a *locus classicus* on method:

"I being at nurse and before I had the use of my tongue was delivered to a German, who could not speak a word of French but was very ready and skilful in the Latin. This man whom my father procured for that purpose, and to whom he allowed a very considerable salary had me continually in his arms and was my only overseer. There were also two of his countrymen appointed for his assistants, but much inferior to him in learning, whose business it was to attend me; but all they spoke was the Latin tongue. As for others of the family, it was an inviolable rule with my father, that neither himself nor my mother, nor man nor maid servant were suffered to speak one word in my company except such Latin phrases as every one had learned to chat and prattle with me. It was strange to tell how every one in the family profited therein: my father and mother learned it, and the household servants who were near my person understood it, when spoken. In brief we were all Latinised, so that the neighbouring villages had their share of it; insomuch that at this day, many Latin names both of workmen and their tools are yet in use among them."

Similar conditions are described by Sir Thomas Elyot in England and by the Stephensens in France also in the sixteenth century. The common factor is the creation of an environment, in which spoken

Latin is acquired in the same way as the vernacular. This is not unreasonable, seeing that the mother-tongue is, in the first instance, a foreign language, and the method of its acquisition is clearly the natural method. But whilst all the elements of an environment are promptly and continuously at hand for the child in his progress in the mother-tongue, they have to be provided for the child to put him into the same advantageous position for acquiring a foreign language, or else, and better for this purpose, the child must be transplanted for a sufficient time to the foreign country itself, where the natural process of acquisition becomes substantially the same as for the vernacular, with this difference, that he now has the vernacular as a basis (unconscious it may be) for comparison—in words, accidence, and construction of sentences.

Now the creation of an atmosphere in which a foreign language shall be acquired (apart from the country in which that language is the vernacular) is, in any complete degree, difficult and expensive. Accordingly in the instances to which I have referred, Montaigne, Elyot, the Stephensens, there were present, first of all, a considerable degree of culture in the parents and, secondly, resources to provide the necessary environment. The problem has always been far more difficult when school-classes have been considered. But there have always been educationists who have refused to treat the subject of Latin-teaching on any other principles than those of the teaching of a modern foreign language.

One of the most noteworthy of these advocates in England in the seventeenth century is a man whose name now is scarcely known—that of Dr. Joseph Webbe. Dr. Webbe was a physician, an M. D. and Ph. D. of some foreign university. As a physician in 1612 he wrote an astrological treatise, *Minae Coelestes Affectus aegrotantibus denunciatis*, which was published at Rome. Like many of the physicians of that time, he pursued literary studies, and especially was drawn to the subject of classical education. In 1623, he was residing in the Old Bailey in London. In 1622, he wrote *An Appeale to Truth*, advocating the minimising, if not abolition, of Grammar-methods in teaching languages and in 1623, he wrote his *Petition to Parliament*, asking for a patent to be

allowed to use his method of direct teaching of languages, to the exclusion of its use by other teachers. About 1620, Webbe had published his translations of the *Familiar Epistles* of M. T. Cicero. As this was one of the earliest books put in the hands of Latin pupils, it is clear that though Webbe advocated the conversational method of teaching Latin, he also required the pupil concurrently to begin reading Latin, though no Grammatical text-book was to be employed. Webbe wanted to do for England what Dolet and Manutius had done respectively for France and Italy, in translating Cicero's *Familiar Epistles*. He tells us he has carefully borne in mind Horace's precept in translation :

Nec verbum verbo curabis reddere fidus
Interpres.

He thus describes his aims in translation :

“Lest I might err with that English Gentleman who being demanded by an Italian what was become of his foot-boy made answer : ‘*Ha preso i suoi calcagni.*’ Which sounded almost as well to the Italian, as this other to an Englishman, from the mouth of a great traveller, who being asked, when he saw his friend, replied : ‘*It maketh a little that he was here.*’ Both these answers, as many of the like, though they have good words, yet for the sense, being word for word translated, the first is but *English-Italian*, the last *Italian-English*. Which how far they are different from the purity of speech, in either language, let their Boccaccio and our Sir Philip [Sidney] teach us. Keeping therefore, sense for sense ; lest I might offend mine own language, or wrong mine Author, I have endeavoured, within the compass of my capacity, to give thee some, though not all manner of satisfaction. For not alone the profit of younglings is to be respected ; but theirs also, that are desirous to read matters of history, negotiations, war, and secret passages of policy, and government ; of which these little books are full : as being written by the greatest wit, and most industrious and frequent Orator, in the weightiest businesses and quickest times of the Roman Commonwealth.”

The writer on Webbe in the *Dictionary of National Biography* states that John Gee in his *Foot out of the snare*, 1623 (a book holding up the Catholics to contempt, naming all the Catholic authors of the time known to him), describes Dr. Webbe as residing in the “Old Bailey” [Lon-

don] where “he pretendeth to teach a new gain way to learn languages”—and then follows the insinuation,—“and by this occasion may inveigle disciples.”

It must be confessed that Dr. Webbe in attempting to pursue the career of a teacher in London weighted himself very heavily by being a physician, an astrologer, and a Roman Catholic, in 1623, and then as a teacher, running the gauntlet of all the conservative grammar-teachers, who acknowledged the supremacy of Lily as the authoritative Grammar, and were ordered by the King's proclamation, both to use that Grammar and “no other.” Here was a physician—astrologer—Roman Catholic—non-teacher, presuming to suggest that he should have a patent for a method that ignored both Lily and the whole race of professional teachers.

Webbe's first tractate on the subject is entitled *An Appeale to Truth* (1622). He begins by pointing out that “grammatica” amongst the ancient Romans was not used to teach the Latin language for the simple reason that the language was their own already. The subject was what we should call letter-knowledge, and could only correspond to our ABC Primers, horn-books and the like. Grammar had a place amongst the Liberal Arts, but “neither it nor any of the rest can teach the languages.”

No doubt the antiquity of grammar is great. But we must keep a wary outlook on it, lest it “trifle away our time, frustrate our labours, disable ourselves and wrong the ends of our intentions. For neither hath the name proportion with the thing, nor the thing with what it promiseth.” It would be easy to cite the numerous instances in which grammarians have exposed one another's defects and errors, but this is a commonplace. It is more to the purpose to cite a modern schoolmaster, Thomas Haine, whom Webbe describes as “one of the most sufficient schoolmasters about this city of London.” Haine, it appears, had written a Latin discourse to the same effect as Webbe's *Appeale*. In this tractate he held that some grammarians had been *minimum diligentes* and that they fell “within the compass of Quintilian's complaint against such as *plura quam par sit dicunt, non tamen omnia* (say more than they ought and yet not all they should).” Haine went

on to assert that grammarians enriched themselves with the spoil of lexicons and other arts, and adorned their plumes with filched feathers. "When they have done what they can, they do but break young scholars' backs with the burden of unnecessary precepts, and that setting their tender wits upon the rack, they pull and tear them with tautologies."

Of course, such quotations as the above from Haine and much of what Webbe has to say himself are rather protests against the over-elaborations of grammars, than against simple text-books of grammar, but Webbe maintains that great critics not only condemn the grammarians, but have brought the keenest criticism to bear on the art of grammar in itself. "For," says Webbe,

"In following grammar we abandon elegance and the pleasure of the ear, and speak and write Grammar-Latin, English-Latin, Dutch-Latin, French-Latin, and in a word every nation by this art writes its own peculiar Latin and not the Latin of the Latins, nor any foreign language as it should be. For in every tongue there are many things, which if we should utter by any other order than as they are vulgarly spoken, they would not run well and we should be thought to speak improperly; as every man may judge by the clauses, sentences, and especially proverbs of his own language, which transposed or made up with other words then common, would for the most part lose their pleasing grace, delightful sound, and (many times) their sense and meaning."

After quoting Ascham to show that grammar-study leads to bad Latin composition and hindrance of the understanding of the poets, he continues:

"Many of the Master-grammarians," says Haloinus, (which lost no time, either in writing of Grammar, or in teaching it) have been so far from perfection in their own profession that they were neither able to speak Latin rightly, nor to write it with elegance. Further, we may note a number of their scholars which have taken infinite pains till twenty years of age, sometimes till thirty, and yet are not able to write or speak any thing worth the reading: nor have they any knowledge in other arts or professions: though they have suffered many stripes, and are almost deaf with cries and exclamations.

"Grammar is not an end in itself, and cannot of itself make us speak correctly. As Montaigne says:

"There are that know neither Ablative, Con-junctive, Substantive, nor Grammar; no more than doth their Lackey, nor any Oyster-wife about the streets; and yet if you have a mind thereto they will entertain you your fill, and peradventure stumble as little and as seldom against the rules of their tongue, as the best Master of Arts in France. And,' saith he, 'I hate such as can brag of their rules of Grammar, and can neither write nor speak a language'; and so do others. 'Nay,' saith he, 'I find the choicest men were they that most condemned rules.'

"What, then, can be put in place of Grammar?

"If we ask Quintilian . . . he will tell us plainly that custom is the best Schoolmistress for languages, and that all the Latins were taught by use and custom, from the mouths of nurses and other women, which had the keeping of them, from their cradle; and not by Grammar as Grammarians."

Montaigne, we have seen, learned Latin by speaking it, not by Grammar, and Webbe quotes the passage in full from Montaigne's *Essays* (Bk. I, cap. 25):

"This method of learning languages had," Webbe continues, such "authority with Ludovicus Vives, that he confesseth he had rather be thus employed for one year, than to bestow ten years to this purpose under the best and most reputed schoolmasters."

Having treated of Grammar as the basis of adulterate Latin, Webbe makes his appeal to Truth:

"But notwithstanding all these reasons, all these experiments, all these grave and weighty testimonies; I doubt not, but I shall hear of some Demetrius, who with his Associates, to keep up the trade, will still be crying, *Magna Diana Ephe-siorum*.

"Wherefore, I appeal to thee, my Defendress, and to thy Tribunal, most humbly imploring no other redress of injurious oppressions, but that the presence of thy self, O Truth, may be so much respected, that blindfold opinion, Patroness of Grammar and Grammarians, may cease to govern and to keep the people (as herself is) hood-winked: And that, upon thy straight and imperial Command, she may leave all men indifferent, and in the posture of an equal balance, ready to turn, where reason, sense and demonstration are most ponderous.

"And the waking part of Students shall not only acknowledge thy divine and powerful hand in the cure of their deplored lethargy: but myself,

thy devote suppliant, in lieu thereof shall be obliged in my next endeavours, to discover in what manner this Use, Custom, and Authority should be fought and ordered, for the speedy, cheap, and infallible furnishing of this, and every other Nation with all sorts of purest Languages."

II. LATIN-LATIN.

Dr. Joseph Webbe in his *Appeal* to "the sole Governess of his best endeavours," viz. Truth, is convinced of the idolatry, which has been paid to "Grammar-Latin" as he calls it and suggests as substitute what he graphically calls, in contradistinction to Grammar-Latin, Latin-Latin. The late Mr. W. H. Widgery in his *Teaching of Languages in Schools* is the only writer of whom I know, who has, in modern times, shown any recognition of Webbe, and he suggests that Webbe's tractates on language-teaching are worthy of reprint. Mr. Widgery was the earnest advocate of the idea of the sentence, not the word, as the unit in language-teaching. Joseph Webbe would have accepted Widgery's suggestion that the ordinary grammar-method trains the idea in children "that languages are built up mosaic-like out of paradigms and syntax rules, a view diametrically opposed to the truth."

Dr. Webbe had an alternative method to propose. He called it the Latin-Latin method. This, in short, is the method of picking up, in the course of instruction, the Grammar from Latin authors themselves instead of from grammarians. Languages can only be acquired by "the custom and use of speaking them." He therefore expounds this system in a further tractate which takes the form of a petition to Parliament for a patent for his method of teaching Latin. This contains a full account of possible objections to his system and an answer to each objection which, as far as he can anticipate, could be urged. The tractate is entitled, in full: *A Petition to the High Court of Parliament, In the behalf of auncient and authentique Authors, for the universal and perpetuall good of every man and his posteritie: Presented by Joseph Webbe, Dr. in Ph. Printed 1623.*

Grammar-Latin and Latin-Latin. Dr. Webbe quotes Quintilian: *Aliud est grammaticæ, aliud Latine loqui*: and continues:

"There are two sorts of Latin, whereof one is Grammar-Latin and the other Latin-Latin. By Latin-Latin I mean such as the best approved Authors wrote, and left us in their books and monuments of use and custom. By Grammar-Latin I understand that Latin that we now make by Grammar rules: the first intention of which rules, and their collection out of that custom and those Authors, was, to make us write and speak such Latin as that Custom and those Authors did; which was Latin-Latin: but it succeeded not."

Webbe's Petition. "Wherefore my Petition is to this high Court of Parliament (not that Grammar should be questioned, in that it is our old acquaintance, and hath a long time been a ledger [lodger?] here amongst us, on the behalf of these Authors; but, considering it is not able to give us Authors' Latin) that these Authors, whom we seem to have so much respected in our Schools and Universities, coming themselves as it were in person, and offering to dwell amongst us, may to their deserved honour and our desired benefit, be now received, priviledged and admitted to tell their own tales, and teach us their own Latin."

Dr. Webbe wishes a Patent for his Method of Language teaching:

"This admittance of theirs, have I these eighteen years continued, and these five last years seriously solicited, and cannot as yet find any way to compass it, without manifest danger of ruining myself and mine assistants, unless by favour of this high and honorable Court I may be allowed father of mine own children, and Author of mine own work and inventions: that is, that no one else may print them or import them: nor any man teach languages by that method that I propose, but such as I think fitting; and that these priviledges may continue for the space of 21 years after the publication of every book of this nature that shall be published within the term of years before specified; with prohibition that no man shall hereafter, during that time, attempt the same way in any other Author or Language, without my special allowance."

Answers to objections to his Methods.

1. "It might be thought a great presumption and arrogancy in me to attribute so much unto myself, as to set upon a new-found thing, that for so many ages, and amongst so infinite a number of learned men was never hitherto reflected on; and therefore much to be suspected and demurred upon."

Webbe states that he has already shown in his *Appeale to Truth* that his method has existed "since speaking was, which was long before Grammar and is where no Grammar ever came."

2. It is objected: "That though the general way by custom and authority might be intimated by these Authors, yet I could not excuse myself of presumption in the course I took unto it in particular."

Webbe answers: "But as for that which is built upon this groundwork [of Cicero, etc.] for the peculiar use of every man, and the bringing of that into act, which these grave men have given us hitherto but to contemplate: that (without presumption) I call mine; as the pipe of lead calls the water which it conveys to many cisterns; always acknowledging the waters of all true understanding to proceed only from the eternal fountain of all wisdom my Creator."

3. He is asked: "Are you sure you know what you promise? Is it possible to learn Latin without a Grammar?"

Answer: "It is not possible to learn Grammar-Latin without Grammar; but it is possible to learn Latin-Latin (that is, the Latin that was in use among the ancient Latins) without Grammar."

Webbe next writes a strong passage ("That that's more than ten Quintilians"). "For *recte scribendi atque loquendi ars* must run along with the custom and use of speaking that was observed by those ancient Authors: which I must confess the vulgar Grammar arriveth at, or else it should want all colour and authority: but Quintilian, and that that's more than ten Quintilians, the very practice tells us, it hitteth not the mark of writing rightly. God is my record, I speak not this to deprive Grammar of her scholars, (for she hath her own worth, and according unto it should be respected) but my humble Petition is, that the old authentic Authors and chief Lords of language, our best and sincerest friends, may not be thrust out of their own patrimony, by those whose chiefest grace it is to be thought their followers."

4. Webbe is asked for proofs of his system of the possibility of learning Latin-Latin.

He answers, "The grounds of speech are laid in things, in the meanings of which things all tongues meet. Therefore as they are all the meanings of things, so they are all the meanings of one another. But one word does not correspond to another word, a second to a second and so on—*e. g.* though in

Italian *un* = an; *cavallo*, horse; *di*, of; *buon*, good; *metallo*, metal; and 'A horse of good metal' put together be good English yet the Italian understands not, *un cavallo di buon metallo* to be Italian, but disclaims it." Use and custom alone determine, not the Grammar and Dictionary.

5. It is said: "Authority cannot afford members for all senses." If there is no authority, pleads Webbe, how come such sentences to be translated by grammar-Latin? If necessary, he will print a *supplement* to his Authors, to include some few names of things which fall not within the discourses of his Authors.

6. Then he is asked: "Where are these Authors reduced to your Method, and where is that Supplement?"

He objects to being required to produce them unless he has privileges granted him: "I should not be urged to a greater inconvenience, (as to bestow yet other four or five hundred pounds) to produce that, which when it is produced, gives me no more assurance of a privilege, than at this present."

7. Then it was objected: "That his Majesty [James I] had already confirmed a Patent granted for the teaching of Grammar, and would admit no other course of teaching."

Whereupon Webbe demands: "What hindrance is the Goldsmiths' privilege to the Braziers?" "I desire not," he continues, "the suppression or hindrance of Grammar, but the purity of Latin. Again, this Grammar was privileged to forbid all other Grammars: but I seek not to introduce another Grammar, except we shall very improperly call it *Cicero's Grammar*. My desire is only, that such as are weary, and would not, or can no longer go by Grammar, or are not desirous of Grammar-Latin, might be admitted to an easy and profitable use of Authors, and to these Authors' own way of teaching their own Language without Grammar."

8. Asked for proof of his Method, Webbe answers that he has a "twofold proof: one, of a power that these books bring to any man, the first day to write rightly by them: and another, of this power reduced by exercise to an habit of writing rightly without them."

9. If you take clauses out of Authors, and think of the meaning of the whole, how do you

know what each word signifies? Besides it is stealing.

Answer: Construing word for word is impossible in any language, *e. g.*, in the barbarous English of the Frenchman, "I you pray, sir" for *je vous prie, Monsieur*. "Wherefore I had rather a scholar should remember the natural and received position of a clause by keeping the words always all together, than understand the particular correspondence of the words, and thereby lose their proper places. For discretion and comparison of clause with clause will at length bring the understanding of the words whether we will or no; but nothing will bring the true position of these words again, by reason that our own tongue doth therein still misguide us, and makes us always to be distinguished for strangers, even in our very writing.

"Other demands and objections less material, as not touching the thing itself, but some particular and by-respects would clog your ears with more than becomes a modest brevity. Wherefore leaving them, till some further occasion offer[s]; and most humbly entreating you to cast a favourable eye on this Petition, I in all obedience dedicate myself, my labour, and the rest of my life, in the full extent of my whole talent, to the eternal glory of my God, to the loyal service I owe unto my Sovereign and his succession, and to the future good of you and your posterity."

In spite of the much greater renown of Montaigne, Roger Ascham, John Amos Comenius, and John Milton on questions of teaching the languages, it is doubtful whether any of them saw more clearly than Joseph Webbe, in these two tractates, the *Appeale to Truth* and his *Petition to Parliament*, the essence of the problems of language-teaching. In the seventeenth century it was still open to argue that Latin should be regarded as a spoken, a living language. For scholars and diplomats still used Latin as a means of communication. I have shewn elsewhere that in England the decadence of the cultivation of Latin as a *spoken* language set in with the growing necessity of learning French. This period did not begin with the Restoration-attraction towards French led by the Court, but it was intensified by it. In the Commonwealth period, royalist refugees of the best families were in France bringing up their children with Huguenot pastors as teachers; and in cultivated homes in England, it was a common-place that some of the most learned and attractive works (not in Latin) were in French. When French

became used as the diplomatic language and had a splendid literature of scholarly works, Latin tended to cease to remain the international language and accordingly ceased to be taught as a living language. Hence, the writing of exercises and the learning of grammar were glorified, and became traditional. Accordingly the plea of an approximation of the teaching of Latin to that of French gave the suggestion of the direct method of learning Latin as a retrograde movement. Both Webbe and the method for which he stood became obscured and obsolete in England in the later part of the seventeenth century. Some years after Webbe's *Appeale to Truth*, viz. in 1644, the Janscnist, Claude Lancelot, published the *Nouvelle Méthode pour apprendre facilement et en peu de tems la langue Latine* or, as it was called, *The Port Royal Latin Grammar*. Dr. Beard says, "This was the first instance in which the attempt was made to teach a dead through the medium of a living language." But Webbe's *Appeale to Truth*, in England, twenty-two years earlier than Lancelot, was both prior in time, and more thoroughgoing, in that it dispensed with a grammatical textbook, and suggested that Latin should be learned through Latin authors helped out by explanations in the vernacular, but the help to be given should be directed to the understanding of the Latin, clause by clause and not word by word. It is, however, important to bear in mind the name of Lancelot and the Port-Royalists in France, for it shows that the recognition was all the more general, in the first half of the seventeenth century, that Latin could not be effectively taught by the old grammar-methods and that the need of more rational instruction in Latin was experienced by various reformers without intercommunication of any kind.

To be carefully distinguished from Joseph Webbe, is George Webbe. There are two reasons which make this difficult. They are both "Dr. Webbe" and they both wrote books illustrating method of Latin teaching, and their method of teaching were similar. Dr. George Webbe was born in 1588, and died in 1641. He was admitted scholar of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in 1598. He became minister of Steeple Ashton in Wiltshire, taught grammar there, and subsequently taught grammar at Bath. In 1634 he became Bishop of Limerick.

His educational books were :

1. *Pueriles Confabulationum*; or, *Children's Talk*. 1627.
2. *Lessons and Exercises out of Cicero ad Atticum*. 1627.
3. *The first Comedy of Pub. Terentius called Andria and The Second Comedy of Pub. Terentius called Eunuchus*. 1629.

Wood (*Athen. Oxon.*, Vol. iii, col. 30) says of the last-named "both very useful for school-boys and are yet used, as his two former school-books are, in many schools." By George Webbe's method the text of Terence was broken up systematically on a method similar to that of modern "analysis" of sentences. He entitled his treatment the Clausulary Method.

It is difficult, I have said, to keep Joseph Webbe and George Webbe separate in one's mind, especially as the clausulary method seems to be advocated by both. The following passage from John Webster probably confuses the two writers, though the latter part of the quotation seems definitely to refer to the would-be patentor of the direct method of Latin-teaching.

"Much to be commended, therefore, was the enterprise of Doctor Web [=Webbe] who found out a more short, certain and easy way to teach the Latin tongue in, than the tedious, painful, intricate and hard way of Grammar, and that by a brief and easy Clausulary Method, in far shorter time to attain perfection therein, and if it had been well followed and improved, would have produced an incredible advantage to the whole nation; but we are in this like tradesmen, who all bandy and confederate together to suppress any new invention though never so commodious to the Commonwealth, lest thereby their own private gain should be obstructed or taken away."—*Academiæ Examens*. By John Webster, 1654.

Dr. Joseph Webbe also wrote *Usus et authoritas id est, liber feliciter incipit, sub titulo Entheati materialis primi hexametra et pentametra, etc.* Londini, 1626. 12mo.

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OLD NORSE NOTES.

I. A SECOND OCCURRENCE OF THE FAITHLESS WIFE MOTIF IN OLD NORSE.

In the introduction to an edition of the *Hálfs saga*,¹ while discussing the episode related in Chap. 8, the Old Norse representative of a widely spread tale of a faithless wife, I have given expression to the commonly held belief that there is no other trace of this tale in Old Norse literature. My friend, Dr. C. N. Gould of Chicago University, has, however, since called my attention to another anecdote of this character, which ought to be recorded.

In the *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, an interesting Icelandic work presumably of the fourteenth century,² it is related that Ingibjörg, the wife of Björn, Jarl Þorgny's councillor, was seduced by a certain Mǫndull Pattason, and further that the faithless conduct of the wife was perpetrated under the eyes of her husband ("Birni ásjáanda"). Björn was bound hand and foot (p. 307) and was to be hanged, a result of the machinations of Mǫndull, who had brought him into disfavor with the Jarl and among other things made him appear guilty of theft of the latter's valuable belt, the gift of Mǫndull. For the rest it appears that Mǫndull is a dwarf and that he has employed magic means to secure the affection of Björn's wife (she becomes black and swollen as a result of this magic and is restored to her normal condition by the application of a magic ointment and the drinking of a remembrance-potion, *minnisveig*). The rescuer of Björn is none other than Göngu-Hrólfr, who compels the dwarf to free Björn, release Ingibjörg from the spell and restore to their proper place and function Hrólfr's severed feet. All this Mǫndull does and disappears, to return afterwards, however (p. 316 ff.), and render Hrólfr further assistance.

The essential situation of this tale,³ viz., the helpless husband, perforce an eye-witness to his wife's infidelity, is then here preserved; the other features are mostly taken from the Icelandic su-

¹ *Altnordische Sagabibliothek*, Heft 14. Halle, 1909, p. 19.

² *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda*, ed. Rafn, III, p. 298 ff.

³ Cf. Antoniewicz, *Anz. f. deutsch. Altert.*, XIV, 245, 1888.

perstitutions relative to dwarfs and the whole loosely incorporated in the narrative of Hrólfr.⁴

II. SIGURÐAKVIÐA EN SKAMMA 12.

This strophe reads in Gering's edition of the Eddic poems⁵:

<i>Liftum sun fara</i>	<i>seþr í sinni,</i>
<i>skalat ulf ala</i>	<i>ungan lengi;</i>
<i>hveim verþr holþa</i>	<i>hefnð léttari</i>
<i>síþan til sátta,</i>	<i>at sunr lift.</i>

The general meaning of the strophe is perfectly clear: Brynhildr having in the previous strophe urged her husband to kill Sigurðr, suggests in these lines that the latter's young son be also put out of the way, lest he later take vengeance for his father's death.

Into this strophe Gering has admitted but one textual emendation, viz., the addition of the negative suffix *t* to the *lift* of *Codex regius*, an emendation originating with Svend Grundtvig⁶ and accepted by Finnur Jónsson,⁷ by Bugge,⁸ and by Sijmons.⁹ The Grimm brothers retained the reading *lift* of the Codex, punctuating at the end with an interrogation point,¹⁰ which interpretation a variety of editors have followed since.¹¹ That none of these readings is satisfactory¹² is apparent enough to one attempting to read the strophe and is acknowledged by Sijmons.¹³

While reading this poem the feeling that the context required *síþr* rather than *síþan* led me to

consult the phototypic edition of *Codex regius*,¹⁴ where I found *síþ*, which in this ms. is the common abbreviation for *síþan* and *síþr*.¹⁵ This abbreviation has in several places of the Edda been resolved differently by different editors,¹⁶ and in fact in our strophe Rask¹⁷ has read *síþr*, though his reading appears to have remained unnoticed since and is not included in Gering's variant-apparatus. Rask's punctuation, especially the interrogation point at the end of the strophe, does not, however, correspond with my interpretation, and I trust it will not be superfluous again to call attention to the strophe. *Síþr* is metrically preferable to *síþan*, giving a regular tetrasyllabic half-verse of A-type, while it gives, without textual emendations of any sort, the meaning required by the context.

The last two verses would then read:

<i>hveim verþr holþa</i>	<i>hefnð léttari,</i>
<i>síþr til sátta,</i>	<i>at sunr lift.</i>

And the meaning of the strophe would be: "Let us send the son along with the father, one should not long foster the young wolf; vengeance upon any man is easier and he has less chance of reconciliation, as long as the son (of the man he has killed) still lives."¹⁸

III. THE RELATION OF *Völuspá* TO *Baldrs draumar*.

The short Eddic poem, *Baldrs draumar* (also called *Vegtamskviða*), was not included in the Eddic *Codex regius*, but is preserved in the considerably later ms. AM 748, 4°. As to the age of the poem itself there is general disagreement among Norse scholars, only a small minority claiming for it any considerable degree of an-

⁴ In speaking of the Sanskrit version of this tale (*Hálfs saga*, p. 18), I have misstated the source, which is Somadeva Bhatta's *Kathāsaritsāgara* (ed. Durgāprasād & Parab, Bombay, 1889, p. 366 f.; translated by C. H. Tawney, Calcutta, 1880-84 [*Bibliotheca Indica*], II, p. 53 f.); the Pancatantra-story (IV, 5, ed. Hertel, Cambridge, 1908 [= *Harvard Oriental Series*, 11] 244 ff.), is at best but remotely related.

⁵ *Lieder der älteren Edda*, Paderborn, 1904, p. 346 f.

⁶ *Semundar Edda*, Kbh. 1868, p. 128.

⁷ *Eddalieder*, II, p. 55, Halle, 1890; he emended further *hefnð* to *hðnd*.

⁸ *PBBeitr.* XXII, 119 f., 1897; Bugge also approved of Jónsson's emendation of *hefnð* to *hðnd*.

⁹ *Lieder der Edda*, p. 369, Halle, 1901.

¹⁰ *Lieder der alten Edda*, Berlin, 1815, p. 246.

¹¹ For list cf. Gering's critical apparatus, I. c.

¹² And the further emendation of Vigfússon, *Cpb.*, I, 295, does not help the matter.

¹³ L. c. in apparat.

¹⁴ Curav. Wimmer and Jónsson, Kbh., 1891, p. 68.

¹⁵ Cf. Introduction, p. lii.

¹⁶ Cf. Gering, *Vollständiges Wörterbuch zu den Liedern der Edda*, 1903, pp. 920-922 and the apparatus in Gering's Edda-edition under passages cited.

¹⁷ *Edda Semundar hinns fróða*, Stockholm, 1818, p. 217.

¹⁸ For *hefna* with dative of person upon whom vengeance is taken cf. Fritzner, *Ordbog*, I, 750, for the construction *hveim verþr síþr til sátta*, at—cf. Fritzner, *op. cit.*, III, 914, with the citation from *Heilagramanna saga*, ed. Unger, Christiania, 1877, II, 44, *þeir ugþo— at þeim myndi nekkvet til meins verða, ef þeir gürði þat*. (*nekkvet* is here adverbial like *síþr*).

tiquity. Of this minority Finnur Jónsson formerly regarded it¹⁹ as one of the oldest of its kind and even accepted a conjecture of Vigfússon,²⁰ that it was by the same author as the *Þrymskviða*, though he has evidently since given up the latter idea and speaks less positively of the poem's age.²¹ Mogk, on the other hand, who recognizes its close relation to the *Völuspá*, regards it as of later origin than, and in fact dependent upon, the latter.²² The same idea is developed more in detail by Neckel.²³

As the relation between the two poems seems to me rather the reverse of the one suggested by Mogk, I venture to give the reasons for my view. In so far as the current, mostly subjective, criteria for the relative age of the Eddic poems are concerned, Jónsson's judgment makes in this case the greater appeal to me, as the comprehensive and cumbersome *Völuspá* in terms of literary genre is at any rate later than the type of *Baldrs draumar*, which, when all is said and done, is precisely that of the admittedly ancient *Þrymskviða*.

The strophes of *Vsp.* which show practical identity of content with *Bdr.* are 28-34,²⁴ but I am inclined to believe that the whole composition of *Vsp.* was suggested by *Bdr.*, the latter furnishing the idea for a framework to the author's account of *ragnarøk*. The following tabulation of corresponding features in the two poems will serve to demonstrate their unquestionable relationship and can conveniently be made a basis for such deductions as follow therefrom :

<i>Vsp.</i>	<i>Bdr.</i>
The völva is a giantess (str. 2).	The völva is a giantess (str. 13).
When visited by the aged Odin (<i>enn aldni</i>) she is sitting alone in the open air (<i>úti</i> , str. 28).	The aged Odin (<i>aldenn gaufr</i> , str. 2, 13) rides to Nifhel to consult völva ; he finds her eastward of Hel's gate, sleeping unprotected from snow, rain and dew (str. 2-5).

¹⁹ *Oldnorske og oldisl. litt. hist.*, I, 147 f., 1894. Cf. also Grundtvig, *Er Nordens gamle Literatur norsk? Hist. Tidsskr.*, IV Række, I, 89 f., 1869.

²⁰ *Corp. poet. bor.*, I, 181, 1883.

²¹ *Isl. litt. hist.*, 1907, p. 48.

²² Paul's *Grundr.*, II, 582, 1904.

²³ *Beiträge zur Eddaforschung*, 1908, p. 59 ff.

²⁴ The numbers of the strophes cited are those of Simonsen's edition, Halle, 1888.

Odin questions her (str. 28) and gives her jewelry in payment for prophecy (str. 30).

She prophesies the death of Baldr and names Hǫr as his slayer (str. 32 ; 33, 1-2), and states further that a son of Odin, one night old, will take vengeance for his death (str. 33, 3-4 ; 34, 1-2).

Valkyries are mentioned (str. 31) and the mourning of Frigg (str. 34, 3-4).

The völva recognizes Odin apparently by fact that he has but one eye (str. 28, 4 ; 29).

The episode is followed by a strophe depicting Loki's imprisonment (str. 35). The conclusion of the poem is largely the account of *ragnarøk* and the new age following.

Odin puts 4 questions to her (str. 6, 8, 10, 12).

In answer to Odin's questions the völva prophesies Baldr's death (str. 7), names Hǫr as his slayer (str. 9), and states that a son of Odin (*Váli?*), one night old, will take vengeance (str. 11 ; str. 11, 2-4 is almost word for word identical with *Vsp.* 33, 4 ; 34, 1-2).

Odin asks as the 4th question who the maids are that will mourn (str. 12, 3-4), the obvious answer, Valkyries, is lacking.

The völva recognizes Odin apparently by his final question as to the maids that will mourn for Baldr (str. 13, 1-2).

The völva concludes with a threatening allusion to the liberation of Loki and the coming of *ragnarøk*.

This comparison would suggest the following text-criticism of the *Vsp.*: str. 31, 1-2 with str. 34, 3-4 forms a single strophe following str. 34, 1-2 ; str. 31, 3-6 is an interpolated *þula*, the interpolation suggested by the mention of Valkyries ; str. 33 is incomplete, as verses 3-4 certainly do not belong with it ; str. 33, 3-4 with str. 34, 1-2 forms, on the other hand, the following complete strophe ; str. 35 perhaps does not belong to this episode at all. The original order of strophes of our episode would then have been 28 ; 29 (?) ; 30 ; 32 ; 33, 1-2 ; 33, 3-4 + 34, 1-2 ; 31, 1-2 + 34, 3-4.

With reference to the union of str. 31, 1-2 with str. 34, 3-4, it may be said that the mourning for Baldr played an important part in the old myths connected with his death, and Odin, Frigg and the Valkyries are in the *Gylfaginning* of *Snorra*

Edda expressly associated as mourners,²⁵ which association, so far as Odin and the Valkyries are concerned, goes back to the *Húsdrápa* of Ulfr Uggason, a scaldic poem of the tenth century.²⁶

If the lines are to be thus understood, the *goðþjóðar* of *Cod. reg.* must be interpreted as a collective term for the gods or their home, not as meaning Goths or land of the Goths, as is its common significance in the heroic songs of the *Edda* and of the *Hervarar saga*. Whether in these latter places *Goðþjóð* = "Goths," "land of Goths" be explained as a phonological development from *Gothþjóð*,²⁷ or as due to the influence of words compounded with *goð*,²⁸ the fact remains that both Goths and their country are out of place in *Vsp.* This fact was recognized by Müllenhoff, in that he suggested taking the word (*gothþjóðar*)²⁹ in appellative meaning as applicable to warriors or heroes generally, a meaning justified by no other occurrence and just as much at variance with the context as Goths or their country. The *vitt of komnar* applied to Valkyries can only mean "come from far and wide," or at most "come from a distance," and I cannot see why it should not signify that they were assembling from the plying of their vocation for the express purpose of attending Baldr's funeral rites. The idea that the Valkyries are represented here as going out to ply their vocation in mortal battles stands in relation to nothing that precedes or follows; it has by Müllenhoff (l. c.) been strained into accord with an utterly wrong theory of the poem's composition.

Valkyries as an answer to Odin's final question in *Bdr.*, inevitable as it would seem to be, does not agree with a current idea³⁰ that this question must be a riddle. This idea finds its justification through analogy with the final question (which

is, however, itself no riddle!) in *Vafþrúðnismál* and *Heiðreksgátur*, first, in the fact that the *völva* does not answer it, secondly, in the fact that through it she recognizes the identity of the questioner, Odin. Such is, however, not the inevitable conclusion from either fact, since the answer may be lacking because it is so self-apparent not only to the two beings concerned, but also to the poet's Icelandic audience; and, again, the *völva*'s inference that Odin is the questioner may well rest upon the content of the question's self-apparent answer. That is, if it was a characteristic feature of the myth relating to Baldr's funeral that Odin attended accompanied by the Valkyries, as is amply attested by the *Húsdrápa*, an answer to this question was superfluous and the question itself was sufficient to betray the identity of the questioner, as it was meant to do.

The fact seems hardly to have been sufficiently emphasized that *Baldrs draumar* presents in every way an older phase of the Baldr-myth than do these verses of the *Völuspá*; it knows as yet nothing of the mistletoe as the destructive weapon and nothing of Loki's part in bringing about Baldr's death.³¹ It knows only that Baldr was slain by Høpr, who was in turn killed by a son of Odin with Rindr (*Váli?*), which corresponds in so far entirely with Saxo's version of the same myth.³²

³¹ The *hróprbarm* of *Bdr.* 9 can in no sense mean the mistletoe, as "most investigators believe" (Neckel, *Beitr. z. Eddaforsch.* p. 61, 1908), but must, however it finally be spelled and explained, from the context refer to Baldr himself (cf. Gering, *Edda-Wörterbuch*, p. 466, Grundtvig, *Er Nordens gamle Litt. norsk?* p. 92 ff., 1869, *Sæmundar Edda*, p. 187, 1868, etc.): *þinig* means "to this place," i. e. to Hel, cf. use of *hér* in str. 7, for use of *berr* cf. *á bál of berr* in str. 11. Neither need the allusion in the last strophe of *Baldrs draumar* to Loki's part in ragnarök and his previous confinement be interpreted as indicating that Loki had played a leading rôle in the death of Baldr, in fact it brings Loki into no necessary relation with the preceding. If it be necessary to seek such relation, it would be most natural to find it in a connection with what most immediately precedes, identifying the *völva* with the mother of the three gigantic beings begotten by Loki, as was done by Bergmann (*Weggewohnts Lied*, Strassburg, 1875, p. 30, 35).

³² It may be noted by the way that the *Vsp.* also need not be interpreted as ascribing to Loki a part in the death of Baldr (cf. Niedner, *Zeitschr. f. deutsches Altert.*, 41, p. 307, 1897), in that its str. 35 does not stand in any neces-

²⁵ *Sn. Ed.*, Hafniae, 1848, I, p. 176.

²⁶ F. Jónsson, *Den norsk-islandske Skjaldedigtning*, I, 1908. A. p. 138, B. p. 129. Cf. Mogk, *PBBeitr.*, VII, 289 f., 1880.

²⁷ Heinzel, *Über die Hervarar saga*, Sitz.ber. d. phil.-hist. Cl. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. zu Wien, CXIV, Heft 2. Wien, 1887, p. 490.

²⁸ Noreen, *Altisl. und altnorw. Gram.*, § 240, Anm. 4, 1903.

²⁹ *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, v, p. 111; cf. p. 78, 1883.

³⁰ Cf. Bugge, *Studier*, I, 252 ff., 1881. Sijmons, *Lieder der Edda*, 163 in apparat., 1888, etc.

If then *Bdr.* contains in some respects at least more original features of the Baldr-myth than *Vsp.* and the fact of an intimate relation between the two is indisputable, there remains but the question whether the author of *Vsp.* has used *Bdr.* or both go back directly or indirectly to a common source. Inasmuch as both show a nearly identical strophe, such common source can have been no other than a poetical one, i. e. at most an earlier version of the *Bdr.* or a very similar poem.³³ That the latter may have been the case I am not prepared to deny; on the contrary, I would only insist that such earlier version of the *Bdr.* can not have differed greatly from the one preserved, either in form or content. To the author of *Vsp.*, *Bdr.* suggested a framework for his primarily eschatological poem, the allusion to *ragnarsök* made by the *volva* in the last strophe being developed by him into a detailed account of that event and put into the mouth of the same *volva*.³⁴ This, as I am aware, does not at all correspond with Müllenhoff's theory of a three-fold structure of *Vsp.*,³⁵ but in spite of Müllenhoff's thunders one must accredit Bang³⁶ with a much less forced and artificial theory of the poem's composition, whether or not one agree with him entirely as to its sources.

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TEXTUAL NOTES ON THE ME. GENESIS AND EXODUS.

52 *ðat weldet alle ðinge wit rígt and [s] kil.*

The metre requires *welt*, the form found in 54, two lines below.

369-370 *And niðful neddre, loð an liðer,
sal glíden on hise brest neðer.*

sary connection with the facts of the Baldr-myth preceding; in fact in the *Hauksbók*-version of *Vsp.*, from which the Baldr-strophes are lacking, this strophe appears, but in an entirely different place, viz., after str. 24.

³³ Cf. Niedner, l. c., pp. 37 f., 309.

³⁴ With reference to the framework of *Vsp.*, see also Grundtvig, *Bemærkninger til Volvespaadommen*, særskilt aftryk af *Dansk Maanedsskrift*, 1866, andet Bind., p. 5 ff.

³⁵ *Deutsche Altertumskunde*, v, 5 ff.

³⁶ *Völuspáa og de Sibyllinske Orakler*, = Christiania Videnskabselskabs Forhandling, 1879, No. 9, p. 6 f.

The second line of the couplet would be greatly improved if we should read, *on his brest sal glíden neðer*. But emendations of this kind, of which a number have already been made by Kölbing, Holthausen, and others, are not entirely convincing. It always remains possible that the author was occasionally guilty of writing unmetrical lines.

519-521 *Also he god adde ofte bi-sogte,
Wislike was him in herte brogt
ðis midelerdes biginning.*

For *bi-sogte*, read *bisogt*.

659-661 *Nembrot gat his feres red
To maken a tur.*

Morris translates *gat* by 'granted.' Instead, read *gaf*, as in 1949, 4047, 4064. Cf. Comestor, *Gen.* 38, *Consilio Nemrod volentis regnare, caeperunt ædificare turrim*.

1207-1208 *Ðre ger wornen ysaac on
Quane he was fro teding don.*

Morris in his notes explains *teding* as for *tending*. Holthausen, *Archiv*, CVII, 389, in support of this cites Comestor, *Gen.* 56, *ablactatus est*. The word should be *tetting* (= 'lactatio'). The verb *tetten* occurs 2612 (Kölbing's emendation for MS. *letten*). The noun *tette* occurs 2621, and *teten*, 3480.

1323-1324 *Oc abraham it wulde wel
quat-so god bad, ðwerted he it neuer
[a del.*

The second line of the couplet probably owes its length to the incorporation of a gloss. It originally read, *ðwerted he it neuer a del*. The antecedent of *it* in 1323, 1324, and in 1322 is the command of God of which Abraham tells in his previous speech. The words *quat-so god bad* were probably added by some reader to whom the *it* of 1323 seemed obscure. Cf. the footnote to p. 17 of Morris's edition for a similar gloss. A semicolon is needed after 1323.

1431-1432 *Or he wel homward cumen was,
Ysaac was cume to gerasis.*

Kölbing, *Eng. Stud.* III, 293, proposes to read *gerasas* or *geraras*. Comestor, *Gen.* 61, has, *Eo*

tempore Isaac habitabat in gerara. Gen. and Ex. has geraris, 1167, and gerasis, 1516. Comestor has geraris, Gen. 69 and elsewhere. Read geraris in 1432 and 1516, and cumen is in 1431. The clash of tenses is similar to that in numerous other passages; e. g., 1735-1736:

*Do sag iacob laban wurð wroð,
Vnder him ben leng is him loð.*

Cf. also 601-604, 885-886, 2543-2546, 4001-4002.

1585 *And ðu salt ðe betre sped.*

Supply *hauen* after *salt*.

1653-1654 *Rachel was bliðe and forð ghe nam,
And kiddit to hire fader laban.*

For *nam*, read *ran*, as in 1393-1394:

*Maiden rebecca ðanne ran,
And kiddit to hire broðer laban.*

1808 *Til ðe daning up esten it brast.*

For *daning*, read *daining*; cf. 77, *daigening*; 1810, *daining*; 3264, *daiening*.

1993-1994 *So michel fe ðor is hem told,
He hauen him bogt, he hauen sold.*

Holthausen, *Arch. für neu. Spr.* CVII, 391, proposes to supply *him* before *sold*. Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* III, 303, comments as follows, "So wie sie (sc. die Ismaeliter) ihn gekauft hatten, so haben sie ihn nun wieder verkauft, oder—und dieser deutung würde ich den vorzug geben; sie (sc. Potiphar) haben ihn gekauft, jene (sc. die Ism.) haben ihn verkauft, d. h. es wurde soviel geld geboten, das der handel zum abschluss kam." This second interpretation can hardly be other than correct, but *he*, meaning Potiphar, requires a singular. For the first *hauen*, read *haueð*.

2010 *bitagte him his hus everile del.*

A transposition, *his hus bitagte him* would mend the metre.

2459-2460 *for trewðe and gode dedes mide
ðon ben al ðat wech-dede.*

Mätzner, *Altengl. Sprachproben*, I. 88, reads *ðor* for *ðon*, and translates, 'For both truth and good deeds there are then all that watch-deed.' Morris reads *don* for *ðon*, and translates, 'For truth and with good deeds, done is then all that

watch-deed.' Read *don bet*: 'For truth and good deeds therewith avail more than all that vigil.'

2521-2522 *An her endede, to ful in wis,
ðe boc ðe is hoten genesis.*

Mätzner, *Altenglische Sprachproben*, I, 89, corrects *in wis* to *i-wis*. For *endede* read *endeð* (= *Explicit liber Genesis*). Compare 2538, *Her nu bi-ginned exodus*. The confusion of *d* and *ð* is common in the ms. Apparently the copyist had before him *ended*.

2753 *And ben sone hom numen.*

Read *homward*, for metrical reasons, as in 1431, 2376.

2755 *And gunen him ðore tellen.*

Read *And him gunen*, for metrical reasons.

2804-2805 *And [he] it warp vt of hise hond,
And wurð sone an uglie snake.*

He was supplied by Kölbing, *Engl. Stud.* III, 313. For *wurð*, read *it wurð*; cf. 2808, *it bi-cam*, and 2917, *it wurð*.

2839-2840 *Moyses and his wif sephoram
And hise childre wið him nam.*

Omit *and* in 2839.

3509-3510 *Oc horedom ðat ðu ne do,
ne wend no lecherie to.*

After *horedom* insert *loke*; compare 3511, *Loke ðe wel ðat ðu ne stele*. It is true that 3513, *False witnesse ðat ðu ne bere*, seems to justify the ms. reading of 3509, but *ðat ðu ne bere* is really dependent upon *Loke ðe wel* of 3511.

3534 *And two oðere to maken it wel.*

Transpose so as to read *oðere two*. Compare 2132, *ðis oðere. vii.*, and 686, *oðer sum*. The change seems to be required by metre and euphony.

3963-3964 *And he wurð ðo for anger wroð,
And ðis prikeð and negt sloð.*

He is Balaam. The word *asse* has been omitted after *ðis*; compare 3955, 3961, 3965, 3967, 3971, 3973, in each of which the author writes *ðis asse*.

3978 *ðe let god him ðat angel sen.*

God is Morris's correction for ms. *goð*. For *ðe* read *ðo*, as in 1416, which Morris has emended in his glossary.

4009-4010 *His lif beð bliðe, his ending sal,*
ðe timeð al-so ðis timen sal.

Inasmuch as 4010 corresponds to Comestor, Num. 33, *Moriatur anima mea morte justorum, et fiant mea horum similia*, it is probable that *ðe timeð* is an error of the copyist for *me time*.

4027-4028 *ðis leun sal oðer folc freten,*
Lond canaan al preige bi-gefen.

For *al*, read *als*.

4112 *ðat al ðin folc wurð war.*

Some emendation is required for metrical reasons. Supply *ðor-of* after *folc*.

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SPANISH LITERATURE.

RAMÓN MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *L'Épopée castillane à travers la littérature espagnole*. Traduction de HENRI MÉRIMÉE, avec une préface de ERNEST MÉRIMÉE. Paris, Colin, 1910. 12mo., xxvi + 306 pp.

R. Menéndez Pidal has probably shed more new light on the Old Spanish epic than any other living man, and students of that subject have learned to approach each new publication of his with the certainty of finding new facts and novel points of view. They will not be disappointed in the present volume, although not properly a work of research. It consists of the lectures delivered in France by the author at Johns Hopkins University in the spring of 1909, and now made accessible to the public in a revised form. The titles of the seven lectures (*Les origines de l'épopée castillane, Castille et Léon, Le "Poème de mon Cid," Le Cid et Chimène, Le "romancero," Le théâtre classique, La matière épique dans la poésie moderne*) indicate sufficiently that the speaker had no intention of offering his hearers a complete analysis of the Old Spanish epic; his desire was to generalize as much as possible and to make clear the forces which formed the epic spirit, and the power which it exerted on the literature of later times. In this

he has been eminently successful, without giving a detailed account of any of the poetic themes except those of Fernán González and the Cid.

The first chapter is the one calculated to excite the most interest among scholars, and will certainly provoke discussion, for it contains a new theory of the origin of the early Castilian epic poems. It has long been the fashion, supported chiefly by the writings of Gaston Paris, to declare the Spanish medieval epics children of the French, which were certainly more numerous and more fully developed. A few passages in the *Poema del Cid*, showing knowledge of French methods; a number of Carolingian romances, obviously based on the later poems dealing with the twelve peers; the stories of Bernardo del Carpio and Mainet, owing their inception to French legends;—this was the basis for the argument. The attempt has even been made (not with success in the reviewer's opinion) to show that the meter of the *Poema* was an adaptation of, or approximation to, the French alexandrine. It was assumed that epics did not appear in Spain till after the French heroic poetry had attained full growth.

But the increased knowledge within a few years of the unexpected extent and variety of the Castilian poems (knowledge due, in large measure, to R. Menéndez Pidal himself) has caused the French theory to look less imposing. And now the young professor of Madrid declares boldly that the Gallic element in the Castilian epics on native subjects is negligible, and that the true source is to be sought in Germanic traditions, in the legends and poetry brought with them by the Visigoths when they entered Spain.

His argument may be summarized thus: There is no evidence that French civilization or literature penetrated Spain before about 1100. The events which gave rise to the epics on Fernán González and the Infantes de Lara occurred in the tenth century; the first poems were probably composed soon after the deeds. There is slight French influence in the *Poema del Cid* and later poems; but in general the whole conception and method of treatment differ in France and Castile. The existence of songs of epic nature among the early Germanic tribes is attested by Tacitus; other witnesses can be adduced for the same phenomenon among the Visigoths in the fourth century, but

unfortunately not after their conquest of Spain. There is, however, every reason to suppose that they still celebrated their national heroes in verse. One of them was Walter of Spain, or Walter of Aquitania, who lived at the time of Attila and was famous all over Europe. His legend was put into Latin hexameters by the monk Ekkelhard (tenth century). His story is also preserved in the Spanish romance of Gaiferos (Wolf, *Primavera y Flor de romances*, no. 173); many details are strikingly similar. (We cannot repress a smile at seeing our old acquaintance Gaiferos, he who was manipulated by the agile fingers of Ginés de Pasamonte for the benefit of Don Quijote (II, 26), converted into the stout hero whose adventures we remember reading, long ago, in Schöffel's *Ekkelhard*). The customs described in the Castilian epics are Germanic. Although Spain adopted some themes from the nation to the north (Bernardo, Mainet), French influence upon the epics of native subject, even on the *Poema del Cid*, which was composed at the time when French civilization was in most close contact with that of Spain, is of the slightest and purely external. The rigorously historical and realistic nature of the Castilian epic contrasts sharply with the exaggerations and enchantments of the French.

The Castilians were the only people of the Peninsula to inherit the heroic poetry of the Visigoths. This in spite of the fact that the Leonese maintained the governmental machinery of the last Visigothic rulers, whilst the Castilians rebelled against it. Castile rested upon a Celtiberian foundation, and León, Aragon and Catalonia were based on Iberian stock.

Such is the substance of Menéndez Pidal's theory, which is of far-reaching importance and cannot fail to act as a sharp stimulus to Hispanic studies. It is the inevitable result of the recent discoveries in the field of Spanish medieval poetry. So long as two poems about the Cid were the only Castilian epics known to exist in verse form, so long as the historical romances were thought to be relics of primitive songs woven into lengthy poems only under French influence, and the Carolingian romances, so numerous and long, were known to be taken from French sources, it was easy to say that what few Spanish epics existed were mere offshoots of the luxuriant growth across the Pyre-

nees. But the work of Milá and his pupils, which need not be recapitulated here, has made that position no longer impregnable. The Spaniards were certain to attack it. It is beyond doubt that the Carolingian romances are of late origin; that long before them there were Castilian epics exhibiting strong poetic qualities and based on purely national events. Whence did they come? Is it not more natural to assume that the spirit of heroic poetry among the Visigoths persisted unbroken than to suppose conscious imitation of French poems, themselves admittedly of Germanic origin? Would it not be strange that these imitations of a poetry quite different in character should pitch upon subjects, like that of the Infantes de Lara, of private nature, based on events one or two hundred years old?

On the other hand, it is inevitable that in a first presentation of such a new and remote matter there should be parts not altogether clear and complete. The novelty of Menéndez Pidal's theory, as well as the broad character of the lectures, entail a certain lack of absolute proof. It will some time be necessary, for example, to make a fuller comparative study of the French and Spanish epics from the new viewpoint, and in the light of the recent labors of Bédier, for it is obvious that the literary origins of the two nations cannot be kept entirely separate. And one might point to weak links in the chain of facts adduced which need to be strengthened by additional evidence. The fact that the copenetration of French and Spanish civilizations was greatest about 1100 does not prove that there was none previous to that time; and it is not likely that the Oxford version of the *Chanson de Roland* was the first French epic, when the battle which gave rise to it occurred in 778. One can perhaps grant without too much credulity that the Visigoths continued to sing of their heroes after they entered Spain, even if there is not the slightest proof of it, and the conquerors were few in number compared with the earlier Romanized inhabitants of the Peninsula. It may not be possible to maintain that the population of Castile was Celtiberian when that of León was Iberian, for these pre-Roman distinctions, dubious in themselves, must have been altered by the successive waves of invasion that swept the land; it is not easy to see what

connection that has with the preservation of Visigothic poetical tradition in Castile alone, if that be a fact.

Nor are we prepared to concede all the force which Menéndez Pidal seems to give to the analogies between the *Gaiferos romance* and the legend of Walter of Aquitania. The resemblances are striking, as Milá pointed out in 1874, and it may be that Gaiferos and Melisenda are really Waltarius and Hiltgunde, their names modified by contamination with other heroes and heroines (Waifarius and Belissent). But the story might have been borrowed from foreign or erudite sources as well as from native tradition more than a thousand years old; and the facts in hand hardly bear out the assertion that "nous devons considérer le romance de Gaïfer comme un fragment, conservé par le hasard, du lien mystérieux qui unit l'épopée visigothe à la poésie héroïque castillane." It may be that the lecturer will develop this point more fully at some future time, and at least we may hope that his extreme diligence and scholarship will produce the new documentation required to prove a theory attractive in itself.

In the other chapters devoted to the Middle Ages Menéndez Pidal goes fully into the epic material concerning Fernán González and the Cid, and mentions only by the way King Roderick, Bernardo del Carpio and the Infantes de Lara. Chapter II describes the traditional hostility between Castile and León. The author believes, as was noted above, that the source of it was a basic difference of racial structure: Castile, the Celtiberian, being progressive and rebellious; León, Iberian (as were also Aragon and Catalonia), being conservative, fond of tradition and wedded to the Visigothic system of government. It is heartily to be wished that the ideas here expressed in all too concise form may some time be expanded; for it is a difficult problem to determine what elements composed the population of the various provinces of Spain as they were wrested from the Moors. The author states that Castile alone inherited the Visigothic heroic poetry, just as certain regions of France, in which the Germanic element was strongest, alone produced the Old French epic.

The Castilian erudite *Poema de Fernán González* is summarized as an example of the hatred

of León, preserved in an attenuated form, but with traces of the popular epic which surely existed. Even after the union of Castile and León on equal terms in the person of Fernando I, the enmity and wars continued, and received poetic expression in the lost *cantares* of the death of king Fernando (also called *La Partición de los reinos*), and of *El Cerco de Zamora*. The author gives abstracts, based on the prose versions of the *Primera crónica general* and the *Segunda crónica general* (de 1344) of these two highly poetic epics, which have left traces in some of the finest fragments of the *romancero*.¹ The epic of Fernán González was partisan, strongly favoring Castile; that of the Siege of Zamora, more lofty and artistic, presents an impartiality which foreshadows the truly national epic, the *Cantar de Mio Cid*.

The Cid is the hero of chapters III and IV, and national pride inspires in the lecturer eloquent and illuminating paragraphs. He tells the story of the *Mio Cid*, and makes a striking comparison between its author and Velázquez; both exemplify the best side of the Spanish national genius, a tranquil realism, without effort or exaggeration, that remains faithful to history in spirit, however it may idealize details. The later epic describing the Youth of Rodrigo is, however, a degenerate invention, full of gross fictions. Menéndez Pidal distinguishes two versions of the *Rodrigo*: the first, preserved in the prose of the *Crónica de 1344*; the second, the well-known *Crónica rimada*, which he places at about 1400. Various details prove at least that it is later than 1344. In the *prosified* story the Cid is still respectful toward his monarch, but in the *Crónica rimada* he becomes a turbulent rebel, overawing his king by sheer bravado, as did the heroes of the late French *chansons de geste*. This is the type adopted by the *romancero*.

¹ Menéndez Pidal gives the reasons, based largely upon the as yet inaccessible *Segunda crónica general*, for supposing that the *Cantar del rey don Fernando or de la partición de los reinos* was distinct from the *Cantar del cerco de Zamora*. Milá (*Obras completas*, VII, 262) and Menéndez y Pelayo (*Tratado de los romances viejos*, I, 335) had already promulgated the same theory. Each new study of the Old Spanish epic makes it clearer that an edition of the *Crónica de 1344* entire is an absolute necessity if we are to be able to study at first hand the *prosifications* of the lost poems.

The gradual evolution of the Cid's love-story is laid minutely before the reader, from the bare fact of history and the conjugal affection of the *Mío Cid*, through the rude courtship described in the *Rodrigo* and the romantic incidents added by the *romancero*, to the love-drama of conflicting passions imagined by Guillén de Castro and given wide currency by Corneille. In tracing this history Menéndez Pidal brings out once more the fact which it has been his special mission to establish, namely, that it is now possible to follow the whole development of the Castilian epic from the twelfth century to the *romances*, without solution of continuity.

Chapter V, although compact, is a most luminous account of the formation and development of the Spanish ballad. The earliest group of *romances* was formed by the disintegration of the old historical epics; the most striking episodes were remembered and repeated by the people, and changed greatly in the course of time. The second group came from the application of a similar process to poems of *juglares* who celebrated French heroes, but gave them deeds of Spanish invention. Then there came the attractive cycle of *romances* dealing with contemporary history; Pedro el Cruel, and the unceasing struggles of Moors and Christians. They show a prolongation of the primitive epic spirit which is not found so late in any other continental nation. It seems to have lost its creative force at about the time of the conquest of Granada, but the popularity of the *romances viejos* increased steadily throughout the sixteenth century. Fame was followed by imitation. The erudite poetasters Fuentes and Sepúlveda (1550-1) attempted to supplant fiction by what they deemed fact, in verse, with lamentable results. Toward 1600 the greatest poets of the *siglo de oro* wrote *romances* on every conceivable subject, by no means confining themselves to historical themes. Their poems about the Cid are better known to the educated classes to-day than are the old ballads on the same subject. Meanwhile the *romances viejos* lived in the memory of the lower classes, and were carried by emigration to other parts of the world, so that modern traditional versions are found all over Spanish- and Portuguese-speaking territory, —in Morocco, Turkey, South America, Madeira,

the Azores, etc. This is a field which has been much studied by Menéndez Pidal of late years, and he has promised a *Romancero general* which shall include the best of the poems gleaned by modern collectors from the lips of peasants.

The sixth chapter deals with the national epic as it influenced the drama of the *siglo de oro*. Menéndez Pidal implies, though he does not make the statement in so many words, that the popularity of the old ballads in the sixteenth century may have saved Spain from the fate of France, and rescued the Spanish stage from servile subjection to pseudo-classic rules. The subjects of Spanish plays in the first half of the sixteenth century were taken from Italian comedies and *novelle*, or pastorals, romances of chivalry and the *Celestina*. In 1579 Juan de la Cueva produced a play, *La Muerte del rey don Sancho*, based on the legends of the Siege of Zamora, and quoted lines from a popular *romance* (Wolf, *Primavera*, no. 45). Cueva opened the way to more talented authors who exploited the national history, both real and legendary, upon the stage. *Romances*, and especially the *Chronicles*, those repositories of lost epics, were plundered to enrich the drama. Lope de Vega, with seventy plays, was the most brilliant and fertile in this field; but he was rivalled by Guillén de Castro, Luis Vélez de Guevara, and other lesser lights. This is a question which has already been discussed at some length by Menéndez y Pelayo in the *Antología de poetas líricos*, vol. ix, pp. 259-279, and in the introductions to the Academy edition of Lope de Vega; but Menéndez Pidal has succeeded in finding additional material. The second generation of dramatists, led by Calderón, cast aside the *romances* as such, and preserved the heroic fictions only in a modernized, emasculated form.

In tracing the further course of the epic matter, (chapter VII) the eighteenth century, divided between decadent Gongorism and ill-digested pseudo-classicism, could furnish little material. One might have expected, perhaps, a mention of the *romances* of the elder Moratín, some of which show a curious knowledge and use of the old ballads. But the advent of romanticism presaged renewed interest in the Middle Ages. In Spain the movement was initiated from without. Englishmen and Germans discovered before Spaniards

the beauties of some of the old Castilian legends; Hookham Frere guided the muse of the Duque de Rivas to *El moro expósito*, and Walter Scott inspired Zorrilla. Menéndez Pidal devotes the major part of his last chapter to the latter. He presents a picture both critical and sympathetic of the little genius, lovable and conceited, whose vivid imagination played at will upon medieval history and legend, believing or discarding, and in case of need inventing. In *El zapatero y el rey*, *Sancho García*, *El puñal del godo*, Zorrilla created tradition with great freedom. In *Granada* (1852) he employed a more severe historical method, and this unfinished epic, inspired by the best frontier ballads, was his last masterpiece. The *Leyenda del Cid*, written thirty years later, is a verbose paraphrase of all the Cid ballads, without discrimination.

Blasco Ibáñez, the foremost Spanish novelist who is active at the present day, paid tribute to a medieval epic in *El conde Garcí Fernández* (1888). Younger literary men, stimulated perhaps by the recent publications of Menéndez y Pelayo and Menéndez Pidal himself, have shown increasing signs of turning to the most genuine old sources; witness Marquina's *Las hijas del Cid* (1908), a play based upon a study of the *Mío Cid* itself.

Thus, says Menéndez Pidal in conclusion, the national epic tradition, more continuous in Spain than in any other country, extends down to the very present. Far from having exhausted its power, it is able to direct both literature and life in the future, if by profound inquiry into the *archeological psychology* of the Middle Ages Spaniards will discover the secrets of that energetic race from which they are descended.

Those who know Menéndez Pidal only by his works of pure erudition, those for example who have never read his address upon reception into the Spanish Academy, will be delighted at the power of generalization and depth of literary insight displayed in this volume. It is the true test of learning to be able to grasp a vast number of scattered facts, order them wisely and lay bare the forces that gave them birth.

One should not leave unnoticed the preface by Ernest Mérimée, part of which is devoted to the previous publications of R. Menéndez Pidal.

Many of his writings have been scattered in out of the way corners, in the *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo* (1899), in another *Homenaje* to Almeida-Garrett (Genoa, 1900), in still another to the Arabist Codera y Zaidín (1904), and elsewhere; and it is a relief to have an authoritative list placed before one. Finally, the book contains a very complete analytical table of contents, and an index of proper names and titles in both French and Spanish. These useful compilations remove the work from the category of a collection of detached studies, and give it the value of a reference-book.

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Grillparzers Werke. Im Auftrage der Reichshaupt- und Residenzstadt Wien herausgegeben von AUGUST SAUER. Erster Band. Die Ahnfrau. Sappho.—Wien und Leipzig: Gerlach und Wiedling, 1909.

Der lang ersehnte erste Band der neuen, kritischen Grillparzer-Ausgabe ist endlich erschienen und gereicht dem Herausgeber wie der Auftraggeberin zur höchsten Ehre. Was der Eingeweihte nicht anders erwartete, ist zur Tat geworden: ein mustergültiges Werk. Wir haben die Garantie, dass für Grillparzer jetzt dasselbe geleistet wird, wie für Goethe, Schiller, Lessing, Herder und neuerdings Wieland. Der deutsche Klassiker aus Österreich kommt zu seinem Recht. Endlich wird der Welt sein gesamtes Schaffen erschlossen, dessen volles Verständnis ermöglicht. Jetzt erst beginnt die "Wissenschaft" von Grillparzer,—die hoffentlich die Freude an dem Dichter nicht in Kleinphilologie begräbt.

Sauer hat in seiner umsichtigen Weise den Stoff zweckmässig in zwei getrennte Abteilungen gegliedert, mit folgender Anordnung im Einzelnen: I) die Werke der reifen Zeit; die Dramen, dramatischen Fragmente, Satiren und Übersetzungen; die Gedichte und Epigramme; die Erzählungen, Prosa-Satiren und Prosa-Aufsätze; die zusammenhängenden Studien und schliesslich die übrige Masse von zerstreuten Prosa-Aufzeichnungen. II) die Jugendwerke; die Tagebücher

und ähnliches ; Briefe und amtliche Dokumente. Innerhalb der Gruppen findet chronologische Ordnung statt.

Dementsprechend enthält der vorliegende Band *Die Ahnfrau* (letzte und erste Fassung) und *Sappho*. Vorausgeschickt ist eine allgemeine Einführung mit einer meisterhaften, hinreissend temperamentvoll geschriebenen Charakteristik Grillparzers. Daran reihen sich besondere Einleitungen zu den beiden Dramen. Den Schluss des Bandes bildet ein äusserst wertvoller Apparat von Anmerkungen.

Die Einleitungen behandeln die Entstehungsgeschichte und Quellenfrage von *Ahnfrau* und *Sappho* mit jener Klarheit, Gründlichkeit und knappen Vollständigkeit, die wir bei Sauer gewohnt sind, die aber immer wieder Bewunderung hervorruft. Alle bisherigen Forschungen sind herangezogen und überholt. Wo noch Untersuchungen einzusetzen hätten, werden die nötigen Fingerzeige gegeben. Als Beispiel mag bei Gelegenheit der *Ahnfrau* der Hinweis auf E. T. A. Hoffmann dienen : *Elixier des Teufels* < *Ambrosio, or The Monk* von M. G. Lewis ; die deutsche Bearbeitung dieses Schauerromans (*Die blutende Gestalt*, etc.), dessen Abhängigkeit wieder von deutschen Quellen (Musäus u. a.).

Bei *Sappho* überrascht der Nachweis von Wielands bestimmender Einwirkung. Man beruhigte sich gerne bei Grillparzers Geständnis, er habe hier mit Goethes Kalb gepflügt. Nun wird es plötzlich klar, dass vor allen andern Wieland es war, der Problem, Motive und Farben lieferte : *Agathon, Aristipp*, dann *Menander und Glycerion* usw. Auch Madame de Staëls *Corinna* erscheint jetzt definitiv als eine der Hauptquellen. Das Verhältnis Corinna-Oswald-Lucile entspricht genau dem Verhältnis Sappho-Phaon-Melitta. Dazu kommt noch Goethe, Schiller, Zacharias Werner und—Kotzebue. Bei so mannigfacher, so starker Beeinflussung scheint es immer undenkbarer, dass das Werk zu einem innerlich geschlossenen werden konnte. Der Dichter selbst hatte bekanntlich das Gefühl, dass sich ein zweiter Plan in den ursprünglichen hineingeschoben habe. Trotzdem glaubt Sauer mit Emil Reich u. a. an die absolute Einheitlichkeit. Grillparzer soll zu pessimistisch gewesen sein. Hier kann ich nicht folgen. Der Ausspruch des Künstlers über sein Werk beruht

doch wohl auf einem unbeirrbaren Instinkt. Vielleicht klafft der grosse Riss—es gibt noch viele kleine—nicht genau an der von Gr. bezeichneten Stelle. Mathematisch ausrechnen lässt sich so etwas nicht. Aber Sauer stimmt mit Gr. darin überein, dass anfangs nur das Weib, erst gegen Schluss die Künstlerin Sappho erscheine. Genügt das nicht, jene andere Aussage Grillparzers zu stützen? Das dramatisch-tragische Problem soll sein : Kunst und Leben. Die Ver- und Entwicklung rein menschlicher Beziehungen erleben wir vier Akte lang ; und der fünfte lässt nicht sowohl das Weib, das die Kraft der Entsagung besitzt, als die Künstlerin, die sich entweiht glaubt, scheitern, eine Sappho, die in den ersten Akten zwar dem Namen, aber nicht dem Wesen nach, existierte. Ist der Fall nicht dem *Don Karlos* ähnlich? Nun ist dieser langsam und ruckweise entstanden, die *Sappho* in kurzen Wochen niedergeschrieben worden. Das beweist nichts gegen die Möglichkeit von Spaltungen. So übertoll von literarischen Anregungen, und eingestandenermassen noch nicht im sicheren Besitz eines eigenen Stils, konnte der Dichter auch innerhalb einer geringen Spanne Zeit von den verschiedensten Stimmungsimpulsen getrieben werden. Ja musste es, da er nicht so über seinen Stoff Herr war, wie Goethe, als er an seinen *Tasso* die letzte Hand legte. Soweit eigene Lebenserfahrung in *Sappho* enthalten ist, hat Gr. den Ausdruck dafür nicht aus eigenen Mitteln bestritten, sondern von Vorbildern erborgt. Es ist im wesentlichen ein Literaten-, kein Lebenswerk. Eine sehr zu wünschende Stiluntersuchung würde zeigen, wie wenig es Grillparzer gelungen ist, in seinem Gedächtnis die vielen einzelnen Reminiszenzen und deren jeweiligen Rhythmus unlösbar mit einander zu verschmelzen. Freilich, über der Darstellung bezaubernder Künstlerinnen vergisst sich das. Die österreichische Kritik steht unter dem Bann solcher Personalunionen, die aber keine organische Einheit des Werkes selbst bedeuten.

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Hálfs Saga ok Hálsrekka. Herausgegeben von A. LEROY ANDREWS. Altnordische Sagabibliothek, No. 14. Halle, 1909.

Notwithstanding its somewhat meagre and fragmentary nature, the *Hálfssaga* is an attractive one, by reason of the great diversity of material it offers within a small compass. The main story itself is the stereotype Fornaldarsaga; but interwoven, more or less loosely, are a number of interesting mythical and mythic-historic episodes, such as the promise of the Unborn Child; an offshoot of the Polyphemos story; the prophetic watersprite; the motive of the Unfaithful Wife; of the Supposititious Child; and others. Besides, an unusual amount of poetical matter, three longer poems and a number of lausavísur, serve to diversify the contents.

The saga has been fortunate in its editors. Following the *editio princeps* of Rafn, in the *Fornaldarsögur Norðrlanda* (1829), Bugge furnished a reliable critical text, with some brilliant emendations, in the first fascicle of his "Norrøne Skrifter af Sagnhistorisk Indhold" (1864). Partial editions were brought out by Ettmüller (Lüning), Vigfússon and Powell, and, recently (1903), by Heusler and Ranisch in their *Eddica Minora*.

The aim of the present editor is to make the saga more generally accessible (by furnishing a detailed commentary and notes, conformable to the purpose of the series), and by a comprehensive study of the entire material¹ to trace the development and later history of the Hálf story. Of both tasks he has acquitted himself admirably.

For reasons with which we are bound to agree, Andrews holds that originally there existed a prose *Hálfssaga* with interspersed lausavísur; that it became rather a favorite, furnishing poets the subjects for the Insteinn, Útsteinn, and Hrókr songs; and that the compiler of the saga as we have it uncritically incorporated into the text all later embellishments, even when overlapping or conflicting. For one thing, the songs are conclusively shown not to be the source of the prose,² excepting, perhaps, certain portions of the Inn-

steinskvæði. At the same time, certain divergences between the prose and the songs seem to point to differing original versions and to the likelihood of an oral existence of the saga.

There is considerable difficulty in fixing the date of composition. Assuming borrowing into the Landnámabók, the saga was composed not later than the middle of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, the Heimskringla (ca. 1220-1230) may have been drawn upon. But this evidence is not any too strong. Andrews does not choose to make use of the argument offered in the ages of 12 and 13, respectively, being given explicitly, both in the prose and the Hrókskvæði, for Hálf and Hjórlóf, when starting out on their Viking careers. But if Mogk and Finnur Jónsson are right in accepting the testimony of Helgakviða Hundingsbana I v. 10, as furnishing corroborative evidence that this poem was not composed before the eleventh century (when the coming of age had been postponed, both in Norway and Iceland, to the fifteenth year),³ we are justified in thinking, conversely, of the original version of our saga as existing a considerable time before its being committed to writing. Unless, indeed, we assume that both poet and sagawriter knew and consciously employed a knowledge of this fact in order to produce the semblance of antiquity. This doubt must not be suppressed, seeing that the Hrókskvæði shows Romantic influence and in v. 63 a knowledge, perhaps, of the youngest of the Eddic poems.⁴

In connection with the argument above preferred I would urge that the older version of the saga seems, after all, more Norwegian than Icelandic. The mention of a hnotskóg,⁵ of an oak,⁶ of hunting on the Hardangervidde, and the accurate and intimate knowledge shown of S. W. Norway and its local points of interest and lore, especially as compared with the vagueness of geo-

³ K. Maurer, *ZfdPhil.*, II, 443.

⁴ *Gripisspá*, v. 43, l. 4.

⁵ Cf. the lovely hazelnut-groves of the Hardanger. A. fails to point out the significance of Hrók's wooing in the nut-shaw, a locality supposed to be especially favorable to secret love. Cf. *Folklore Record*, I, 155. Cf. also *Egils-saga ok Ásmundar* (Fas. III, 365), where the same phrase alluded to occurs, and a maiden of the same name (Bryn-hildr) is abducted.

⁶ Though *eik* may also mean simply 'tree.'

¹ In the introduction of 68 pages which is also obtainable separately as a Kiel dissertation, 1908.

² As Mogk thought, *Gdr.*, II, p. 832.

graphical information on other parts—all this seems to argue that the kernel of the story at least is Norwegian.

The second part of the introduction concerns itself with the provenience of the later evidences of the *Hálfstory* in Swedish, Danish, and Faroese ballads.

In the following a few notes on some minor points where I disagree with the editor.

Geirhildr Drífsdóttir (chap. 1). To be sure, a man's name Drífr occurs nowhere else⁷; but in 'Hversu Noregr byggðiz'⁸ we are told that *þorn Snæs konungs voru þau Þorri (his son) ok Fönn, Drífa ok Mjöll (his daughters)*. Since Óðinn himself condescends to woo Geirhild⁹ it lies near to assume Drífr to be simply a transference of the naive personification contained in the name of Drífa (= 'snow-squall'), made with the manifest kind intention to assign the maiden to an ancient and respectable, yet not too well-known, family.¹⁰ Significantly, it is not said *where* Geirhildr Drífsdóttir hails from—we presume, from Jötunheim, whither Óðinn resorted not infrequently on amorous adventure bound.

V. 10. *Dreggr mik engi | i degi síðan // maðr upp í skib | af mararbotnum*—does not, of course, mean 'niemand soll mich wieder bei tage heraufziehen'; but rather, 'no one shall (*N. B.* rather 'will')¹¹ ever, etc.' See Egilsson¹² sub *dagr*; also Fritzner sub *dagr* 2. Andrews no doubt had in mind the German 'zu tage fördern'; but this usage is foreign to Icelandic.

That Andrews should base his text on Bugge's edition is a procedure entirely justifiable; but it would not have been amiss to print *all* the more important deviations from the ms., for the sake of control by those to whom Bugge's work is not

accessible. The advisability of this will come out in the following instance.

V. 43 (*Útsteinskváði*): —*eigi var | órum bróður // við dritmenni þitt | dramb at setja*. *þitt* was emended by Bugge to read *titt*, and simply omitted by Heusler-Ranisch (followed by A., but without any note whatsoever) as "metrisch überladend." A. translates: "nicht aber war es meines bruders art, sich in prahlerei mit scheisskerlen zu messen"; but there is no authority for rendering *setja* (*eht við enm*) by "sich messen mit." Rather, *setja* (with acc. of thing) has the meaning of "to put down, settle, allay."¹³

In the *Swipdagspáttir* of the *Hrólfs saga Kraka* there is a situation unmistakably similar to the one in question. Now in the course of the challenges the utterance is made: "*ek skal setja þik ok semja dramb þitt*,"¹⁴ "I shall put you down and settle your arrogance."¹⁵ This clinches the meaning of *setja* in our passage.—Again, *setja* (with acc. of object) is almost invariably associated with the adverb *niðr*. This suggests a reading *dritmenni*: eth. dat. *niðr*/, omitting *við*, which may have crept in from *við ragmenni*, *við Úlf's sonu*. a few lines above and below. For, notwithstanding Bugge's note,¹⁶ on the use of *við* in this passage, it is harsh, just because of the slightly different use in the two other cases. The use of the second person of the possessive pronoun in vocative, and especially vituperative, expressions of this nature was, possibly, all too familiar a phenomenon to the copyist of the vellum to be resisted. So he simply substituted *þitt* for *niðr*.

V. 25. The name *Vifill* occurs oftener than the note of Heusler and Ranisch¹⁷ (unquestioningly referred to by A.) indicates. Their query "wurde der name in Island zunächst als sklavenname verwendet, und haftete ihm etwas gering-schätziges an" ? is answered by the occurrence of *Vifill konungr* (in *Hversu Noregr byggðiz*)¹⁸

⁷ Cf. Bugge, *loc. cit.*, p. 3, note.

⁸ Fas. II, 3. The name occurs also in the *Ánssaga bogsveigis*, Fas., II, 340.

⁹ For her name cf. that of the *Valkyrja Geirskögunn*.

¹⁰ Her earthly suitor, *Alrekr*, is fabled to be ultimately of the same race, Fas. II, 5.

¹¹ The marmennil had enough of one experience, and is resolved that no one is ever going to draw him out again.

¹² *Lex. Poet. Sept.* I note that M. Moe makes the same mistake in his (free) rendition of the verse, on p. 628 of *Finnerne i gamle historiske sagn* (in A. Helland's *Beskrivelse over Finmarkens Amt*, vol. II).

¹³ See Fritzner sub *setja* 7.

¹⁴ Fas. I, 38. This is all the more noteworthy since A. recognized another point of contact with this saga, Ed., p. 29.

¹⁵ Cf. also *Þiðrekssaga*, chap. 68: *Nú mælti margr maðr á þessa lund, at þar sem maðr setr dramb sit hást, at þat kann légst at leggiaz*.

¹⁶ *L. c.*, p. 44.

¹⁷ *Edd. Min.*, xxxiv.

¹⁸ *Flateyrbók*, I, 24.

and of *Vifill jarl* (in the *Þorsteinssaga Víkingssonar*).¹⁹ We find the name already on the *Pilgárdstone* in Gothland, and in the collocation "*Vifil bauð um*."²⁰ And some noble *Vifell* occurs in the *Hestaheiti* (*Skáldskm.* ch. 58).

I cannot forbear, in conclusion, to mention Anders' highly interesting explanation²¹ of the hitherto obscure '*Svarðar dóttir*' as *S(ig)varðar dóttir*, which seems very plausible indeed. Together with the tentative assignation of vs. 8-10 to *Einnarr Helgason skalaglam*, it is one of the best things in the book.²²

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Common Difficulties in Reading French, by CHARLES C. CLARKE, JR. New York: William R. Jenkins Co. [1910].

Professor Clarke has made a successful attempt to collect in a small volume the words and phrases which trouble students most frequently, and by omitting all but difficult questions has been able to discuss these at length. At times his discussions are even longer than is necessary. Frequently statements occur which are superfluous, if they are warnings, and unsatisfactory, if they are explanations: "Do not confuse these words"—"Note the two words"—"... is a word often misunderstood"—"... does not mean just what it seems to"—etc.

On the other hand, omissions are numerous. P. 3, in discussing the uses of *accroire*, he omits the idiom *s'en faire accroire*, 'presume too much.'—P. 13 he neglects to mention that *avoir* frequently means 'to secure.'—P. 14 he should have warned us that it is only when *avoir beau* is followed by an infinitive that it means 'to do in vain.' *Vous l'avez beau* means 'you have a fine opportunity.'—P. 27, a long list of idiomatic phrases with *coup* fails to include the very common *coup d'état*.—P. 138: "Notice that it is very common for the conclusion of a conditional sentence to appear with merely an implied condition or a complete ellipsis of it." Is it not exactly as useful to know that the conditional part may sometimes appear without the conclusion?

As to his choice of words and phrases for discussion, there is little but praise to be said. A

¹⁹ Fas. II, 384. Cf. also *Vifills borg*, *Ragnarss. L.*, Fas. I, 273.

²⁰ Trans. by Bugge, *Norges Indskrifter med de yngre Runer*, p. 18: 'Dette Ombud (eller Opdrag) gav. V.'
²¹ Ed., p. 15f.

²² Cf. now also Neckel, *Beiträge zur Eddaforschung*, 1908, pp. 98f., on the interpretation of v. 21.

test of the book reveals only a small number of common mistakes that are not treated. He has forgotten to distinguish *matin* from *mâtin*; *mépris* from *méprise*; *pécher* from *pêcher*, but even such omissions are rare.

There are a number of errors. I omit the most of those that are purely typographical: P. 5, under *Affaire*. The running of two paragraphs into one leaves the reader in confusion till he discovers the error.—P. 31. "*De* is placed, in an expletive way, before certain classes of words, where in English there is no chance to render it at all." And as one illustration of this use: "*Votre polisson de frère* (your rascal of a brother)."—P. 38. "*Durant* is often equivalent to *Pendant*, 'while' or 'during' (see *Pendant*)."
But *pendant* does not appear at all.—P. 77. "After *que* and *si*, *l'* usually appears before *on* to prevent a hiatus." But if *on* followed *que* there would be no hiatus in any case.—P. 91. "*Réclamer* had better not be translated 'reclaim,' but 'to find fault,' to 'protest.'" Is it not true, rather, that *réclamer* is sometimes 'reclaim,' and at other times 'find fault' or 'protest'?—P. 95. "*Savoir* is one of four verbs that can be rendered negative by *ne* alone." There are more than four such verbs.—P. 124. "*Selon lui cortège aurait suivi*," etc., apparently for "*Selon lui le cortège*," etc.—P. 124. The paragraph marked N. B. is evidently misplaced.

The useful part of the book is the alphabetical list of words and phrases which forms Part I. Part II, "Notes on Syntax," is in no wise different from the ordinary grammar, and Part III is a succinct reference table of irregular verbs.

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Sheridan, From New and Original Material; Including a Manuscript Diary of Georgiana, Duchess of Devonshire. By WALTER SICHEL. In two volumes. Illustrated. Houghton, Mifflin Company, 1909. 8vo., pp. xix + 631; xi + 549.

Heretofore two other men have dealt with Sheridan's life at first hand, Thomas Moore and Fraser Rae. Moore's *Life* has always been regarded as inadequate and unjust. Rae's *Biography*, in its statement of facts, is excellent; yet most readers, I believe, have felt repelled by the hero-worship which so highly colors its estimates of Sheridan's personality and achievements. Mr. Sichel justly censures Rae as follows: "Least of

all was he [Sheridan] the rose-water liberal and high-souled enthusiast of his last biographer, Mr. Rae, who has scrubbed him with Sunday soap till he shines like one of Wilkie's peasants." Certainly a juster estimate and a fuller life of Sheridan is welcome.

In his Preface Mr. Sichel states his two-fold purpose: (1) to portray Sheridan for the first time at "full-length," and (2) to present with this portrait an adequate background of the period. To accomplish these ends he has attempted to examine all the original manuscript authorities, and all books and pamphlets of any importance that bear on the subject. He has, it seems, left no stone unturned; and whatever may be the shortcomings of his book, one cannot charge him with a lack of industry. Indeed his labor, extended over years, seems to have been largely one of love. A glance at the numerous illustrations beneath which appear the significant words "in the possession of the author," shows how deeply absorbed he became in his task.

Sheridan achieved fame in two separate careers, first in literature, later in politics. Accordingly, Mr. Sichel has devoted Volume One to Sheridan's literary, and Volume Two to his political career. But before beginning the narrative he gives us what he terms an "Overture," dealing at great length (180 pages) with "The Man" and "The Moment." In this prefatory essay he attempts "to put the man and his environment into distinct categories . . . to psychologise a temperament and a time." The most interesting feature of his discussion of "The Man" is his effort to show that the secret springs of Sheridan's life were primarily sentimentalism and melancholia. "In the rough, then, Sheridan offers a study in sentiment. Round this he revolves, and it explains much in him that would otherwise remain a riddle. It is his central aspect, and all other clues to his nature radiate from it." Yet, accompanying this sentimentalism, as a kind of complement, was a strain of melancholia: "He was also what Heine has termed another, 'the knight of the laughing tear.' A constitutional melancholy neighbored his mirth, the irony of things underlay his gayest outbursts, and his mind, like that of his frolicsome forerunner, the comic Farquhar, was frequently 'dressed in black.'"

After this "Overture," given first that it may not "impede the narrative," Mr. Sichel proceeds to Sheridan's life. Working in the field almost immediately after Rae, and handling practically the same material, he has been able to check the statements of the former; hence his work has a certain authoritativeness that otherwise it would not have had. At the outset he takes issue with Rae as to the time of Sheridan's birth. This Rae had assigned, without warrant, it seems, to Octo-

ber 30; Mr. Sichel declares: "The precise day, and indeed month of Sheridan's birth is unascertained."¹ In many similar cases of detail he has been able to correct his predecessors, and frequently to settle matters hitherto in doubt. These are too numerous for mention here. Not the least interesting, however, are those in connection with Sheridan's duels. For example, it is shown that the famous letter purported to have been written by Miss Linley, and long discredited as a clumsy forgery, was in all probability a transcript from a genuine letter.

In addition to chronicling biographical facts, Mr. Sichel has quoted lavishly from Sheridan's various poems and essays, most of which he reproduces for the first time. Thus he has fulfilled his promise in the Preface "to cull a Sheridan anthology." As such his work has a unique value. Here, better than anywhere else, one may form an idea of Sheridan's ability as a lyric poet.

In Volume One, also, Mr. Sichel discusses at great length each of Sheridan's plays. The chapter on *The School for Scandal* is especially full, and valuable for its handling of the successive stages through which that comedy passed. For the purposes of this review, however, I shall confine myself to the discussion of *The Rivals*. This, I find, is not without errors. The third sentence contains the statement: "After two performances it was withdrawn"—a venerable mistake, for which no excuse can be given. The play was withdrawn after one performance. On page 500 the same error is made with further complications: "On the second night, however, the part [of Sir Lucius] was transferred with less odium [from Lee] to Clinch, and Sheridan, who in despair had thought of throwing the piece overboard, was induced by Harris, the manager, to withdraw it for revision." Clinch did not assume the rôle of Sir Lucius until the revised play was put on the boards ten nights after the first performance. On page 486 Mr. Sichel represents the Prologue as "pointing to the mask of Thalia on the proscenium." Yet Sheridan clearly says: "Pointing to the figure of Comedy"; and there was on either side of the stage, near the proscenium, a statue, one of Comedy, the other of Tragedy. These statues are shown quite clearly in a picture of the stage of the Covent Garden Theatre, reproduced in George Paston's *Social Caricatures in the Eighteenth Century*. On page 489 Mr. Sichel quotes a passage from Congreve as having suggested Bob Acres's oaths, with the remark: "A rather suspicious coincidence which the plagiarists have missed." Professor Nettleton in his edition of *The Rivals* (*The Major Dramas of*

¹ Nevertheless, Mr. Sichel begins his chapter (p. 235) dogmatically: "Richard Brinsley Butler Sheridan was born . . . towards the close of September, 1751."

Sheridan), pointed out this fact in 1906. Finally, Mr. Sichel underestimates Mrs. Malaprop's indebtedness to Mrs. Tryfort in *A Journey to Bath*.² He admits only three verbal borrowings ("Thirdly and this exhausts the list"). The present writer has counted no less than nine such borrowings. On page 299 is revealed, in a speech of Sir Anthony, an interesting reminiscence from Sheridan and Halhed's unpublished comedy *Ixion*. Even more interesting, however, is the identification of autobiographical influences in the play. From the day *The Rivals* was first presented writers have suggested that Lydia Languish and Captain Absolute represented in some measure Miss Linley and Sheridan. Mr. Sichel, however, thinks otherwise: "Faulkland and Julia . . . are true transcripts from himself and Miss Linley. Nothing can be more certain." This is ingenious, yet critics of the play will not accept so bold a statement without hesitation.

Volume Two deals entirely with Sheridan's political life, with which, of course, the student of literature is less concerned. It is conspicuous for three things: the interesting and valuable *Diary of the Duchess of Devonshire*, printed for the first time; generous excerpts from Sheridan's famous Begum speech, hitherto regarded as lost; and conclusive evidence that the remarkable state document, the Prince of Wales's *Letter to Mr. Pitt*, was written, not by Burke, as commonly believed, but by Sheridan.

In an Appendix is given a "Bibliography of Sheridan's Works, Published and Unpublished." This is far more exhaustive than any previous bibliography, yet is by no means complete. It even fails to record the most scholarly edition, Professor Nettleton's *The Major Dramas of Sheridan*, 1906. The *Index* is hard to use, and is full of errors, both of omission and commission.

Of the press-work too much can hardly be said in praise. The paper is of superior quality, the type is large and clear, and the binding, in red cloth with the arms of the Sheridan family on the sides, is tasteful and pleasing. Most noteworthy, however, is the richness of illustration. There are forty-seven full-page prints in brown, many of them now published for the first time, and together forming an invaluable collection of pictorial matter. In addition, there are three folding sheets of pedigrees. The publishers, in short, have done for the book all that could be desired.

JOSEPH QUINCY ADAMS, JR.

Cornell University.

CORRESPONDENCE.

WILLIAM LILLY AND *The Alchemist*.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The two following passages from *William Lilly's History of his Life and Times* are of interest as illustrating first, the general situation of Jonson's *Alchemist*, a house left in charge of a servant during the prevalence of the plague, and secondly, the ridiculous scene (Act III, Scene 5) in which poor Dapper is introduced to the Queen of Faery. Lilly, it will be remembered, was a notable astrologer of his day, half charlatan and half the dupe of his own occult learning. His *Life* in its mixture of candor and craft, its realistic anecdote and credulous half belief, is one of the most entertaining relics of its time. The narrative, which is of course desultory in the extreme, extends from the year 1602 to 1681, having been written by Lilly in the sixty-sixth year of his age and addressed "to his worthy friend Elias Ashmole, Esq.," to whom we owe so much in the way of the preservation of manuscripts dealing with the occult. Lilly's manuscript was first published in the year 1715 by Charles Burman. It was reprinted in 1774 with the life of Ashmole, and again in 1822.

The situation in this first passage, it will be noticed, is precisely that of Lovewit and his servant Face, left in charge, even to the Master's marriage soon after. It is not even impossible to imagine Lovewit as dying, and Dame Pliant taking the clever servant for a third husband as here. But this is romancing, and in point of time the fiction preceded the fact.

"In 1625, the visitation increasing, and my master having a great charge of money and plate, some of his own, some other men's, left me and a fellow-servant to keep the house, and himself in June went into Leicestershire. He was in that year of fee collector for twelve poor alms people living in Clement Dane's churchyard; whose pensions I in his absence paid weekly, to his and the parish's great satisfaction. My master was no sooner gone down, but I bought a bas-viol, and got a master to instruct me; the intervals of time I spent in bowling in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields, with Wat the cobbler, Dick the blacksmith, and such like companions. We have sometimes been at our work at six in the morning, and so continued till three or four in the afternoon, many times without bread or drink all that while. . . . In November my master came home. My fellow-servant's and my diet came weekly to six shillings and sixpence, sometimes to seven shillings, so cheap was diet at that time.

²On page 251 Sichel observes: "She [Mrs. Thomas Sheridan] left two acts of an unfinished comedy, '*A Journey to Bath*.'" This should read "three acts." The reference is omitted from the *Index*.

"In February of that year my master married again (one who after his death became my wife). In the same year he settled upon me, during my life, twenty pounds per annum, which I have enjoyed ever since, even to the writing hereof."

As to the second extract, it will be recalled by readers of Jonson that Dapper has been promised by the alchemist, Subtle, and his "fence," Face, a sight of "her grace" his "aunt," queen of the fairies, who is to make him her heir and perform for him other wonders. His eyes are bound "with a rag," and he is pinched to the music of a cit-tern, until he throws away all his valuables to the last half-crown of gold

"about my wrist, that my love gave me
And a leaden heart I wore sin' she forsook me."

Surprised in the midst of these incantations, a gag of gingerbread is thrust into his mouth and he is locked away in an unmentionable place.

Lilly's passage represents the serious belief of the day on which Jonson's farcical scene is founded.

"Since I have related of the queen of fairies, I shall acquaint you, that it is not for every one, or every person, that these angelical creatures will appear unto, though they may say over the call, over and over, or indeed is it given to very many persons to endure their glorious aspects; even very many have failed just at that present when they are ready to manifest themselves; even persons otherwise of undaunted spirits and firm resolutions, are herewith astonished, and tremble; as it happened not many years since with us. A very sober discreet person, of virtuous life and conversation, was beyond measure desirous to see something in this nature. He went with a friend into my Hurstwood; the queen of fairies was invoked; a gentle murmuring wind came first; after that, among the hedges, a smart whirlwind; by and by a strong blast of wind blew upon the face of the friend; and the queen appearing in a most illustrious glory, 'No more, I beseech you,' quoth the friend: 'My heart fails; I am not able to endure longer.' Nor was he: his black curling hair rose up, and I believe a bullrush would have beat him to the ground.

"Sir Robert Holborn, knight, brought once unto me Gladwell of Suffolk, who had formerly had sight and conference with Uriel and Raphael, but lost both by carelessness; so that neither of them both would but rarely appear, and then presently be gone, resolving nothing. He would have given me two hundred pounds to have assisted him for their recovery, but I am no such man. Those glorious creatures, if well commanded, and well observed, do teach the master

any thing he desires; *amant secreta, fugiunt aperta*. The fairies love the southern side of hills, mountains, groves. Neatness and cleanliness in apparel, a strict diet, and upright life, fervent prayers unto God, conduce much to the assistance of those who are curious in these ways."

Apropos of this last compare *The Alchemist*, Act I, Scene ii:

Subtle.

O, good sir!
There must a world of ceremonies pass,
You must be bathed and fumigated, first.

Sir, against one a clock, prepare yourself,
Till when you must be fasting;

And, put on a clean shirt: you do not know
What grace her grace may do you in clean linen.

F. E. SCHELLING.

University of Pennsylvania.

INCLITE ARTI A RADDOLCIR LA VITA.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In a passage of Carducci's *Alle fonti del Clitumno*, which is largely inspired by Vergil's "Praises of Italy," it occurs to me that there exists an allusion, and that the understanding of the allusion is necessary to a grasp of the "psychological moment" that produced the lines. It is the final invocation to Italy:

"E tu, pia madre di giovenchi invitti
A franger glebe e rintegrar maggesi
E d'annitrenti in guerra aspri polledri
Italia madre,

Madre di biade e viti e leggi eterne
Ed inclite arti a raddolcir la vita,
Salve! a te i canti de l'antica lode
Io rinnovello. . . ."

The italicized line is a relic of Carducci's enormous erudition, an erudition which he utilized in all his poems, and which he acknowledged where possible within his verses,¹ or, in the most important cases, in special commenting notes. It is this erudition that gives him the very high rank he holds among Italian epic poets. For the epic of art, in the narrow sense of the term, must be at bottom a work of erudition. It will be a great epic or a failure according as the erudition is artistically interpreted. The works of Trissino and his followers are note-books of history dis-

¹ Cf. the splendid citation from Goethe at the end of *Ca ira*.

torted by "imagination"; Carducci's history is interpreted in general summaries fused by lyric power. He must have been conscious of this distinction himself as he composed his lines on Hannibal and thought of Petrarch's futile attempt to force poetry into those same events. But if the ode to the Clitumnus is as a whole a summary of Italian history, the last verses are a prophecy; and the words in question associate Carducci's mood of the moment with a line of interest very dear to him—the revivification of the Hellenic ideal, of which Italy was to give a re-expression, and of which he felt himself an apostle. For he is here applying to Italy a thought that was originally applied to Athens herself, and became in various adaptations a sort of commonplace. It first appeared in a decree of the Delphic Council, which declared that "Athens first won mankind from the life of wild beasts to gentleness." It occurs again in Dion of Halicarnassus: "The Athenians made gentle our common life," or to report exactly the translation of Gilbert Murray, "made gentle the life of the world."² Italy, mother of the *inclite arti*, is to Carducci the new Athens, the great civilizer; but her civilization is not to be that which "made a desert and called it the kingdom of God," but a culture rational and sensitive, full of intellect and soul; and its monument will be not of marble from Serravezza or Versilia, beautiful as that may be with its intertwining vein of color, but from

Paro gentil dal cui marpesio fianco
Uscian d'Ellas gli dei . . .
O Paro, o Grecia, antichità serena,
Datemi i marmi e i carmi.³

A. A. LIVINGSTON.

Cornell University.

A CORRECTION.

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In a recent article in *Modern Language Notes* (January, 1911, p. 15²) I refer to Lord Burleigh, or Burghley, as 'only five years senior to Leicester and the Queen.' Instead of 'five years,' 'thirteen years' should be read, for Burghley was born in 1520, Elizabeth in 1533, and Leicester in 1532 or 1533. I am quite unable to explain how the inaccuracy got into my text and escaped my notice in the proof, in spite of a careful preliminary verification of the dates con-

cerned. I do not believe that the necessary correction will affect my argument in any appreciable degree.

C. F. TUCKER BROOKE.

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BRIEF MENTION.

The translation by Professor Josselyn of Flamini's *Avviamento allo Studio della Divina Commedia*,¹ is as welcome as it is attractive in appearance. The original work occupies so peculiar a position, compared with other hand-books of Dante studies, as to make it extremely desirable that it should be easily accessible to those interested in the subject, whose command of Italian is imperfect. As the author says in his preface, it is indeed "not a work of compilation," and even those who disagree with his conclusions will admit that it marks a distinct advance in interpretation, beyond other works with a similar object.

The translation invites confidence, and has been revised by the author, who has also made corrections and additions, and brought the bibliography up to date. It may be said, too, that notwithstanding the warning that the work "has been translated with more attention to fidelity than to literary elegance," the result is an exceedingly readable book. It would be a very exacting critic who would presume to point out serious faults of expression, altho the following sentences might be improved: "It is more exact to call it by this name, ['the mountain of Earthly Paradise'] rather than the mountain of Purgatory, since the latter is only temporary (from the Redemption to the Last Judgment)" (p. 44, n. 4). "Then they descend *into* the seventh ledge" (p. 57), "... until towards the end of the middle of the sixteenth century" (pp. 118-119). One may object also to the following: "Lucifer has six wings, in large part because he is a *seraphim*" (p. 40, n.); and to the note on "Francesca da Polenta": "Often called Francesca da Rimini, from the town over which the *Polentas* were lords" (p. 55, n.), and perhaps to the use of the Shaksperian "luxury" (p. 80) to translate "lussuria."

The translator is to be thanked for adding a "short list of books in English, useful for the beginner in Dante study," which, however, does not include Fay's *Concordance*, and Grandgent's *Inferno* is placed under the head of translations of the *Canzoniere*.

² For the text and history of the Greek citations, see Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1907, pp. 2 and 28.

³ *Intermezzo*, IX.

¹ *Introduction to the Study of the Divine Comedy by Francesco Flamini*. Translated by Freeman M. Josselyn. Boston-New York-Chicago-London: Ginn and Company.

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No. 3.

SOME PROPER NAMES IN LAYAMON'S *BRUT* NOT REPRESENTED IN WACE OR GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH

The investigation of names in Arthurian texts has sometimes thrown light on the sources of these works, and the following notes on certain names in Layamon which are not found in Wace, the main source (if we accept the general opinion) of the English poet, nor in Geoffrey of Monmouth, are accordingly offered as a contribution to the question of the sources of his *Brut*.

1. *Argante*, *Argant*, *Argane*. This name for the elf-queen who takes Arthur to Avalon, after he has been wounded in his last battle, occurs twice in Layamon's poem,¹ viz., l. 23071 (Madden, II, 546) and l. 28613 (Madden, III, 144). In the Cotton ms. Caligula A. ix (the older and, on the whole, the better ms.) it is spelt *Argante* in both places; in the Cotton ms. Otho, C. XIII, it is spelt *Argane* in the first of these passages, *Argant* in the second.

As far as I know, the first person to express in print a doubt as to whether we have not in the Layamon mss. here simply a corruption for *Morgan*—the name of the famous fairy of Arthurian romance—was A. C. L. Brown in *Modern Philology*, I, 103 (1903). Professor Brown, however, does not argue the question, merely remarking of the name *Argante* in a brief parenthesis, "perhaps, a corruption for Morgan the fay."² Lat-

¹Layamon's *Brut*, edited by Sir Frederic Madden (for the Society of Antiquaries of London), 3 vols., London, 1847. The best bibliography of Layamon is that published by B. S. Monroe in *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, VII, 139-141 (1908).

²R. H. Fletcher seems to imply the same thing, when he speaks of "Argante the courteous, doubtless the Morgante, queen of Avalon, of Geoffrey's *Vita Merlini*." See his *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, p. 165, Harvard *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, vol. x (1906). Professor Brown's suggestion, as will be seen below, is hardly consistent with his opinion that Layamon drew directly from Welsh sources. The note to my recent edi-

terly E. Brugger, in the *Zs. für französische Sprache und Literatur*, xxxv, 9, note (1909), has expressed this view unhesitatingly in the following words: "Der Name *Morguen* kommt auch (entstellt) ohne M vor; ich erwähne hier nur Layamons *Argante* und verweise auf oben citiertes *Organie*" (i. e., in Maerlant's Dutch *Merlin*). Before seeing Dr. Brugger's article I had taken the same ground in my edition of the Old French prose romance, *Mort Artu* (Halle, 1910), p. 304. No one so far, however, has attempted to explain exactly how the supposed corruption came about or has considered the necessary consequences which the theory of corruption involves. These are the matters which I purpose taking up in the present article.

It may be said at the outset that Miss L. A. Paton in her *Studies in the Fairy Mythology of Arthurian Romance*³ (Boston, 1903), pp. 26 f. (including notes) shows by numerous examples that *Argant* enters as an element into compound names⁴ of both men and women in mediæval Breton and even Welsh, and accordingly she defends the genuineness of the name. R. Imelmann, *Layamon, Versuch über seine Quellen* (Berlin, 1906), pp. 26 f., accepts also the name as genuine⁵ and repels somewhat vehemently Brown's suggestion of corruption in the text—only he adds that it must be Cornish or Breton, since by regular phonetic law the form would be

tion of the Old French prose romance, *Mort Artu* (Halle, 1910), pp. 303 ff., betrays the same inconsistency. On the other hand, it is curious in view of Imelmann's theory concerning Layamon's sources (see his *Layamon, Versuch über seine Quellen*, pp. 26 f., Berlin, 1906) that he should resist so strongly the idea that *Argante* might be a corruption of the French name.

³Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 13.

⁴Miss Paton (p. 27, note 3) gives only one Welsh example, *Arganhell*—which is used both as a masculine and a feminine name.

⁵Imelmann, p. 26, note 1, cites W. Stokes, "The Manuscripts in the Bodmin-Gospels," *Revue Celtique*, I, 332 ff., for evidence that *Argant* is common as an element in the composition of proper names in Cornish and Breton.

Ariant in Welsh. But, after all, the two writers just cited leave their case in a very unsatisfactory condition, for, although they have shown that *Argant* enters into the composition of proper names, they have not shown that it was ever used alone as a proper name,⁶ nor have they succeeded in connecting it with any supernatural being. On the other hand, Miss Paton acknowledges (p. 26) that in all other accounts of Arthur's death and translation besides Layamon, with the single exception of the thirteenth century poem, *Gesta Regum Britanniae*, in which she is unnamed, the supernatural woman who heals Arthur's wounds is called *Morgan* (in some of its variant forms). This fact, in itself, creates a strong presumption that the forms in the Layamon MSS. are merely corruptions of *Morgan*. I shall accordingly proceed with an attempt to explain the different features of the alteration which the original name has suffered.

In Old French texts we have both *Morgan*⁷ and *Morgant*⁸ as forms of the name of the famous fairy of Arthurian romance. Now, as far as the alteration of *o* to *a* (in the radical syllable) is concerned, not only have we in two MSS. of Chrétien's *Yvain*, l. 2953 (W. Foerster's large edition, Halle, 1887), the variant, *Margue*, for the name of the fairy, but the Layamon text itself gives evidence of how easily this alteration could

⁶ Sir Frederic Madden, III, 385, mentions the simple *Argant* as an "Armorican name and borne by the daughter of Constantin (see Lobineau's *Hist. de Bretagne*, vol. I. fol. par. 1707)." I presume that Madden refers to p. 50 of Lobineau (Paris, 1707), but I find, on looking up the passage, that *Argant* here, as everywhere else, occurs merely in composition — *Argantael*.

⁷ This is, no doubt, nearest to the original French form of the name, as it was first adopted from the Celtic, although it is much less frequent in the French texts than some other forms. See Miss Paton, p. 257. She gives, pp. 255 ff., a full list of variants of the name in Old French texts. A few additions will be found in Brugger's note, cited in the first part of this article.

⁸ See Miss Paton, p. 258, note 2, who gives parallels of this variation, *-an*, *-ant* for other Old French names, too. A glance through such a work as E. Langlois' *Table des noms propres de toute nature compris dans les chansons de geste imprimées* (Paris, 1904), shows that the list might be extended almost indefinitely. *Morgant*, it may be observed, is used almost exclusively in the so-called *Livre d'Artus* of MS. 337 (Bibl. Nat.). See E. Freymond, *Zs. für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XVII, 38, note.

take place, since within the space of three lines in the older MS. (ll. 3847–9, Madden, I, 164), we have the name of the same person (Cordelia's nephew) written *Margane* as well as *Morgan* (the usual form). Similarly, the MSS. of the *Conte del Graal*⁹ give the variant forms, *Marcades*, *Morchades* (*Morgades*) for the name of Morgan's sister, the mother of Gawain, and Malory calls the same character *Margause* (Sommer's ed., I, 38) as well as *Morgause* or *Morgawse* (pp. 88, 233 et passim).¹⁰

Still further, it is obvious that the *e* in *Argante* and *Argane* is merely the common sign of the French feminine¹¹ attached respectively to the *-ant* and *-an* forms.

It only remains now to furnish parallels for the loss of the initial M. Fortunately, this is not hard to do, for in most of the MSS. of the *Roman de Troie*, l. 8024,¹² we find that the name is written without the initial M. Indeed, out of the

⁹ Miss Paton (p. 138, note 6) herself gives the variants.

¹⁰ Cp. also the variants *Morgetiud*, *Margetiut* in Miss Paton's book, p. 264. The change of *o* to *a* in mediæval MSS. is so common, indeed, that it hardly requires illustration.

¹¹ Just as in Spanish and Italian the name becomes *Morgana*.

¹² Edition (1904—) of Léopold Constans, I, 434 (Société des Anciens Textes Français). The lines pertinent to the present inquiry read:

Hector monta sor Galatee
Que li tramist Orva la fee,
Que mout l'ama e mout l'ot chier
Mais ne la voust o sei couchier:
Empor la honte qu'ele en ot,
L'en hai tant come ele plus pot,
Ço fu li tres plus beaus chevaus
Sor que montast nus hom charnaus.

In its use of the *motif* of Morgan's hatred on account of rejected love the *Roman de Troie* (composed about 1160) anticipates by half a century, at least, the *Mort Artu* (see the episode in this romance, pp. 50 ff. of my edition, where Lancelot is the object of her hatred). The same motive is perhaps implied, though not expressed, in the *Agravain* (see P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, v, 317), which, as I have said, *Mort Artu*, p. xxxiii, appears to me to have the same author as this last-named romance. In the earlier imprisonment of Lancelot by Morgan in the *Lancelot*, P. Paris, IV, 290 ff., which suggested the corresponding episode in the *Agravain*, the fairy is not in love with Lancelot. See *ibid.*, pp. 300 ff., how she sets on her damsel to tempt him.

eighteen ¹³ mss., whose variants for the passage are recorded in Constans' edition only six show the M (all with small *m*), viz., *morgain*, MSS. 251, Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Médecine (Montpellier), 783; *morguein*, MS. 6534, n. a.; *morgan*, MSS. 2181, Regina (Vatican), 1505; *morganz*, MS. 794. We find the following forms in the remaining MSS.: *orua*, MS. 12600; *orna*, MSS. 903, Bibliotheca Nazionale XIII. C. 8 (Naples); *oua*, MS. 1610; *orains*, MSS. 782, 1553, Bib. Ambrosiana D 55 (Milan); *orainz*, MS. 19159; *ornains*, MS. 375; *orueins*, MS. 6774, n. a.; *or-uain*, MS. 3342 (Arsenal); *ornais*, MS. 60.

In view of these parallels it seems to me clear that *Argant(e)*, *Argane*, are merely corruptions of the French forms of *Morgan(t)*.¹⁴ The M may have first been dropped by some copyist in transcribing the English poem, although it is more likely to have been wanting already in the manuscript of the French original which Layamon used. In any event (if the theory of corruption is accepted) the *-t(e)* at the end must have belonged to the word in the French original, so that the form *Argant(e)* is, in reality, a French form. The name shows, then, that the story of Arthur's translation by the fairy ladies, whatever may be its ultimate origin, was not derived by Layamon, as Brown assumes,¹⁵ from the Welsh. On the contrary, the natural inference from these conditions is that Layamon knew so little of the story from any other source than his French original that he made no effort to give the name of the fairy queen its original Celtic form¹⁶: he merely

¹³ Unless it is otherwise noted, the MSS. cited are in the Bibliothèque Nationale (fonds français). The addition of n. a. after a ms. number indicates that the ms. is among the "nouvelles acquisitions."

¹⁴ The loss of the initial M in such cases was probably due to the fact that the mediæval scribes often left the space vacant at the beginning of a paragraph with the intention of filling it in later with an elaborate initial letter, but sometimes failed to carry out this intention. If the first word of the paragraph were a proper name, it would thus lose its initial letter. I have observed some other instances of the loss of an initial consonant: *Abel* for *Babel* (see E. Langlois' *Table des noms propres dans les chansons de geste*, p. 62), *Agrilon* for *Ca(r)grilon* in *Conte del Graal*, l. 30330. For special reasons the loss of an initial vowel is of very common occurrence.

¹⁵ *Modern Philology*, I, 103 (1903).

¹⁶ It is to be noted that the common Welsh name for

took over the name from this lost (or at least, as yet undiscovered) French original as a part of the story which he was paraphrasing.

Now, the question arises: what was this French original? The *Argante* episode is not in the printed Wace,¹⁷ nor in any MSS. of his *Roman de Brut*, as far as has been observed. I have no doubt, myself, that the original of the English poem was some expanded version of Wace, such

men, *Morgan*, would be in Old Welsh according to Zimmer (W. Foerster's edition of Chrétien's *Erec*, p. xxviii, note), *Morcant*—according to J. Rhys, *Celtic Folklore, Welsh and Manx*, I, 374 (Oxford, 1901) successively *Morcant*, *Morgant*, *Morgan*. The first two of these three forms are actually found in the Welsh poems printed by W. F. Skene, *Four Ancient Books of Wales*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1868. Rhys (*loc. cit.*, note) cites also from mediæval charters *Morcant*, *Morcunn*, *Morgunn* as forms of the name. *Morcunt*, *Morgant* could, of course, become corrupted to the forms in the Layamon MSS., but, if we are to believe Professor Rhys, this masculine name could never have been the Welsh name for the fairy queen. He has repeatedly stated that the name for this personage must have been *Morgen* (later *Morien*). See the book just quoted, I, 373 ff.—also his *Arthurian Legends*, pp. 348 ff. (Oxford, 1891), where he had already equated her with the Irish *Muirgen*.—*Morgan le Fay* was entirely unknown to Welsh saga, according to Zimmer, *Zs. für franz. Sprache u. Lit.*, XII, 239, if we accept his limitation of the word *Britones* to the Bretons—which, to be sure, is disputed. But, however, this may be, the only time her name appears in what we may regard as a strictly Celtic source, viz., the *Vita Merlini* (ascribed to Geoffrey of Monmouth and composed about 1148), ll. 290 ff., whether it is derived in this case from the Breton or the Welsh, it is in the form assumed by Professor Rhys, viz., *Morgen*.—Wülker, Paul and Braune's *Beiträge*, III, 544 ff., and Brown, *Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, VII, p. 189, have pointed out that the forms of names in Layamon are often closer to the Welsh than in Wace, but this may be due, of course, to his French original.—The French *Morgain* (*Morgan*), which rendered, no doubt, the original Celtic form, was sometimes misunderstood as an accusative feminine form after the analogy of *Berte-Bertain*, *Margue-Margain* and other proper names (see Gaston Paris' article, *Romania*, XXIII, 323 ff., for numerous examples) and new nominative forms, *Morg(h)e*, *Morgue*, were inferred. These do not, however, always remain nominatives.

In conclusion to this note it is to be remarked that we appear to have *Morgen* as a masculine name in William of Malinesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae*. Cf. F. Lot, *Romania*, XXVII, 530 f. (1898).

¹⁷ *Roman de Brut*, ed. Le Roux de Lincy, 2 vols., Rouen, 1836-8.

as Imelmann¹⁸ has argued for. The evidence of the two remaining names which I am about to consider points strongly in the same direction.

2. *Meleon*. This name for one of Mordred's sons—the one who was slain by Constantine, Arthur's successor—occurs at l. 28742 (Madden, III, 150) of Layamon's text. Neither of these sons is named in Geoffrey or Wace. The genitive form, *Malaeones*, occurs at l. 28753 (Madden, *ibid.*). Our only authority here is the older manuscript, Cotton, Caligula, A. ix, since the passage is wanting in the other ms. Sir Frederic Madden remarks (III, 412): "The name of one of Mordred's sons is not given in the French text [*i. e.*, Wace] nor by Geoffrey; nor does it occur in any of the works I have consulted." Imelmann (p. 35) cites *Melion*¹⁹ in the lay of that title (published by W. Horak in *Zs. für roman. Philologie*, VI, 94 ff.) as a similar name. But there is, of course, no connection between this character and Layamon's *Meleon*. On the other hand, we have what is evidently the same name given to the eldest of Mordred's sons in the Vulgate *Mort*

Artu (see my edition, pp. 254 f.). In ms. 342 (Bibl. Nat.) of that work the name appears as *Malehaus* (nominative), *Malehaut* (oblique)—under the influence, doubtless, of the name of Guinevere's famous confidante, the "dame de Malehaut" (P. Paris, *Romans de la Table Ronde*, III, 222 ff. et passim)—but in Royal 19. C. XIII (see variants given at the bottom of the page), which is significantly in the Anglo-Norman dialect, we have in both places *Melehan*. The coincidence is suggestive for the sources of both Layamon's *Brut* and the *Mort Artu*, since it shows that the authors of both works must have used for the parts of their narratives which we are considering some other source than the Wace (or Geoffrey) that we know. I believe that this source was Imelmann's hypothetical expansion of Wace's *Brut*. Layamon, no doubt, got the name directly from this source. One cannot make the same assertion quite so positively of the French romance, but in any event they must have had ultimately a common source.²⁰

¹⁸ *Layamon: Versuch über seine Quellen*, pp. 84, 87. Whether the expansions of this hypothetical version were drawn from just the sources which Imelmann indicates I will not undertake here to decide. For a poem of Wace's—his *Conception*—which has been thus expanded by interpolations from other works, see Paul Meyer's article, *Romania*, xvi, 232 ff. (1887).

¹⁹ The Dutch *Roman van Lancelot* (ed. W. J. A. Jonckbloet, The Hague, 1846–9), Part III, 164 ff., has the same name in the form of *Melions*. This portion of the Dutch poem is based on the lost French romance called *Torec*. Cp. G. Paris, *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxx, pp. 263 ff. We find elsewhere in the *Roman van Lancelot* (*ibid.*, p. 13) *Melian* as the name of a son of the King of Denmark. This is identical with the name of the well-known Arthurian knight, *Meliansz*, *Melian(t) de Lis* (in *Conte del Graal*, *Vengeance de Raguidel* and other romances). Cf. also *Melian le Gai* in the prose *Lancelot*, P. Paris, iv, 257 ff. The name occurs also in the *Perlesvaus*, prose *Tristan*, etc.

Imelmann (*loc. cit.*) believes that *Meleon* comes from Welsh *Maelgwn* (Layamon's *Malgus*, Madden, III, 153). This is phonetically probable, but the resemblances between the careers of Layamon's *Meleon* and the historical *Maelgwn* which he points out seem to me very slight.

In view of the occurrence of the name in the *Mort Artu* R. H. Fletcher's idea that the name *Meleon* was invented by Layamon is no longer tenable. See his *Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, p. 158.

²⁰ I regret that I did not observe this coincidence between Layamon and the *Mort Artu*, whilst preparing my edition of the latter. In the *Mort Artu* (p. 255) it is Bors who kills Malehaut (Melehan) in the battle at Winchester which Lancelot fights against the two sons of Mordred. Lancelot himself slays the other son (p. 256) later in this battle. In Geoffrey, Wace and Layamon one of the sons is slain at London, the other at Winchester—both while seeking sanctuary. In the *Mort Artu*, as we have seen, both fall on the field of battle at Winchester. It seems probable that the author of the French romance, using here some *Brut* (derived, no doubt, ultimately from Wace) compressed into one the originally separate narratives of the deaths of these two characters, making them die together. In a similar spirit he reduced to one battle the three which, according to the older accounts, were fought between Arthur and Mordred (see my note to the *Mort Artu*, pp. 291 ff.). It was the author of the *Mort Artu*, too, probably, who substituted Lancelot for Constantine as the avenger of Arthur on the sons of Mordred. He is most likely responsible, furthermore, for the change in the manner of their death, which is transferred from the sanctuary to the battlefield.

The matter which I have been commenting on seems, then, to furnish proof that the author of the *Mort Artu* used for this episode some other source than Geoffrey or Wace—in all probability, some expanded version of Wace, but in any event a *Brut*. This circumstance strengthens the suspicion that other incidents in the latter part of his romance may have been derived from the same source (or, possibly, similar sources), *e. g.*, the incident of Girflet and

My conclusion as to the relations of Layamon's source and the prose *Lancelot* (or *Mort Artu*) is just the opposite, it will be observed, of Imelmann's (pp. 57 ff.). He assumes that the latter influenced the former. But the prose *Lancelot* was, in all probability, composed later than Layamon, to say nothing of Layamon's sources.

3. *Oriene, Orien*.²¹ This name is not found in Geoffrey or Wace. It occurs, however, in Layamon as the name of the daughter of Octaves (represented as King of Britain in the time of Constantine the Great), who is given in marriage to Maximian, her father's successor. The form

the sword and the translation of the wounded Arthur by the fairy ladies. It was this suspicion which led me to express myself cautiously in the Introduction, p. xxxvi, to the *Mort Artu*, when I said: "Incidentally, however, our author in this part of the story drew from sources which, if written, have not been identified."

As other indications of a lost *Brut* source for the *Mort Artu* one may cite, perhaps, the following passages: 1. Where Arthur learns from a messenger of Mordred's treason, *Mort Artu*, p. 202, and sees in this intelligence the realization of a prophetic dream. Cf. with this Layamon (Madden, III, 117 ff.). Here the messenger does not announce the news of Mordred's treason until after Arthur has related the prophetic dream which he had the night before. His dream, to be sure, is different from that in the *Mort Artu*, although both are allegorical. Moreover, in Layamon Guinevere, as in the older forms of the story, shares Mordred's guilt. Evidently, as regards the relations of Layamon and the *Mort Artu*, one can only claim that they go back ultimately to the same source. The significant thing, however, is that Wace, whom we have been accustomed to regard as Layamon's source, mentions neither messenger nor dream. The same is true of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Book x, ch. 132. 2. Arthur's dream of the Wheel of Fortune, *Mort Artu*, p. 220. This occurs also (with very considerable differences) in the alliterative Middle English *Morte Arthure*, ll. 3223 ff. Cp. my note to the passage, p. 291, of my edition of the *Mort Artu*. Here, too, I believe that the ultimate source of the French romance and the English poem is the same. When I remarked in the note just cited that I believed that this dream came into "Arthurian literature" (I should have said definitely the *Mort Artu*) from some *Brut* now lost, I had not observed that Imelmann, p. 57, had already asserted a common source for the alliterative poem and the *Mort Artu* (or *Lancelot*, as he calls it), as regards this dream.

²¹ I agree with Imelmann, p. 35, that Layamon got this name from a French and not Welsh source. I do not think, however, that his discussion contributes anything to the elucidation of its origin.

Orien occurs once in the older ms. l. 11504 (Madden, II, 55), where the later ms. has the form with *-e*. *Orien* is found besides in both mss. at l. 11602 (Madden, II, 59) and at l. 11558 (Madden, II, 57) in the older ms.²² In the later ms. several lines here are wanting. The *-e* is evidently the French feminine ending. Is not this name simply a French variant of the Welsh woman's name, *Orwen*? That name occurs in the Latin romance,²³ *Vita Meriadoci* (more properly *Historia Meriadoci*), p. 352, with the spelling *Oruen*. The only thing necessary to convert this form into *Orien(e)* would be for some scribe to leave off the second stroke of the *u*, and how easy that was no one who has any acquaintance with mediaeval mss. needs to be told. If I am right in my identification, this name too would furnish striking evidence that Layamon was wholly dependent on his French sources and did not recognize a Welsh name in the form which he had before him.²⁴

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²² The older ms. has *Oriene* also at l. 12004 and l. 12099, where the later ms. has *Vrsele*. The latter is apparently the right reading for this particular passage. See Madden, III, 347.

²³ See my edition of this romance, *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, xv, 326 ff. (1900). I discuss this name especially p. 330, note 4. I had not thought at the time, however, of the connection between Layamon's *Orien(e)* and *Orwen*.

²⁴ Everything, it seems to me, points to the justice of Imelmann's conclusion that all really important variations of Layamon from Wace—the expansions, etc.—are due to the fact that the English poet was following a French source which differed from Wace. Take, for instance, the passage in Layamon (Madden, II, pp. 384–408) which extends from Arthur's birth to his coronation and includes the story of Uther's last wars and death by poisoning. Its fully developed narrative is strikingly different from the concise and matter-of-fact account in Wace (Leroux de Lincy's edition, II, 30 ff.). One cannot match this amplifying method anywhere else in Middle English treatments of romantic material, e. g., in the metrical romances. It may be retorted, of course, that Layamon was a man of genius and constituted an exception to the rule. I should like, however, to call attention to one feature of this passage which has been given little consideration: After Arthur's birth we hear no more of him in Layamon until his coronation. Then, when his father dies, we are surprised to learn that he is in Brittany and has to be summoned thence to be crowned (Madden, II,

A SUMMARY OF THE PROTESTANT FAITH IN MIDDLE LOW GERMAN

The number of editions of Luther's works in Low German certainly testifies to how eagerly it was desired to gain the North for the cause of the great reformer, and to adapt his writings to its vernacular. That we are dealing here with translations frequently rather superficially and hurriedly done, cannot escape the expert and careful observer of Low German. Yet these translations furnish nevertheless valuable material for the study of the Low German of that time. For that purpose, for the sake of the language, this little pamphlet is reprinted here, especially since it might not be unworthy of notice in other respects as well. Perhaps it will likewise stimulate the study of the Low German of that time, which is unfortunately still all too much neglected.

408 ff.). R. H. Fletcher (*Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, p. 163) explains the difficulty by assuming that Layamon is here probably "following the analogy of the case of Constantine, Aurelius and Uther." But there is no real analogy between the cases. Constantine (Madden, II, 109) was brother of the King of Brittany, who was sent over to free Great Britain from the tyranny of Melga and Wanis. Aurelius and Uther had been taken over to Brittany as children after Vortiger's usurpation (Madden, II, 149), and when they returned it was to deliver the land from Hengest and Vortiger. Here everything is clear in Layamon, just as it is in Wace, I, 299 ff. and I, 314 ff., 363 ff., and in Geoffrey. On the other hand, Wace, II, 30 ff., says nothing about Arthur's residence in Brittany nor does Geoffrey, Book VIII, ch. 20 to Book IX, ch. 1. The obscurity here in Layamon is, as it seems to me, undoubtedly due to some confusion in regard to his source. We have a parallel example in the Middle English stanzaic *Morte Arthur*, II, 934 ff. (E. E. T. S. Extra Series, no. 88, 1903), where Lancelot appears sick at the hermit's, although nothing had been said of the matter before; but a reference to the Old French *Mort Artu*, pp. 67 ff., where an account of his wounding is given, shows that the English poet was working with a defective MS. in which this account had dropped out (see *Anglia*, vol. 23, pp. 85 f.). Similarly in the Vulgate *Queste* (ed. F. J. Furnivall, London, 1864), p. 231, we find the tomb of Bademagus with an inscription to the effect that he had been slain by Gawain, although nothing has been said of this before in the romance. The Portuguese *Demanda*, however, and MS. 112 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (see my edition of the *Mort Artu*, p. 266) contain this missing account and show that the *Queste* printed by Dr. Furnivall is defective here.

On the sixteenth of October,¹ 1529, at the assembly of the Protestant estates in Schwabach, the Wittenberg theologians, among them Luther, had drawn up a confession. These theses were submitted at Torgau to the Elector of Saxony, at his express desire, as a short summary of the main tenets of the Protestant faith, at a time when the diet of Augsburg had already been convoked.

Without Luther's knowledge these theses were printed and published by the Coburg printer, Hans Bern. Misled by the overhasty printer, the papal theologians, assembled in Augsburg, composed a counter document: "A short and Christian statement recast in seventeen theses at the present diet of Augsburg against the confession of Martin Luther."

Luther answered this by printing and publishing these Torgau theses with a preamble from his own pen.

Our print comes from the establishment of the well-known Magdeburg printer, Hans Wolther or Walther. The original is in the library of Wolfenbüttel. It is the Low German translation of the so-called Torgau Articles, which in turn are based mainly upon the Marbach Articles.

De bekentenisse D. Martini Luthers vp den
iegenwardigen angestelden Rykesdage
tho Augsburg. In xvij. Artikel
Voruatet. M. D. xxx.

De Erste artikel / van der Godtheyth.

Dat me vaste vnd eyndrechtlick lere / dat
allene ein einich warhaftich Godt sy /
schepper hemmels vnde der erden / also dat in
dem eynigen warhaftigen Goetliken wesen de dre
vnderscheetlike personen syn / noemlick / Godt de
vader / Got de Soene / Godt de hyllige geyst / dat
de Soene van dem vader gebaren / van ewicheyt
tho ewicheyt rechte natu'rlike Godt sy mit dem
vader / vnde de hyllige geyst beyde vam vader
vnd Soene ys / ock van ewicheyt tho ewicheyt
rechte natu'rlike Godt sy mit dem vader vnd
Soene / wo dat alle dorch de schrifft klarlick vnd
gewaldichliken mach bewiszet werden / als Joan. i.
im anfange was dat wordt vnde dat wort was by
Godde vnde Godt was dat wort etc. vnd Matthei
vlti. Ghat hen vnde leret alle Heyden vnde

¹ For the following cp. the Erlangen edition of Luther's works, Vol. 24, 334 ff.

do^opet se in dem namen des vaders vnde des Soⁿs vnd des hylligen geystes vnde der geliken spro^oke mere / Suⁿderlick in dem Euangelio Johannis.

De ander Artickel / van dem Soⁿe.

Dat allene de soⁿe Gades sy warhafflich mynsche geworden / van der reynen iunckfrouwe / Marien gebaren mit lyff vnde seele volkommenn vnd nicht de vader / edder hyllige geist sy minsche worden / Alse de ketter Patripassion gelert hebben / oock de Soⁿe nicht allene den lyff ane seele ange(n)omen alse de Photinier geerret hebben / wente he su^luest in dem Euangelio gantz vaken² van syner seele (Aij) redet / Als dar he sprickt / myn seele ys bedro^uet went³ in den dodt etc. dat ouerst Godt de Sone sy minsche worden / steyt Joan. i. klarlick also / vnd dat wort ys flesck geworden etc. vnd Ga. iiij. do de tydt erfullet was. etc.

De dru^dde Artikel / dat Christus geleden hefft.

Dat de su^luige Gades Soⁿe warhafflich Godt vnde minsche Jesus Christus sy / eyn eynige vndelike person / vor vns mynschen geleden / gecru^tziget / gestoruen / begrauen / am dru^dden dage vpgestan van den doden / vpgefarenn tho hemmel / syttet tho der rechtern Godes / Here ouer alle creatur / Also dat me nicht gelo^uen edder leren kan edder schal dat Jesus Christus alse de minsche edder de minscheyt vor vns geleden hebbe / Sunder alse de wyle Godt vnde mynsche hyr nichtt twe personen / sunder eyn vndelike persone ys / schal me holden vnde leren / dat Godt vnd mynsche / edder Goddes soⁿe warhafflich vor vns geleden hebbe / alse Paulus Ro. viij. sprickt. Godt hefft synes eynigen Soⁿs nicht vorschonet / sunder vor vns alle darhen gegeuen etc. vnde i. Cor. ij. / Hedden se ene erkant ze. vnd dergeliken spro^oke mere.

De veerde Artikel / van der Suⁿde.

Dat de arffsuⁿde eyn rechte warhafftige suⁿde sy / vnde nicht allene eyn feyl⁴ effte gebreck / sunder ein solcke suⁿde de alle mynschen so van Adam komen vordampt / vnd ewichlick van Gade schedet / wo nicht Jesus Christus vns vorsoⁿet / vnd solcke suⁿde sampt allen suⁿden / de dar vth volgen / vp sick genomen hedde / vnde dorch syn lydent genoch daruor gedan / vnde se also gantz (Aij) vpgehauen vnde vordelget in sick su^luest. Alse Psalm. liij. / vnde Roma. v. Van su^lecker / klarlick geschreuen ys.

De vo^offte Artikel / van minschen krefftten.

Na deme nu alle mynschen suⁿder synt / der suⁿden vnde dem dode / dar tho dem du^uel vnderworpen / Ys ydt vmochlick dat eyn minsche sick vth synen krefftten / edder dorch syne guden werck her vth wercke / effte⁵ helpe / darmede he weder recht edder fram werde / Ja kann sick oock nicht bereden edder schicken tho der gerechticheyt / sunder io mer he vo^rnympt sick su^luest her vth tho werken edder helpen / io erger ydt mit eme wert / dat ys ouerst de eynige wech / tho der gerechticheyt / vnde tho der vorlo^synge van den suⁿden / vnd dodt / So me an alle vordenst edder wercke gelouet an den sone Gades vor vns geleden etc. alse gesecht / Solcke loue⁶ ys vnse gerechticheyt / denn Godt wil vor gerecht / from / vnde hyllich gerekent vnd geholden werden / alle suⁿde vnd dat ewige leuent geschencket hebben / all de solcken gelouen an synem soⁿe hebben / dat se vmme synes Sons willen schollen tho genaden genamen vnd kynder syn in synem ryke etc. Also dat alle S. Paulus vnde Joannes in synen Epistelen ricklick leren / als Ro. x. Mit dem herte louet men etc. Johan. iij. Alle de an den Sone louen de schollen nicht verlaren werden / Sunder dat Ewige leuent hebben etc.

De so^oste Artikel / vam Louen.

Dat solck eyn loue sy nicht eyn mynschen werck / noch vth vnse krefftten mogelick / Sunder ydt ys eyn Gades werck vnde gaue / de de hyllige geist dorch Christum gegeuen / in vns werket vnde solcke geloue / de wile he nicht ein losz wan edder duⁿckent des herten is / alse de valscho^uigen hebben / Sunder ein krefftlich nye leuendich wesent / bringet he vele fruchte / deit iu^mmer gut iegen Godt mit dankenden louende biddende / predigende vnde lerende / Jegen dem negesten mit leue / deinede / helpen / raden / geuen / leuen vnd liden allerleye ouel went in den dodt.

De so^ouende Artikel / vam Euangelio.

Su^lcken gelouen tho erlangende / edder vns minschen tho geuende / hefft Godt in gesettet dat Predick ampt / edder muⁿdtlick wort / nomlick dat Euangelium / dorch welker he su^lcken gelouen vnde sine macht nut vnde frucht vorkuⁿdigen leth / vnde giffit oock dorch dat su^luige alse dorch ein middel den gelouen mit sinem hilligen geist / wan vnde wo he wil / su^s⁷ ys nen ander middel noch wyse / wedder weg noch stich / den gelouen to bekennen / wente gedanken vth edder vor deme muⁿtliken worde / wo hillich vnde gudt se schynen syndt ydt doch ydel lo^gen vnd erdom.

⁵ or.

⁶ faith.

⁷ otherwise, N. H. German sonst.

² often.

³ unto, until.

⁴ fault, defect.

De achte Artikel / van den Sacramenten.

By vnde neuen solekem mu^{ndt}liken worde / hefft Godt ock yn gesett vthwendige teken de man Sacramenta no^{met} / No^mlick de Do^{pe} / vnd Eucharistian / dorch welke Godt neuen dem worde / ock den gelouen vnde synen geist anbu^{tt} vnde gyfft / vnde stercket alle de syner begeren.

De Negende Artikel /
Van der Do^{pe}.

Dat de do^{pe} dat erste teken edder (B) Sacramente steit in twen stu^{cken} / No^melick ym water / vnd wort Gades / edder dat me mit water Do^{pe} / vnd Gades wort spreke / vnde sy nicht allene slicht water / edder begeten (als de Do^{pe} lesters ytzunt leren) Su^{nder} de wile Gades wort dar by ys / vnde se vp Gades wort gegr^{und}et / So ys ydt ein hillich leuendich vnde kreftlich dinck / vnd also Paulus secht Titon iij. Ephesios v. Ein badt der wedder gebort / vnde vornyringe des hilligen geistes etc. Vnde dat solcke Do^{pe} / ock den kindern tho rekende / vnde mede tho delende sy / Gades wort o^{uer}st / dar vp se steit synt desse / Ghat hen vnde Do^{pet} ym namen des Vaders / vnde des Sons / vnde des hilligen geistes / Matthei am lesten Cap. Wol gelo^{uet} etc. Dat mot me gelo^{uen}.

De Teinde Artikel / vam Sacrament
des Altars.

Dat Eucharistia edder des Altars Sacrament / steit ock in twen stu^{cken} No^mlick / dar sy warhafftlich yegenwardich in dem brode vnd in dem wyne / dat ware liff vnde blodt Christi / na lude der worde / Dat ys myn liff / dat ys myn blodt / vnde sy nicht allene brodt vnde wyn / also ytzunt dat wederdeil vergifft / Desse wort vordern vnde bringen ock den louen / o^{uer}st ock den su^{lu}igen by alle den de solcke Sacramente begern vnd nicht dar wedder handelen / gelick als de Do^{pe} ock den louen bringt vnd giff / so men erer begert.

De elffte Artikel / van der Bicht.

Dat de hemelike Bicht nicht schal gedwungen werden mit gesetten / so weinich also de Do^{pe} / Sacrament / vnde Euangelion schollen gedwungen syn / su^{nder} fry / Doch dat (Bij) me wete wo gantz trostlick vnde heilsam / nu^{tte} vnde gudt se sy den bedro^{ued}en vnde errigen geweten / de wile darynne de Absolutio / dat ys / Gades wort vnde ordel gesproken wert / dar dorch dat geweten loss vnde thofreden wert van syner beku^{mm}ernisse / Ys ock nicht nodt alle su^{nde} tho uortellen / Men mach o^{uer}st anteken vnde seggen de dat harte byten vnde vnrowich maken.

De Two^{lf}fte Artikel /
Van der kercken.

Dat neen twyuel ys / ydt sy vnde blue vp erden ein hillige Christlike kerke wente an der werlt ende / alse Christus sprickt Matthei am lesten / Su^e ick byn by iuw alle dage wente in den ende der werlt / Solcke kerke ys nicht anders den de gelo^uigen an Christum / welcke bauengenante Artikel vnde stu^{cke} holden gelo^{uen} vnd leren / vnde dar auer voruolget vnde gemartert werden in der werlt / Wente wor dat Euangelion geprediget wert vnde de Sacramente recht gebruket / dat ys de hillige Christlike kerke / Vnd se ys nicht mit gesetten vnd vthwendiger pracht ane stede vnde tydt an person vnd geberde gebunden.

De dru^{tte}inde Artikel /
Vam iu^{ng}esten gerichte.

Dat vnse Here Jhesus Christus an dem iu^{ng}esten dage kamen wert / tho richten de leuendigen vnde de doden / vnde syne gelo^uigen vorlo^{sen} van allem o^{uel} vnde in dat ewige leuent bringen de vnlo^uigen vnd Gotlosen straffen / vnde sampt den Du^{uel}en in de helle vordo^{men} ewichlick.

De veerteinde Artikel /
Van der Ouericheit. (Bij)

Dat in des / so lange de Here tho gerichte ku^mpt / vnde alle walt vnd herschop vpheuen wert / schal me wertlike o^{uer}icheit vnde herschop in eren holden vnde gehorsam syn / Als einen standt van Godt vorordent / thobeschu^{tt}ende de framen / unde to stu^{rende} den ho^{sen} / dat solcke standt ein Christen wo he dar tho ordentlick gepropen wert / ane schaden vnde vare^s synes gelouens / vnd syner seelen salicheit woluo^{ren} edder darynne denen mach.

De Vo^{ff}teynde Artikel /
Van Minschen lere.

Vth dem alle volget / dat de lere so den Presteren vnde geistliken de Ehe / vnde in gemene hen flesch vnde spyse vorbu^{tt} / mit allerley Kloster leuende vnde gelo^{ff}ten (de wile men dar dorch gnade vnd der seelen salicheit socht vnd menet / vnd nicht fry leth) ydel vordo^{mede} du^{uel}ische lere sy / Alse ydt S. Pau. j. Timo. iij. no^{met} / So doch allene Christus de enige wech ys / tho der gnade vnd der seelen salicheit.

De so^{ste}inde Artikel /
Van der Missen.

Dat vor allen gru^welen der Misse also su^s.

^s danger.

lange heer / vor ein offer edder gudt werck ge-
holden / dar mede de eine dem anderen hefft
gnade vor weruen⁹ willen / aff tho doende sy /
Sunder an de stede solcker Misse / ein Go^dtlieke
ordeninge gehalten werde / des hilligen Sacra-
ments / des lyues vnde blodes Christi beyde ge-
stalt thogeuende einem ytliken vp synen gelouen /
vnde tho syner eigen nottrofft.

De So^euenteinde Artikel /
Van den Cerimonien.

Dat me de Cerimonien der kerken / welcke
wedder Gades wort streuen ock affdoen / De an-
deren o^euerst fry late syn / de su^eluige tobetrach-
tende edder nicht / na der leue / Dar mede men
nicht ane orsake lichtuerdich ergernisse geue /
edder gemenen frede ane nodt bedro^euen.

Soli deo Gloria.

Gedru^ecket tho Magde
borch Dorch Hans
Wolther.

ERNST VOSS.

University of Wisconsin.

A NOTE ON A BORROWING FROM
CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES

We know of no better illustration, in Old French chivalric literature, of the tendency to insist upon a conventional literary form to express the medieval ideal of female beauty, than appears from a borrowing of the portrait of Blanche-fleur in Chrétien's *Li Contes del Graal*, by the author of the fabliau *Guillaume au Faucon*. A comparison may be made between the fabliau,¹ the Potvin text of the Perceval story,² and from another text of the same.³ We give the parallel passages from the fabliau and from the text of the ms. 794.

⁹ gain, acquire.

¹ Mont. et Rayn.: *Rec. des Fabliaux des xiii^e et xiv^e siècles*, t. II, p. 94.

² Ch. Potvin: *Perceval le Gallois, ou le Conte du Graal*, Mons, 1866, t. II, v. 2989 seq.

³ Crestien's von Troyes *Contes del Graal*. Abdruck der Handschrift Paris, français 794. Nicht im Buchhandel.

Guillaume au Faucon

Si vos dirai ci la devise
De sa beauté par soutill guise :
Que la dame estoit plus très cointe,
Plus très acesmée et plus jointe,
Quant el est parée et vestue,
Que n'est faucons qui ist de mue,
Ne espervier, ne papegaut.
D'une porpre estoit son bliaut,
Et ses menteaus d'or estelée,
Et si n'estoit mie pelée
La penne qui d'ermine fu ;
D'un sebelin noir et chenu
Fu li menteaux au col coulez,
Qui n'estoit trop granz ne trop lez.
Et, se ge onques fis devise
De beauté que Dex eüst mise
En cors de feme ne en face,
Or me plaist-il que mes cuers face
Où jà n'en mentirai de mot.
Quant desliée fu, si ot
Les cheueus tex qui les veüst,
Qu'avis li fust, s'estre poist,
Que il fussent tuit de fin or,
Tant estoit luisant et sor.
Le front avoit poli et plain.
Si com il fust fait à la mein,
Sorciz brunez et large entr'ueil ;
En la teste furent li oeil
Clair et riant, vair et fendu ;
Les nés ot droit et estendu,
Et mielz avenoit sor son vis
Le vermeil sor le blanc asis,
Que le synople sor l'argent ;
Tant par seoit avenamment
Entre le menton et l'oreille ;
Et de sa bouche estoit vermoille,
Que ele sanbloit passerose,
Tant par estoit vermeille et close
Et si avoit tant beau menton,
N'en puis deviser la façon ;
Neïs la gorge contreval
Sanbloit de glace ou de cristal,
Tant par estoit cler et luisant,
Et desus le piz de devant
Li poignoient II mameletes
Auteles comme II pommètes.
Que vos iroie-ge disant ?
Por enbler cuers et sens de gent
Fist Diex en lui passermerveille,
Ainz mais nus ne vit sa pareille.
Nature qui faite l'avoit,
Qui tote s'entente i metoit,
I ot mise et tot son sens.
Tant qu' el en fu povre lonc tens.
De sa beauté ne veuil plus dire.

10

20

30

40

50

Ms. 794, v. 1772 seq.

E la pucele vint plus jointe
 Plus acemee e plus cointe
 Que esperviers ne papegauz
 Ses mantiax fu e ses bliauz
 D'une porpre noir estelee
 De vair, e n'ert mie pelee
 La pane qui d'ermine fu ;
 D'un sebelin noir e chenu
 Qui n'estoit trop lons ne trop lez
 Fu li mantiax au col orlez
 E se je onques fis devise
 En biauté que diex eust mise
 En cors de fame ne an face
 Or me plect que une en reface
 Ou ge ne mentirai de mot
 Desliee fu e si ot
 Les chevox tels s'estre poist
 Que bien cuidast qui les veist
 Que il fussent tuit de fin or
 Tant estoient luisant e sor
 Le front ot blanc e haut e plain
 Com se il fust ovrez de main
 Que de main d'ome l'uevre fust
 De pierre ou d'ivoire ou de fust
 Sorciz brunez e large antruel
 En la teste furent li oel
 Riant e vair e cler fendu
 Le nez ot droit e estendu
 E mialz li avenoit el vis
 Li vermauz sor le blanc asis
 Que li sinoples sor l'argent.
 Por embler san e cuer de gent
 Fist dex de li passe-mervaille
 N'onques puis ne fist sa paroille
 Ne devant faite ne l'avoit.

In *Guill. au Faucon* : ll. 1-2, 5-6, 34-47, not contained in Chrétien. Ll. 1-2 merely prefatory ; l. 3 *très* added : *dame* replaces *pucele* ; *estoit* for *vint* ; ll. 3-4 *cointe-jointe* in reverse order, foll. Mons ms. ; ll. 8-9 order of words differs from Mons and 794 ; l. 13 *coulez* for *orlez* ; ll. 13-14 verses in reverse order ; l. 16 *de* replaces *en* ; l. 18 *mes cuers* replaces *une en* ; l. 19 *où* foll. 794, Mons *que* ; l. 20 *quant* inserted, *e* suppressed ; *desliée* foll. 794, Mons *desfublée* ; ll. 21-22 rimes reverse order : *qui les veist* foll. 794, Mons *que l'en deïst* ; l. 25 *avoit* for *ot* ; *poli* for *haut e plain* ; l. 26 word-order changed ; l. 31 *mialz* foll. 794, Mons *moult* ; *sor*, 794 *el*, Mons *en son* ; l. 50 rimes alone foll. 794 and Mons.

It will be seen that, disregarding orthographical differences, there are certain discrepancies in some details of the three texts. The fabliau at times

follows ms. 794, at times the Mons ms., sometimes neither. These discrepancies would doubtless be explained had we access to the fourteen unpublished manuscripts of *Li Contes del Graal*.⁴

The interpolated verses call for little explanation. The author of *Guillaume au Faucon*, conversant with the store of literary banalities of the time, and doubtless considering his model description incomplete, borrows elsewhere. Ll. 35-38 : *Chev. Ogier* 12068, *bele ot le boce . . . plus vermeille que rose* ; *Parten.* 552, *Bouce . . . a vermeillette* ; Meyer, *JbREL.*, v, 339, *li bouche . . . vermeille comme rose*.—Ll. 41-43 : *Yvain* 1482, *Et nus cristaus ne nule glace N'est si clere* ; Bartsch : *Chr. prov.* 267, *la gola blanca plus que neus*.—Ll. 44-46 : *Chev. Ogier* 12068, *les mamelettes li aloient pognant com dus pomes* ; *Hist. litt.* xxvi, 338, *mamelettes dures et poignans*.⁵

This borrowing, hitherto unnoticed, is both interesting and instructive in view of the importance of the two medieval poems. It casts additional light upon the esteem in which Chrétien's portraits were held by his contemporaries, an esteem that bordered upon worship in subsequent literature.⁶ The fabliau *Guillaume au Faucon* has been judged "le chef-d'œuvre, justement célèbre, de ces récits d'amours chevaleresques."⁷

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A REPROOF TO LYDGATE

In the manuscript Fairfax 16 of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, a handsome vellum volume containing many Chaucer-poems and dated 1450,

⁴ J. L. Weston : *The Legend of Sir Perceval*, London, 1906, p. 27.

⁵ Further examples of such stock epithets and descriptions may be found in the following works ; Jean Loubier, *Das Ideal der männlichen Schönheit bei den altfranz. Dichtern des xii. u. xiii. Jahrh.* Diss. Halle, 1890.—R. Renier, *Il tipo estetico della donna nel medioevo*. Ancona, 1881.—J. Houdoy, *La beauté des femmes dans la litt. et dans l'art du xii^e au xvi^e siècle*. Paris, 1896.

⁶ E. Langlois, *Origines et Sources du Roman de la Rose*. Paris, 1891, *passim*.

⁷ *Hist. litt.*, xxiii, 181.

there is found an anonymous collection of short love-poems, copied almost continuously and apparently forming a kind of sequence. They are rubricked *Balade*, *Compleynt*, *Lettyr*, etc., and contain frequent allusions to "the flower" of much the same sort as the Deschamps poems known to Chaucer and paralleled by him in the prologue to the *Legend of Good Women*. One of these brief poems, of three seven-line stanzas, begins "The tyme so long the payn ay mor and more," reminding us of the opening line of the *Parlement of Foules*; it is closely followed by another "Compleynt" of five stanzas, and this by the poem here printed. There is no separating title between our poem and that preceding, merely a space of three lines with a horizontal mark. It is possible that the Lydgate-passages censured in the poem are those following the tragedies of Hercules and of Samson, in Book I of the *Fall of Princes*, for these same passages, when transcribed in MS. Harley 2251, occasioned the scribe a similar indignation. We find on the margins of that MS.—"Be pees I bidde yow," "Ye wil be shent," "Ye haue no cause to say so," "Ye gete yow no thank," "Be pees or I wil rende this leef out of your book," "There is no good woman that wil be wroth ne take no quarell agens this booke as I suppose."

[MS. Fairfax 16, Bibl. Bodl., fol. 325b.]

1

Myn hert ys set and all myn hole entent
To serve this flour in my most humble wyse
As faythfully as can be thought or ment
Wyth out feynyng or slouthe in my seruyse
ffor wytt ye wele yt ys a paradyse 5
To se this flour when yt bygyn to sprede
Wyth colours fressh ennewyd white and rede

2

And for the fayth I owe vn to thys flour
I must of reson do my observaunce
To flours all bothe now and euery our 10
Syth fortune lyst that yt shuld be my chaunce
If that I couthe do seruyse or plesaunce
Thus am I set and shall be tyll I sterue
And for o flour all othyr for to serue

3

So wolde god that my symple connyng 15
Ware sufficiaunt this goodly flour to prayse
ffor as to me ys non so ryche a thyng

That able were this flour to countirpayse
O noble chaucer passyd ben thy dayse
Off poetrye ynamyd worthyest 20
And of makyng in alle othir days the best

4

Now thou art go / thyn helpe I may not haue
Wherfor to god I pray ryght specially
Syth thou art dede and buryde in thy graue
That on thy sowle hym lyst to haue mercy 25
And to the monke of bury now speke I
ffor thy connyng ys syche and eke thy grace
After chaucer to occupye his place

5

Besechyng the my penne enlumyne
This flour to prayse as I before haue ment 30
And of these lettyrs let thy colours shyne
This byll to forthir after myn entent
ffor glad am I that fortune lyst assent
So to ordeyn that yt shuld be myn vre
The flours to chese as by myn aventure 35

6

Wher as ye say that loue ys but dotage
Of verey reson that may not be trew
ffor euery man that hath a good corage
Must loue be thys wold I that ye knew 40
Who lounth wele all vertu will hym sew
Wherfor I rede and counsail yow expresse
As for thys mater take non heynesse

7

These clerkys wyse ye say were brought full lowe
And mad full tame for alle thair sotelte 45
Now am I glad yt shall ryght wele be know
That loue ys of so grete autoryte
Wherfor I lat yow wyt as semeth me
It is your part in euery maner wyse
Of trew louners to forther the seruyse

8

And of women ye say ryght as ye lyst 50
That trouth in hem may but awhile endure
And counsail eke that men shuld hem not tryst
And how they be vnstedfast of nature
What causeth this for euery creature
That ys gylyt and knowyth thaym self coulpatible 55
Demyth alle other thair case semblable

9

And be your bokys I put case that ye knewe
Mych of this mater which that ye haue meuyd
Yit god defende that euery thing were trew
That clerkes wryte for then myght thys be preuyd 60
That ye haue sayd which wyll not be byleuyd
I late yow wyt for trysteth verely
In your conseyt yt is an eresey

10

A fye for schame O thou envyous man
 Thynk whens thou came and whider to rapayr 65
 Hastow not sayd eke that these women can
 Laugh and loue nat parde yt is not fair
 Thy corrupt speche enfectyth alle the air
 Knoke on thy brest repent now and euer 70
 Ayen therwyth and say thou saydyst yt neuer

11

Thynk fully this and hold yt for no fable
 That fayth in women hath his dwellyng place
 ffor out of her cam nought that was vnable
 Saf man that can not well say in no place 75
 O thou vnhappy man go hyde thy face
 The court ys set thy falshed is tryed
 Wythdraw I rede for now thou art aspyed

12

If thou be wyse yit do this after me
 Be not to hasty com not in presence
 Lat thyn attournay sew and speke for the 80
 Loke yf he can escuse thy neglygence
 And forther more yit must thou recompence
 ffor alle that euer thou hast sayde byfore
 Haue mynde of this for now I wryte no more.

In lines 3 and 30 the MS. reads *os* instead of *as* a common trick with the Fairfax scribe. In line 5 the MS. reads *the* instead of *ye*, and in line 6 *thais* instead of *this*. In line 14 *to* is omitted. In line 58 the MS. reads *mynded* instead of *meuyd*, and in 65 *thom* instead of *thou*. Line 66 reads *Hastow thou not*—etc. Lines 79, 80, 81 are in the MS. arranged 80, 81, 79, with scribal marks for transposition.

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A NOTE ON CHAUCER'S PRONUNCIATION OF *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*

Scholars now generally hold that Chaucer identified the diphthongs *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey*, and gave them the sound of, approximately, *ei*. Jespersen, in his *Modern English Grammar*, even states as a fact that the Middle English diphthong had the value of *æi*. But no one has adduced adequate proof that his theory is reasonable; and no one, so far as I am aware, has adequately discussed Chaucer's pronunciation from the derivative or Old

English dialect point of view. This note, therefore, though obvious, may perhaps be justified.

By classifying the rime-words, and referring to the rime-indexes, any one can see that Chaucer made no distinction between *ay*, *ai*, *ei*, *ey*, whatever the source; and he must, therefore, have given them almost the same pronunciation. This can be established as *ei* or closer, if we grant, not unreasonably, the following premises: first, that the Old English signs, *æ*, *e*, *ē*, stood for the vowel sounds we now find in *man*, *met*, and N. H. G. *Reh*, respectively; second, that when a vowel had started on a cycle of change, it developed normally in this cyclic direction, though of course with different velocities in different districts, e. g., that $\alpha\gamma > \alpha j > \alpha i > \epsilon i > ei$, rather than that, as Ellis, Skeat, and Sweet, seem to assume, $\alpha\gamma > \alpha j > ai (= aye, aye, sir!) > ai > \alpha i > etc.$; third, that Chaucer derived his words, except when there is proof otherwise, through the medium of the Mercian dialect. So I should prefer to take *seyde* as coming from Merc. *segde* rather than W. S. *sægde*, and *teyd* as from Kent. *teid* or *tēz(e)d* rather than W. S. *tyzed*.

The following words, therefore, beginning in Mercian with the sound *ǣz*, must have had in Chaucer's works the sound *ei*; or even a closer one, for *ǣ* would tend to become closer as $\gamma > j > i$. The latter view finds support in the general tendency of English vowels to become higher (and closer), a tendency which Jespersen treats fully in his *Mod. Eng. Grammar*. The words I refer to as coming from Merc. words having *-eγ-* are: *day*, *lay*, *may*, *ey*; *nayl*, *sayd*, *slayn*, *ayeyn* and *ageyn*, *brayn*, *hail*, *breyde*, *mayde*, *tayl*, *fain*, *fair*, *naill*.

With the preceding words should be taken this class of words, which had a diphthong that must by derivation have been closer than *ei*, for in all the O. E. dialects words of this class were written with *-eg*, not *æg*; they are: *ayleth*, *freyme*, *y-lain*, *leith*, *leyd*, *leye*, *pley*, *pleye*, *reyn*, *reyne*, *sail*, *seyle*, *seye*, *y-seyn*, *seyne*, *way*.

Chaucer undoubtedly gave the following also a close sound, since they were strongly palatalized in Old English, and were soon after Chaucer's time close diphthongs, from the influence of the following *c* or *ŋ*. These are: *bleynt*, *dreynte*, *queynt*, and *yqueynt*, *ymeynd*, *yspreynd*.

Now, there are a few words in Chaucer of which the form can be explained only by a Kentish origin. And two of them had vowels which were certainly close in Kentish, namely, *drēze, W. S. *drȳze* and tēz(e)d, W. S. *tȳzed*. Every probability therefore favors a close sound for Chaucer's *dreye*, *teyd*, *beye*, and *reye*.

Riming with these, moreover, are a few words that had a very close sound throughout the O. E. district, as is indicated by the spelling, -ēz-, -ēoz- or -iez-. Unless subject to some hitherto unnoted perversion, then, *wreye*, *tweye*, *tweyn*, *hey*, and *deye* must have had a close sound in Middle English. The fact that words of this class rime with *multiplye*, *Emelye*, *dye*, *crye*, *vilanye*, etc., is another indication of a close pronunciation. A close quality is also indicated by variant spellings like *eese* for *eyse*, *mischeif* for *mischeif*, *heere* for *heyre*.

Words not only of Old English but of Scandinavian derivation as well, are far more reasonably explained with the sound in M. E. approximately of *they* than with the sound *æi* or *ei* usually ascribed to them. The words *ay*, *bayte*, *nay*, *rayse*, *swayn*, *teyne*, *they*, *sleighte*, *biwayle* could not very well have had an open sound in Middle English.

The evidence, therefore, from the derivation of such words as *day*, *nayl*, *ayleth*, *bleynt*, *dreye*, *biwreye*, *tweyn*, *bayte*, *sleighte*, is fairly strong that Chaucer gave the diphthongs *ai*, *ay*, *ei*, *ey* a sound between that of *ei* and *ei*, a pronunciation very possibly, in view of the recorded pronunciations of the sixteenth century, not so close as that of N. E. *they*.

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NOTES ON DE BOER'S EDITION OF PHILOMENA

I

Attention has already been called to the incorrectness of the statement made by the editor of *Philomena* in regard to the pleonastic use¹ of the

¹ ZRPk., 1909, pp. 587-589.

particle *en* by Chrétien de Troyes. M. de Boer also lays particular stress upon the use² in *Philomena*, l. 196, of the personal pronoun³ for the reflexive :

"Des autors sot et de grameire
Et sot bien feire vers et letre
Et, quant li plot, li antremetre
Et del sautier et de la lire."

ll. 194-197.

This he considers an archaism, and states⁴ that Chrétien uses it only once, in *Erec*, 2670.⁵

There is, however, at least one example in *Lancelot*. The queen has just heard the report of Lancelot's death, and the poet says :

"Tantost se lieve mout dolante
De la table, si se demante
Si que nus ne l'ot ne escoute.
De li ocirre est si estoute
Que soyant se prant a la gole."

ll. 4195-99.

It would be strange if Chrétien never, after he wrote *Erec*, used the tonic personal pronoun for the reflexive in the third person, when examples of this use may be found up to the close of the fifteenth century.⁶ It was the tonic reflexive that was so replaced. The tonic form of the pronoun might precede or follow the governing infinitive. In *Yvain*, Chrétien writes :

"Mes teus consoille bien autrui,
Qui ne savroit conseiller lui."

ll. 2533-34.

A few lines below we find :

Ne leira que congié ne praingne
De retourner soi an Bretaingne.

ll. 2545-46.

In the first of these two cases, the *lui* is no doubt used because of its juxtaposition with *autrui*, but even to-day we should say : *qui ne saurait se conseiller lui-même*. In Chrétien, *lui* must be construed as object of the infinitive and as replacing, or, if you will, repeating emphatically the reflexive understood, even tho now *lui-même*

² *Philomena*, éd. crit. par C. de Boer, Paris, 1909, pp. lxix, cvi.

³ I. e., the tonic personal pronoun. De Boer fails to make this necessary qualification.

⁴ P. lix.

⁵ Correct to 2669.

⁶ Cf. "s'ilz eussent tiré tout droit sans eulx faire ouyr," *Commynes*, II, 12.

would be construed as a nominative. The fact is that the struggle which, after prepositions,⁷ occurred between the tonic third person reflexive and personal pronouns is evidenced also when the pronoun was in direct connection with the verb.

With prepositions the struggle has continued to the present, to the disadvantage of the reflexive, while with the verb the atonic reflexive became indispensable before classic times, whether or not the tonic personal or reflexive pronoun with *même* were added for emphasis.

II

Of the verb *aler*, the editor says⁸: "*vet* au vers 860 (: *bret*). La forme *va* n'est pas attestée par les rimes; au vers 91, quatre manuscrits la donnent. Elle est rare chez Chrétien." *Vet* is therefore put in the text in l. 91.

In *Lancelot*, the form *va* is found within lines 164, 253, 723, 1038, 2390, 3769, 4135; in lines 131, 686, 941, 2324, 4038, 4175, 4588, 4849, 5905, 6125, *va* stands in rime. On the other hand, *vet* is not found in rime at all. This would seem to indicate clearly that *vet* was becoming obsolete in Chrétien's time. The fact that *vet* : *bret* is found in the *Philomena* would not necessarily prevent the poet from using *va* in verse 91. When Kipling writes in Mulholland's *Contract*, "For I am in charge of the lower deck with all that doth belong," no one would pretend that he might not have written "belongs" instead of "doth belong" in another place in the same poem.

III

In the note to line 451, the editor finds Le Coultre wrong in refusing to put the atonic pronoun *an* after the verb, and adds: "Les exemples de *an* suivant le verbe *aler* sont fréquents

⁷ "Et d'autre part armez estoit
Uns chevaliers qui le gardoit,
S'ot une dameisele o soi
Venue sor un palefroï." *Lanc.*, 735-38.

(Cf. *Yvain*, 2454; *Lanc.*, 6029.)

"La dameisele qui o li
Le chevalier amené ot
Les menaces antant et ot." *Lanc.*, 898-900.

(Cf. *Cligés*, 201-3; *Yvain*, 3354; *Lanc.*, 1281-82; *Yvain*, 2192-93.)

⁸ P. xxxv.

dans Chrétien." He therefore makes the text read:

"Don fust mout sages Tereus
S'il s'an vosist reteire anus
Et raler s'an sanz la pucele."

Chrétien rarely uses any atonic pronoun complement after the verb except with the imperative affirmative unsupported, and in direct questions, introduced by the verb. Outside of such instances, there is no case in *Lancelot*, *Cligés*, or *Yvain*, and but one in *Erec*, in which it may be properly said that *an* or *s'an* follows the verb *aler*. The cases in which *an* or *s'an* seem to follow *aler* arise from inversion.

"Est-ce par ire ou par despit,"
Fet li rois, "qu'aler an volez?" *Lanc.*, 106.
Si con la rote aler an virent. *Lanc.*, 599.
Mes ne puet tant qu'aler s'an puisse.
Yvain, 3037.

Tant que il et ses lions furent
Gari et que raler s'an durent. *Yvain*, 4702.

"Des vaslez que aler an voient." *Cligés*, 257.

"Qu'aler s'an viaut an son país." *Erec*, 2280.

In all these cases the *an* belongs with the principal verb, just as it does in:

"Se vos mener m'an osiez." *Lanc.*, 1309.

"Quant la bonté prise an avroie." *Lanc.*, 2496.

The only case in which *s'an* (I find no case of *an*) can properly be said to follow *aler*, is in *Erec*, 233:

"Rala s'an; qu'il n'i ot plus fet."

This single example might justify the editor in keeping in the text of *Philomena*, "Et raler s'an sanz la pucele," if it can be conceived that Chrétien ever wrote so uneuphonious a verse.

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THE RELATION OF A MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM TO ROMEO AND JULIET

Various parallels in *Romeo and Juliet* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* tend to support the theory of Mr. Sidney Lee, Mr. Stopford Brooke,

and others that the traditional chronology which puts the *Dream* first is untenable. It is the purpose of this paper to show that wherever parallels exist, the debt is probably from the *Dream* to *Romeo and Juliet*, and that a consideration of the spirit of the two plays, of the different attitudes towards love and life which they present, leads us to the conclusion that there is a close connection between the two, and that the *Dream* is the natural reaction of Shakespeare's mind from *Romeo and Juliet*.

It will be unnecessary in this paper to present all the evidence bearing on the dates of composition of the two plays. There can be little doubt that the first version of *Romeo and Juliet* appeared about 1591. The date of the first version of the *Dream* is more problematical. The only bit of external evidence is the mention of the play in Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* in 1598, but the strongest bit of internal evidence—the supposed reference to the death of Robert Greene, in Act v, i, 52–3 :

The thrice three Muses mourning for the death
Of Learning, late deceased in beggary—

would fix the date at 1592–3.

Assuming, then, that the *Dream* was written soon, perhaps immediately, after *Romeo and Juliet*, let us see if a comparative study of the two plays will not support our hypothesis.

Awake the pert and nimble spirit of mirth,
Turn melancholy forth to funerals

says Theseus in the first scene of the *Dream*, and later in the first scene of Act v :

Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,
Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
More than cool reason ever comprehends.
The lunatic, the lover, and the poet
Are of imagination all compact.

These two speeches of Theseus, to whom Shakespeare has given much of his own clear-eyed serenity and benignity, are, it seems to me, significant manifestations of the poet's own mental attitude when he created the *Dream*. He has just finished a passionate, romantic tragedy of love; in this tragedy he has been led into somewhat excessive emotionalism—certainly more so than in any other play—his hero-lover *has* at times been “unseemly woman in a seeming man,

and ill-beseeming beast in seeming both”; “cool reason,” serenity and poise have had no effect upon the “seething brain” of the lover. Now Shakespeare's own brain is not normally a seething one, his “blood and judgment are well commingled”; true, he is not a Friar Laurence nor even a Theseus, but neither is he a Romeo. And now as he looks at his tragedy of love, what impression does it make upon him? Be it remembered that we are now dealing with the young man, Shakespeare, not with the man who, out of the storm and stress of his soul, evolved a Hamlet, an Othello, a Lear, or a Macbeth, but with the joyous, exuberant, deep-souled, clear-eyed poet of the early comedies. Is it not natural that to him, far more than to any one else, the emotionalism and sentimentalism of his tragedy should seem a trifle exaggerated and ridiculous, and the tragic fate of the lovers morbidly gloomy? And so, shaking himself free of romantic ideals of love, he somewhat quizzically allies lovers, lunatics, and poets; shows us in Theseus and Hippolyta the calm and serene love of middle age; represents the young, romantic lovers (the men, at least) as taking themselves very seriously, but in reality being ruled entirely by the fairies, one minute suffering agonies of love for one woman, the next for another; love a mere madness, entirely under the control of the fairies (be it noted that the magic juice has permanent effect upon Demetrius); and at the beginning of the play strikes the keynote of it all :

Awake the pert and nimble spirit of mirth,
Turn melancholy forth.

The similarities between the situation at the beginning of the *Dream* and the main situation in *Romeo and Juliet* are obvious, and it seems far more probable that Shakespeare borrowed and condensed material from *Romeo and Juliet*, for mere mechanical purposes here, than that he developed a great tragic plot from this simple situation in which he does not seem to have been particularly interested. Detailed comparison of the two situations, giving support to this theory, follows.

Lysander is accused by Egeus, the father of his lady, Hermia, of making love much in Romeo's manner :

This man hath bewitch'd the bosom of my child:
 Thou, thou, Lysander, thou hast given her rimes,
 And interchanged love-tokens with my child:
Thou hast by moonlight at her window sung.

Egeus is not unlike Capulet, and makes similar speeches, less brutal to be sure, for brutality would not sort with the nimble mirth of this comedy, but no less tyrannical. Compare, for example, Capulet's words to Juliet (III, v, 193-4) with Egeus's to Hermia (I, i, 42-4):

Capulet: An you be mine, I'll give you to my friend;
 An you be not, hang, beg, starve, die in the streets.
 and

Egeus: As she is mine, I may dispose of her:
 Which shall be either to this gentleman
 Or to her death.

When Lysander and Hermia are left alone they indulge in a long and somewhat artificial complaint of love. Lysander would seem to have been reading *Romeo and Juliet*, or at least some similar tale, for he says:

Ay me! for aught that I could ever read,
 Could ever hear by tale or history,
 The course of true love never did run smooth—

and then (the first in the series of hindrances in the course of true love and evidently a reminiscence of *Romeo and Juliet*):

For either it was different in blood.

Lysander proceeds, still keeping *Romeo and Juliet* in mind, and borrowing a very effective simile from Juliet:

Or, if there were a sympathy in choice,
 War, death, or sickness did lay siege to it,
 Making it momentary as a sound,
 Swift as a shadow, short as any dream;
Brief as the lightning in the collied night,
That, in a spleen, unfolds both heaven and earth,
And ere a man hath power to say 'Behold!'
The jaws of darkness do devour it up:
 So quick bright things come to confusion.

Compare with this *R. and J.*, II, ii, 117-120:

I have no joy of this contract tonight
 It is too rash, too unadvised, too sudden,
 Too like the lightning, which doth cease to be
 Ere one can say 'It lightens.'

The only thing in *Romeo and Juliet* which seems to me clearly to be borrowed from the *Dream* is Mercutio's description of Queen Mab.

It has the exquisite delicacy and daintiness of the descriptive passages of the *Dream*, but it is not an integral part of *Romeo and Juliet*, and there is no particular reason why, in this play, Shakespeare should be thinking of fairies or fairy-land. Moreover, if he had already conceived and created Queen Mab when he wrote the *Dream*, would he not probably have made some reference to her in the fairy scenes of the latter? This is by no means, however, an unsurmountable difficulty in the establishment of our main thesis, for the first edition of *Romeo and Juliet* was published after the composition of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, and the very episodic nature of the Queen Mab speech makes it quite possible that it was a late addition.

"The tedious, brief scene of Pyramus and Thisbe" is, I think, unquestionably a burlesque not only of the romantic tragedy of love in general, but of *Romeo and Juliet* in particular. The two catastrophes are almost identical, and it seems hardly probable that any dramatist would write his burlesque first and his serious play afterward. May it not be, also, that "Wall" and "Moon" are the result of Shakespeare's own difficulties in presenting on the stage the great Balcony-scene in *Romeo and Juliet*?

There are many similarities of style and expression in the two plays which have no bearing upon our main point. For example, Helena's description of love and its workings, at the end of Act I, sc. i, is in the same tone as Romeo's definition of love (I, i, 196-200); Hermia's vow to Lysander (I, i, 169-178, particularly 169-172) is an echo of Mercutio's conjuration of Romeo (II, i, 17-21); Bottom's "O grim-looking night" (V, i, 171-3) and the Nurse's "O woeful day" (IV, v, 49-54) are cut from the same piece. Another rather curious comparison, which is of no significance except as it illustrates a kind of youthful cleverness, is that of Quince's prologue (V, i, 108-117) where by refusing to "stand upon points" he says the exact opposite of what he means, and Juliet's conscious and less artistic equivocation and ambiguity in her conversation with her mother about Tybalt and Romeo (III, v, 84-103).

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THE DIRECTION OF THOUGHT IN THE WARTBURGLIEDER OF 1817

On the 18th of October, 1817, the Burschenschaft of Jena published a small collection of songs entitled, *Lieder von Deutschlands Burschen zu singen auf der Wartburg am 18ten Oktober des Reformationsjubeljahres 1817*. Numerous copies of the booklet were distributed on the market-square of Eisenach among the assembled students who had come from near and far to celebrate

- 1) the three-hundredth anniversary of the Reformation,
- 2) the fourth anniversary of the battle of Leipzig,
- 3) the first interstate gathering of German students.

Exclusive of two poems by Luther and two by Ernst Moritz Arndt, the collection contains twelve contributions by student-poets, representing about as many German Protestant universities. The *raison d'être* of these songs is to be found in the request of the Jena Burschenschaft "diesen Tag in einem Gesang nach einer bekannten Weise zu verherrlichen," which concluded their letter of invitation to the various sister-corporations to take part in the Wartburg-festival.¹

The keynote of the songs accords with the three-fold purpose of the festival, but it is interesting to note how blindly the young poets groped about for the expression of a uniting principle upon which they might base the spirit of the celebration.

As a matter of fact, no one of them was successful, if for no other reason, because no such principle existed. Their futile attempts, however, resulted in a, possibly unconscious, expression of thought direction which reflects the vaguely felt political undercurrent, characteristic of the early Burschenschaften.

While it is generally admitted that such political undercurrent actually existed, particularly among the extremists, no document could be found that exhibits this with more conclusive evidence than the Wartburglieder. The reason is not far to seek. German democracy, as exemplified in

the student organizations of 1815 and thereafter, was the child of abstraction and, unlike that of England, was born in the minds of the learned.² Fichte, Arndt, Schleiermacher, and Jahn were the pioneers of its tenets. From the professor's desk, from the pulpit, from the poet's pen, and from the "Turnplatz," it found its way into academic life where for the first time it took concrete form. From there—such was the hope of the Burschenschafter—it would eventually find admittance to the masses of the people.

The Burschenschaften, then, were strictly speaking no end in themselves but rather a means to an end. That their activity was confessedly directed against the so-called Landsmannschaften and did not immediately reach out into political life supports this viewpoint, for the Landsmannschaften were the very incarnations of a disrupted, factional, and undemocratic spirit, whose effectual resistance to the new democratic ideals limited the Burschenschaften to reformatory efforts within the academic sphere.

Yet, the "Vaterlandsgedanke" was ever present. It was incorporated into their constitutions and preambles, it was metaphorically applied in their methods of organization, it was voiced in individual utterances. The Wartburgfest, which was avowedly unpolitical in execution, witnessed its most general and consistent expression in the tell-tale songs.

Eleven of the before-mentioned twelve lyrical contributions depart from an idea closely connected with student life and terminate, wholly or in part, in a thought bordering on political ideals. One of them, for reasons given later, takes the opposite direction, beginning with political ideals and ending in their practical application to student life. The opening and closing stanzas are deemed sufficient to illustrate the point under consideration.

4

Es glüht dort im Osten der Sonnenschein,
Die Nebel der Nächte entwallen,
Es ziehet in singenden Feierreih'n
Der Jugend freudiger groszer Verein
Nach der Wartburg heiligen Hallen.

¹ Cf. Keil, *Geschichte des Jenaischen Studentenlebens*. Leipzig, 1858, p. 380.

² Cf. Karl Biedermann, *Fünfundzwanzig Jahre deutscher Geschichte*. Vol. I, p. 164.

So haben die Söhne der Wissenschaft
Vereinigt die Feier begangen.
So ist mit der Freiheit die Einheit erwacht,
So ist mit der Einheit erschaffen die Kraft
Und nimmermehr dürfen wir bangen.

5

Deutsche Brüder,
Frei und bieder,
Sammeln sich in weiten Reih'n :
Nah aus Eichenstolzen Landen,
Fern von Meerumbraustem Stranden
Kamen wir zum Festverein.

Ernster töne,
Deutschlands Söhne,
Jetzt der Schwur durch unsre Reih'n :
Felsenfest, wie unsre Eichen,
Von der Wahrheit nicht zu weichen.
Immer deutsch und frei zu sein.

6

Du ernste Feierstunde,
Die dreifach hehr uns naht,
Uns im geweihten Bunde
Mit Lust und Lieb' umfaht,
Sei allen Guten, Frommen
Geheiligt und willkommen,
Du trägst ein inhaltschweres Los,
Das Sonst und Jetzt und Einst im Schosz.

Verbunden, wie wir stehen,
Jung, stark und unerschlaft,
Auf segensreichen Höhen,
Die Blüte deutscher Kraft,
So glüh' in unsrer Mitte,
Der Väter Tat und Sitte,
Und Freiheit, Glaube, Vaterland,
Sei unsrer Freundschaft heilig Band.

7

Zu herzinnigen Vereine
Bieten wir die Bruderhand ;
Bei der Wahrheit lichtem Scheine,
Bei der Freiheit Festvereine
Feiern wir das schöne Band.

Wir erscheinen ferner Lande
Warmes, treues, deutsches Blut,
Durch der Heimat starke Bande,
Durch den Trieb zum Vaterlande
Waren wir uns lange gut.

9

Auf Brüder strömt die heil'gen Gluten
Der Liebe aus der vollen Brust,
Laszt den Gesang aus Herzen fluten,
Zum Himmel brause unsre Lust.

Wir halten uns in Bruderminnen
Umarmt ; wir haben's ja erkannt
Dein sehnend Hoffen, heilig Sinnen,
Drum sei getrost, du Vaterland.

10

Auf deutsche Brüder, freud'gen Mut !
Der Freiheit jubelt laut ;
Sie rief so süß zum Kampf hieran,
Sie lockt uns zu der Sonnenbahn,
Sie ist des Himmels Braut.

Dazu du uns willst Kraft verleihn,
Du Herr, du unser Gott,
Dasz Volkeslieb, und Relig'on
In unsern Herzen flammend thron',
Und ewig, gilt's den Tod ! —

11 (*Feuerlied*)

Des Volkes Sehnsucht flammt
Von allen deutschen Höhen
Zum Himmel auf,
Und mit den Vätern stehn
Vor dir die Jünglinge
Betend mit Herz und Mund,
O Gott, o Gott.

So lang uns scheint der Tag
Und Gottes Donner gehn
Durch's Vaterland,
Zuckt unser Arm nur ihm,
Schlägt unser Herz nur ihm ;
Oder's bricht himmelwärts
Im Siegertod.

12

Was lodern die Flammen von Bergeshöhen
Hinauf in das dunkle nächtliche Blau !
Wohl Groszes, Gewaltiges musz geschehn,
Es regt sich und woget von Gau zu Gau.

Weiszt nun, was deutet der Orgelklang,
Die Flammenzeichen, der Rundgesang,
Jetzt Wanderer, wo auch die Heimat dir sei,
Erzähl's, das deutsche Volk ist frei.

13

Was strahlt auf der Berge nächtlichen Höh'n,
Wie heilige Opferflammen ?
Was umschwebt uns ahnend wie Geistersehn
Und sagt : uns sei heut was Groszes geschehn ;
Und führt uns feierend zusammen ?
Wir feiern die herrliche Siegesnacht
Des Kampfes der Freiheit, die Leipziger Schlacht.

Hell lod're die Flamm' auf der Berge Höh'n,
Noch heller die Flamm' in den Herzen.
In Deutschland soll jeder für alle stehn
Und keck dem Erbfeind ins Auge sehn,
Und errungenes Gut nicht verscherzen ;
Und wenn der Erbfeind einst wieder erwacht,
Unser Feldgeschrei sei : die Leipziger Schlacht !

14

Was flimmert dort blendend wie Nebellicht
An der Herbstnacht düsterem Himmel?
Ein hochroter Streifen die Wolken bricht,
Und es wachset und wachset das blutrote Licht,
Wie die Flamme im Kriegesgewimmel.
Es feiern die Himmel in blutiger Pracht
Die Nacht, wo geschlagen die Leipziger Schlacht.

Die Flamme mag sinken, mag schwinden die Glut,
Die unsere Feier erhöht;
Uns rollt in den Adern ein glühendes Blut,
Uns blüht in dem Herzen ein flammender Mut,
Der nimmer und nimmer vergehet.
Und Enkel noch feiern den Tag, die Nacht,
Wo geschlagen einst wurde die Leipziger Schlacht.

15

Auf! Deutsche Männer und seid wach,
Zieht aus in froher Schar!
Hoch lod're auf Bergen rings herum
Für Deutschlands Ehre, Deutschlands Ruhm
Die Flamme vom Altar! —

Der Kleinmut kehre nie zurück
Der Deutschlands Unglück schuf.
Bei frohem Mut und Tapferkeit
Sei unsre Losung: Einigkeit,
Und Hurrah! unser Ruf.

It will be noticed that some of the poems show the political thought direction in a less conspicuous degree than others. This is notably the case in Nos. 7 and 14, both being of a general patriotic character so as not to admit of a poetic climax.

One of the songs, that of August Binzer, reverses the direction as is apparent from the first and the last stanza:

8

Setzt euch Brüder in die Runde,
Arm in Arm und Hand in Hand,
Feiern wollen wir die Stunde,
Wo dem heiligen Christenbunde
Freiheit, Licht und Kraft erstand.
Hoch zum Sternenhimmel töne
Feierlich dies Lied empor,
Deutschlands freie Musensöhne
Singen froh der Freiheit Chor.

Heut ist hier zum ersten Male
Deutschlands Blüte so vereint; —
Freudig glänzt die Opferschale
Bei dem dreifach heil'gen Mahle,
Wo die Flamme flackernd scheint.
Ewig blüht des Glaubens Blume
Treu in freier, deutscher Brust,
Uns gereicht dies Fest zum Ruhme
Und der Nachwelt beut es Lust.

Binzer's democracy, unlike that of the majority of his fellow students, was a conviction arrived at through his early training and his pre-academic experiences in mercantile pursuits. While born in an aristocratic environment, his sympathies leaned in the direction of the humbler classes of the people on whom, during early childhood, he was dependent for his playmates. At the age of nineteen he entered the business of his brother-in-law in England. Extensive travels in the interest of his firm gave him a first-hand knowledge of the unsatisfactory political situation on the continent, and repeated visits to England, furnishing material for comparison, reinforced his conviction that unity and representation were the ultimate strongholds of national prosperity. At the age of twenty-two he entered the university of Kiel, where he became an important factor in the organization and management of the Burschenschaft. Here and later in Jena he found ample opportunity to apply the teachings of his experience gained in the larger world.

About two years after the Wartburgfest the Karlsbad conferences caused the dissolution of the Burschenschaften. It was believed that the direction of thought exhibited in the Wartburglieder assumed too propagandistic a character to permit further spread. The 26th of November, 1819, on which day the students of Jena held their last public meeting, is the birthday of the secret Burschenschaften with a pronounced political dogma. At the same time Binzer severed the ties that had bound him with unbroken allegiance to a union in which he had seen a realization of spiritual perfection in academic life—and nothing more.

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SPIELHAGEN

Friedrich Spielhagen von Dr. HANS HENNING.
Leipzig: L. Staackmann, 1910.

An adequate biography of Friedrich Spielhagen,¹ the German novelist, does not exist. If we exclude the sketches and short notices which lie scat-

¹ Spielhagen died Feb. 25, 1911.—Ed.

tered in a hundred and one volumes on German literary history, we have only some six special studies of our author. Of these one is a controversial pamphlet, and four are comparatively modest attempts to treat such a large subject, the sixth being that of Dr. Hans Henning which appeared some months ago.

Strodtmann's essay, contained in the first volume of his *Dichterprofile*, while narrating in a scant page and a half merely the essential facts of Spielhagen's life, is an excellent appreciative study of those of his writings which had appeared up to the year 1879. It needs, of course, to be supplemented to bring it up to date. Strodtmann clearly recognizes that Spielhagen is principally a writer of long novels, presenting large and brilliant pictures of contemporary life.

In a little brochure of some fourteen pages (Leipzig, 1883), Ludwig Ziemssen, the author and friend of Spielhagen, during his early university days in Berlin, has furnished us with a number of personal reminiscences of the novelist. The booklet is in enthusiastic tribute to Spielhagen as a man and a writer from the pen of a friend who had followed his career sympathetically and more or less closely for many years.

The controversial pamphlet of Heinrich and Julius Hart (*Kritische Waffengänge*, Sechstes Heft, Leipzig, 1884), was a stinging missile directed with all the bitterness of the *jüngsdeutsch* naturalistic movement against the older school of novelists. Spielhagen, as their most conspicuous and able representative, was singled out for the brunt of the attack, and a fierce one it was. In a number of points, particularly with regard to certain stylistic defects and sensational tendencies, the Brüder Hart were unmistakably right, but, like most fervid attacks of a new literary manner, a general extravagance of adverse criticism and accusation that cannot be sustained, mar the value of the essay.

In 1889 Staackmann, Spielhagen's publisher, issued a short work of some eighty-four pages, entitled, *Friedrich Spielhagen. Ein Literarischer Essay*. The author, Gustav Karpeles, presents what is in many ways the most satisfactory critical discussion and analysis of Spielhagen's literary productions that exists. The book pays less attention to Spielhagen the man and more to Spiel-

hagen the writer, or rather Spielhagen's writings; and is a distinctly inspiring work. It owes its origin apparently to the desire to counteract any unfavorable impression that may have been stamped upon the public mind by the onslaughts of the literary coterie of the 80's, represented particularly by the aforementioned publications of the Hart brothers.

Edouard de Morsier's treatise of one hundred and twenty pages, which forms the first essay in his *Romanciers Allemands Contemporains* (Paris, 1890), is not a work of any depth. Spielhagen's novels are not analyzed with sufficient care in this treatise. It is a well-written, graceful essay of appreciation but has yielded a little too willingly in places to the influence of the Hart brothers' polemic. Morsier evidently did not know of Karpeles' study.

Now that the heat of combat of the eighties is over, from this saving distance of a score of years, it is easier to judge our author soberly and dispassionately. The latest book on the market, that of Dr. Hans Henning, has this advantage over its most recent predecessors. It is, further, of considerably greater length and is the first real attempt to give a large, well-rounded view of Spielhagen's personality and literary position. It is to be questioned, however, whether even in a book of two hundred and forty-four pages, a biographer can do justice to such a many-sided man.

It is unfortunate that the writer chose to abandon the conventional manner of biography and dispense with chapter divisions and headings. In every author's life there are certain epochs, certain periods of unique or significant work, certain turning points, which to one who reads extensively and systematically stand out clearly from the whole. In embossing these periods the biographer assists us in acquiring a plastic sense of the proportion of the parts of the whole figure he is trying to make real to us. Without them the whole is liable to assume in our minds the blurred and indistinct outlines of a landscape as seen from a distance where all objects sink into the dead level of the plain. A short black line here and there is the only indication that Henning gives the reader of a shift in the scene of Spielhagen's life or literary development. He might at least

have made some such larger divisions as Spielhagen's youth and University days, his Leipzig period, Hannover, Berlin, not to mention others that could be marked off on the basis of his literary productions.

The facts concerning the life and literary work of the novelist are presented in a sympathetic manner. Too much space is, however, devoted to a treatment of the external facts of the author's activity, leaving a comparatively restricted opportunity for a fitting analysis and adequate criticism of his works; and here it is that Henning does not reach to the stature of his nearest German predecessor, Karpeles. As is corroborated by the notes at the end of the volume, the biographer has consulted a goodly number of books and periodicals in the preparation of his work. Probably no writer since Goethe has put so much of himself into his writings as Spielhagen. As Dr. Henning notes (p. 160), the novelist himself recognizes this fact. For a proper biography, a careful selection and ordering of significant portions of Spielhagen's novels is a necessity. Such sifting out and arranging of extracts has been done to a small degree, but not in the extensive and systematic manner that the task deserves. The avowedly autobiographical works of the author—*Finder und Erfinder*, *Am Wege*—have been drawn on, however, with commendable frequency. The reader is, moreover, particularly grateful for some intimate facts of Spielhagen's private life, his likes and dislikes, his habits and methods of work, his social relaxations and recreations, his personal friendships; such side-lights on the personality of a literary man contribute a great deal toward illuminating his character and bringing him closer to us as a fellow human being.

The biography does not consist of mere fulsome adulation of Spielhagen, but is a virile and sympathetic attempt to judge him honestly. It recognizes the noble seriousness and iron consistency that characterize the novelist's life and work. Spielhagen ever championed the cause of the oppressed, stood for individual freedom, for equal opportunity, and took every occasion to express his strong aversion to class privilege in any form. His fiery hatred of all social abuses permeates his writings, often to such a marked degree that the term "tendential" has been applied to them, and

with a certain justice. In fact, this has been the principal criticism aimed at Spielhagen. But, as Henning remarks (p. 166), this tendentialism, these radical and progressive ideas of individual liberty, or even of party affiliation, result from the characters and action of the novels. We might say further, that these principles are the noble ideals that the best of the world's poets and philosophers have entertained and are accordingly the proper substance of any vehicle of literary expression.

We must agree essentially with Henning's judgment in the case of Spielhagen's more ambitious works like *Problematische Naturen*, *In Reih' und Glied*, *Hammer und Amboss*, *Sturmflut*, *Was will das werden?* While recognizing the significance and excellencies of the *Problematische Naturen*, Spielhagen's first work of any considerable length, Henning is by no means blind to its faults. The looseness of composition of the second part, the ill-proportioned amount of room given to the play of chance, the sarcastic and often unjust portraiture of some of the types chosen from the noble class and the sensational, often luridly and extravagantly romantic situations are all candidly acknowledged. On the other hand, we cannot subscribe to his favorable judgment (p. 204) of *Noblesse Oblige*. This work is one of Spielhagen's poorest and weakest. Its basic plot is conventional, and its characters as well as action are far from convincingly real. The shipwreck scene toward the close, by its realisticness and power redeems it somewhat, but even this scene partakes of the artificial, of pose. It is also hard to see what justification Henning has (p. 175) for considering the drama, *Liebe für Liebe*, a work of such artistic excellence. It is rhetorical, even bombastic in places. The principal characters are not plastically drawn; their love is not convincingly real.

The biographer draws somewhat too freely on the *Spielhagen-Album*, a symposium of tributes of admiring friends published on the occasion of the seventieth birthday of the novelist (February 24, 1899). No objective judgment can be expected in a *Festschrift* of this particular nature. Nothing could be included in such a collection but what was in every way complimentary. It is to be questioned whether it is worthy of a serious

biography to quote entire a poem written for the purpose of ringing in the names of an author's principal works. Such a poem savors too much of the rhymed charade. There is, at any rate, little excuse for quoting two such effusions in their entirety, as is done on page 223 and 224 of Henning's book, particularly when the space for telling the whole story of Spielhagen's life and achievements is so limited.

An appendix presents a chronological list of those of Spielhagen's works which have appeared in book form. The list is complete, although the date of publication is in a number of cases inaccurate. The *Amerikanische Gedichte* (renderings of American poems), were first published in 1856; Michelet's *Die Liebe* (a translation from the French), appeared in 1858; Michelet's *Das Meer*, in 1861; *Problematische Naturen*, first part 1860, second part (*Durch Nacht zum Licht*) 1861; *Die von Hohenstein*, 1863; *Vermischte Schriften*, 1863-1868; *In Reih' und Glied*, 1866; *Hammer und Amboss*, 1868; *Die Dorfkokette*, 1868; *Sturmflut*, 1876; *Plattland*, 1878; *Uhlenhans*, 1884; *Stumme des Himmels*, 1894.

Attention might also be called to a number of errors, principally typographical, occurring throughout the book. Hansk, p. 42, l. 3, should be changed to hawk; Nilnotes, p. 88, l. 2, to Nile Notes; Willian, p. 89, l. 6, to William; Attenäum, p. 90, l. 29, to Athenæum; bread, p. 165, l. 19, to bred; peu, p. 182, l. 30, to pen; Balzar, p. 65, l. 26, to Balzac; oder, p. 193, l. 14, to als. The usefulness of the notes collected in a body at the end of the volume is somewhat impaired by the omission of a text reference to one of them and the confusion that would naturally arise from such omission. The difficulty can be remedied by inserting ²²⁹ after the word Bismarck on page 217, ninth line from the bottom, and increasing all following reference numbers by one, *i. e.*, the present 229 becoming 230, 230 becoming 231, etc. A correction of statement on page 88 is also necessary. The American publisher himself did not come to Leipzig and visit Spielhagen. *Finder und Erfinder* (II, 285) informs us that negotiations for the English translation of German folk songs were conducted through a Leipzig publisher.

Dr. Henning's book is embellished with two

photographs of Spielhagen, taken in the year 1890 and 1909, respectively, also with facsimiles of manuscript, one containing the first pages of *Freigebornen*, the other those of *Sturmflut*. It is unfortunate that the splendid steel engraving of Spielhagen by Rohr, hidden away in Ziemssen's little pamphlet, could not have been reproduced in place of the present frontispiece.

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ITALIAN VERSE AND VERSE ON ITALY

ST. JOHN LUCAS: *The Oxford Book of Italian Verse, xiiith-xixth Centuries*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1910.

WILLIAM EDWARD MEAD: *Italy in English Poetry* (Modern Language Publications, 1908, pp. 421-470).

ROBERT HAVEN SCHAUFFLER: *Through Italy with the Poets*. New York, Moffat, Yard & Company, 1908.

GEORGE HYDE WOLLASTON: *The Englishman in Italy*. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1909.

RUTH SHEPARD PHELPS: *Skies Italian. A Little Breviary for Travellers in Italy*. Methuen & Co., London, 1910 (also, Merrill, Indianapolis, 1910).

The Oxford Golden Treasury of Italian verse is now available and should be owned by all interested as teachers or as readers in Italian. It serves well for literary study in the elementary branches, and its compactness adapts it to the needs of those who desire a rapid, enjoyable view of Italian poetry. Its special appeal will be to those who love poetry in itself. For that ever widening circle of cultured people, capable of enjoying foreign art in original forms, and desirous of spending a casual moment of leisure in contact with the expression of great souls, it will be a blessing. It is interesting also as an evidence of the esthetic temper of its compiler. It is not, however, typical of that accurate, penetrating spirit that has given us Toynbee and Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Rather it contains a generous

amount of misinformation, but which the serious reader will correct with his D'Ancona and Bacci. On the whole, then, it is deserving of praise.

Having neglected most that is of serious importance in the history of Italian literature, the book takes us to the notes. Here we learn occasionally the dates of the authors, except possibly where our little Larousse might fail us. *Parola*, we are told, comes from Low Latin *parabola*; the *strambotto* originated in Sicily, as the compiler learned from d'Ancona. The *caccia* is not even mentioned. The last word in the phrase "quanto più lo 'nvoglia" equals *involve*? The note on *Miramar* is: Maximilian was shot in Mexico, June 9, 1867. In short, the notes have every quality except usefulness and system. One may suggest that a line or two of exegesis, especially for the more interesting poems, would be worth infinitely more than this sixty pages of jumbled, unsubstantial details.

The selections, as I have said, cannot fail to be of use and of interest. But the compiler seems to see only one element in poetry, namely, the emotional. Whereas, it seems to me, poetry that is really significant, really typical, contains intellectual substance, blended with emotional sensibility into artistic form. We can read many of these selections and have absolutely no idea of their authors. Why select, for example, to illustrate Carducci, *Nevicata* and *Funere mersit acerbo*? No one will complain surely of the presence of these poems, except that they might have made room for the Clitumnus ode or that In a Gothic Church. Here we should have had at once the typical and the efficient, a notion of Carducci's method and of his view of life. One notes further a complete neglect of modern dialect poetry, a neglect which is hard to justify.

The fact is, that Mr. St. John Lucas has been judging the broadest and deepest of literature with Swinburne in his ears: with a real appreciation nevertheless of those elements that correspond with what one might call the least virile elements in Wordsworth and Burns. Whereas an adequate treatment of the subject must view with equal regard the pagan, the mystic, the plastic—in short, all the philosophical elements that determine the Italian esthetic consciousness.

Professor Mead and Professor von Klenze have

recently dipped into a beautiful theme: the interpretation of Italy in modern literature. Professor Mead's running commentary on Italy in English poetry, will be of much utility to future investigators of this subject, as general bibliography. It is to be hoped he will later give us a more trenchant analysis of his material than the scope of his first article allowed; and go on to more significant generalizations than were there attempted. He poses, for instance, the problem of the scarcity of Italian themes in early English poetry before the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, a problem which he views as insoluble, whereas positive light can surely be thrown on the subject from a consideration of the general question of landscape in literature and painting. He is already well advanced toward the answer when he distinguishes the romantic influence in poems of more recent date; which is, in fact, a substitution of realistic observation for inspiration that is purely literary and classic. We ought indeed carefully to distinguish between the themes that are purely the reflex of classical erudition (for example, Poe's *Coliseum*) and those derived from modern Italian history (Whittier's *From Perugia*) and from Italy as a storehouse of natural and artistic beauty. We ought also to approach the esthetic aspects of the subject rather from the viewpoint of Italian interpretation than from that of judging the intrinsic merits of the authors as masters of poetry and style. This would afford almost endless occasion for valuable elucidation of really obscure points: in fact, each poem is an esthetic problem in itself. As I have said, the theme is a beautiful one. This new treatment also would not neglect entirely John Addington Symonds, who is surely one of the greatest Italian interpreters. Nor would it contain the statement that "Ruskin is not commonly thought of as a poet" after the almost definitive analysis of Ruskin by W. C. Brownell, who makes the poetic aspect of Ruskin's work the dominant feature.

Professor Mead's study makes a valuable preface to the anthologies of Stauffer, Wollaston and Miss Phelps, which, with the scientific motive in the background, are, as Mr. Stauffer happily suggests, really the traveller's poetic Baedeker. The books to a certain extent supplement each other, though they naturally overlap with frequency. Mr. Stauffer's compilations are the

most extensive, owing principally to a large number of translations; Mr. Wollaston has maintained a noteworthy artistic tone, while Miss Phelps has shown an erudition and taste unusually "peregrine." It was the privilege of the compilers, working on a theory that required neither exhaustiveness nor rigid selection, to omit or include what they chose. Possibly, however, the principle of translation was a dangerous one to admit in the works of Mr. Stauffler and Miss Phelps, since here the question of selection becomes serious. It may be interesting to note, for instance, that Petrarch's noble ode, *Salve cara deo tellus sanctissima salve*, was written in precisely the same situation as that by Auguste Barbier, given by Miss Phelps.¹ It would have made a good pendant in Mr. Stauffler's book to the Praises of Italy by Vergil, which in turn recalls its stupendous Carduccian epigon, *The Fountains of Clitumnus*. So the poem of Whittier, *From Perugia*, recalls the remarkably similar one of Carducci on the execution of Cairoli. Was it poverty of material that explains the presence of Alfred Austin's ode to Capri both in *Skies Italian* and *Through Italy with the Poets*? Here we have the verse:

'Tis small, as things of beauty oft times are . . .

to which we prefer the homely "Good things often come in small packages." And a point or two of editorship: Miss Phelps gives a series of descriptive epithets entitled *Città d'Italia*. It is derived from Longfellow's *Poems of Places*, where it is described as "lines of some unknown author." It is, as a matter of fact, one of those folk poems on places, of which numberless specimens can be found in Italian proverb books, and of course, of unknown authorship. The one in question certainly comes from Siena. The Italian sonnet, *Poi che spiegato ho l'ali al bel desio*, translated by Symonds under the title *The Philosophic Flight*, is indeed given in the *Eroici Furori* of Giordano Bruno; but it was written, not by Bruno, but by Tansillo. Mr. Wollaston had the good idea of equipping his poems with historical and exegetical notes. But they are very hastily com-

piled. He has not pointed out the indebtedness of Symonds for the beautiful motive, "Praise to thy servant death" in the ode in the graveyard of Mentone, to the *Laudes Creaturarum* attributed to Saint Francis. Silvio Pellico was not first imprisoned in the Piombi, as a very superficial examination of the *Prisons* would have shown. Everyone knows that Tennyson's *frater ave atque vale* was taken not from the ode of Catullus to Pallas, but from the magnificent lines at his brother's grave. The poem of T. Moore on Venice is, of course, a reflection of that contemporary hostile view of the Republic which blamed her for doing successfully what every one else in Europe was doing more or less so. Modern criticism has, of course, removed that stigma of ignominy which the Byronesque romancers, for the sake of creating good pot-boiling material, saw fit to fix upon Venice; as Mr. Wollaston could easily determine, not by reading the law-suit of the almost isolated case of Antonio Foscari, but by looking at the works of his illustrious compatriot, Horatio Brown. Modern criticism has also sympathized with the verdict against Foscari—almost unanimous, incidentally—considering only the facts that were present before the Council that tried him. When Venice discovered her mistake, she made the restitution that was possible after the death sentence had been carried out. The invective of Moore against Paolo Sarpi also required comment only for rectification of Moore's error. Everyone knows the rôle of the Cicada in poetry from Pindar to Carducci. Here is Mr. Wollaston's note: "The Cicada (*Cicada plebeia*, L.), Gr. *tettix*, is an insect belonging to the order Hemiptera, which comprises the bugs and lice [N. B. *bugs* in the English connotation, may it be said for American readers]. The grasshopper, the locust, the cricket are members of the order Orthoptera." But we are spared the entomology of the Cuckoo and the Nightingale.

These anthologies offer us in general poetry of a high class that is endlessly suggestive. The fine poem of A. W. Hare, entitled *Italy*, in Wollaston, treats a theme similar to that of Leopardi's ode to Italy offered by Schaufliker and Miss Phelps. The contrast between the passive lament of the Italian and the eloquent optimism of Hare throws light on the interpretation of both poems. So

¹ The first view of Italy from the passes of the Alps impressed also Giovanni Berchet: cf. *Il Romito del cenizio*, in *Opere di G. B., Piroto*, Milano, 1863, pp. 101-106.

Symonds' *Southward Bound* sets off the similar method of Tennyson's *Daisy*, the former notable for a fine summary of Italian pagan tendencies. We agree with Professor Mead in seeing in Milton's sonnet, *On the late massacre in Piedmont*, little that is essentially Italian. Miss Phelps, who has contributed some good translations of her own to the collection, has in a prefatory sonnet given a happy turn to Browning's invocation "Oh woman country, wooed not wed," in recalling some feminine figures in Italian romantic legend, that introduce a delicate expression of Italian yearning. And we owe to her an inclusion of some masterly poems that escaped the other collections: here, for instance, Pembr's *Per gl'occhi almeno non v'è clausura*, for Perugia. In this we have confronted the mournful temper of Tuscan monasteries that recalls death, and the beauty of nature that invites to life—the theme of Carducci's Gothic Church. So her unique citation from Sir Rennel Rodd, *The Unknown Madonna*, presents a fine specimen of what Ruskinian criticism would be in verse. These observations could be carried to great length: as a testimony to the independence of Miss Phelps' method and the keenness of her judgment, which avoids the trite and is not blinded to the excellence of little known verse, not sanctified by cant, or the glamor of some great name. Her work is a labor of love, that finds its expression through scholarly channels.

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The Authorship of Timon of Athens. By ERNEST HUNTER WRIGHT, Ph. D. New York: Columbia University Press, 1910, pp. ix, 104. (Columbia University Studies in English.)

In his monograph on *Timon of Athens*, Dr. Wright makes a new examination of the evidence bearing on the various problems of authorship, and from this evidence and a study of the previous critical theories evolves a definite hypothesis concerning the play. The problems include the question of the sources of the plot, the theory of double authorship and the division of the play between the two writers, the relation of Shake-

speare's part to that of the other playwright, and the reconstruction of the original *scenario*. Dr. Wright emphatically favors the theory that Shakespeare was the first of two authors, not working in collaboration.

In considering the question of the sources Dr. Wright traces the successive appearances of the misanthropic Timon in literature from the period of the Peloponnesian War to the publication of the Shakespearean play. The scattered bits of Timon legend thus collected present no source which merits the term in the degree shown by the older *King John* or the *Taming of a Shrew*. It is conjectured, however, that source material was found in the Lives of Antony and Alcibiades in North's *Plutarch* and probably in the repetition of this sketch of Antony in Painter's *Palace of Pleasure*, in the academic play of Timon produced about 1600,¹ and perhaps in Lucian's dialogue, *Τίμων ἡ Μισάνθρωπος*. Dr. Wright is not inclined to believe in a lost source; and of the two possibilities about which there has been disagreement among critics he accepts the academic comedy and questions Lucian. The latter might have been known to Shakespeare and his contemporaries in either an Italian or a French translation, and the spirit of the tragedy rather resembles that of the Greek dialogue than that of the earlier Elizabethan versions of the Timon story. Nevertheless the relation between Lucian and *Timon of Athens* seems to Dr. Wright unproved and unnecessary. In concluding that the Timon comedy was a source, he reinforces a recent attempt² to demonstrate that the neglect of the academic production in this connection is not deserved, since this comedy alone supplies certain striking features of the plot and it is by no means impossible that it should have been known to Shakespeare.

The theory of double authorship is determined *de novo* by an exposition of the æsthetic contrasts and incongruities in technic and of the divergences in the characterization and the general structure of the play. These points are readily established. By use of the *criteria* thus gained, Dr. Wright proceeds to add one more to the numerous attempts

¹ *Shakspeare Society Transactions*, 1842.

² *Princeton University Bulletin*, vol. xv, no. 4, pp. 208-223.

at a separation of the work done by the two playwrights. In this case, however, the employment of several *criteria*, the restricted use of the purely æsthetic test, and the constant examination of previous ascriptions compel particular consideration for his conclusions. Dr. Wright takes Mr. Fleay's "division of the strata" in 1874³ as a convenient norm. Compared with Mr. Fleay's results, this new separation transfers some five hundred lines to Shakespeare and fifteen to the other author.⁴ The more important differences between the two results are Dr. Wright's transfer to Shakespeare of the first two scenes of act three and also of the few lines printed as prose near the end of the second scene of act two,⁵ with the striking exception of nine words⁶ in the midst of this passage. From this separation of the work done by the two playwrights it appears that the hand of the non-Shakespearean author is found chiefly in the first three acts, and that the last two belong mainly to Shakespeare.

From the problems thus investigated Dr. Wright passes to the question of the priority of Shakespeare's work in the composition of *Timon of Athens*. This eminently satisfactory conclusion—which removes from Shakespeare's shoulders much of the responsibility for the play as it now stands—is supported by more detailed arguments than have hitherto been brought together. These are, very briefly, that the passages which in the division of the strata have been labeled as spurious are either additions to the Shakespearean portions or, as in the development of the part of Ventidius and in the motivation of Alcibiades, subversions of the plot as indicated in the authentic passages; that the use of each incident furnished by the source material appears in a scene which is credited to Shakespeare; and that, conversely, the development of the play in the spurious scenes is nowhere essential to the work of the master playwright.

Having presented this case for Shakespeare's priority, Dr. Wright returns to his division of

the strata in order to determine the original *scenario*. The outline of the story as presented by the work of Shakespeare indicates a tolerably clear plot foundation, but leaves several evident lacunae in construction and motivation. Dr. Wright does not attempt to conjecture Shakespeare's own intentions concerning these gaps.⁷ But he is able to form some estimate of the second author's intelligence and skill from his bungling efforts to fill in the omissions thus defined. This estimate, however, unfortunately fails to throw any light on the mooted question of the name of the interpolator. Dr. Wright accepts 1607-8 as the date of Shakespeare's work, and is persuaded that the unknown second author revamped *Timon* for the stage before 1623.

As is well known, the general theory of Shakespeare's priority in the composition of the play has had, in more recent years, the support of a majority of scholars. Dr. Wright strengthens this hypothesis both by critical revision of former arguments and by some additions of his own. Of his own contributions to the discussion the most significant starts from his division of the strata, but has its chief bearing in indicating that the work of the non-Shakespearean writer was in the nature of interpolation and, perhaps, alteration. For, having judged on æsthetic and technical grounds that the first two scenes of act three are Shakespearean and that the third scene is not, Dr. Wright notes that plot threads from the three scenes are to be found in the short prose passage near the end of scene two of the second act. In fact, several other plot threads are discovered to be entwined in this passage. But the threads from un-Shakespearean work (such as that from the refusal of Sempronius in scene three of the third act) are observed in the nine words, "I hunted with his honour to-day: you to Sempronius," and those from passages ascribed to Shakespeare (such as from scenes one and two of the third act) are visible in the remainder of the prose context. The nine words are therefore judged to be un-Shakespearean; and, being removed, the rest

³ *New Shakspere Society Transactions*, 1874, pp. 130-194.

⁴ It is not noted by Dr. Wright that a later experiment by Mr. Fleay—given in a brief statement in the *Chronicle History of the Life and Work of William Shakespeare*, 1886, p. 243—approaches much nearer to his figures.

⁵ II, 2, 195-203.

⁶ II, 2, 197-8.

⁷ In this connection a study, perhaps of more interest than value, might be made of the half-dozen later efforts to complete or adapt Shakespeare's work. F. W. Kilbourne gives a list of such attempts in *Alterations and Adaptations of Shakespeare*, pp. 133-141.

of the passage falls nicely into the blank verse of the adjoining lines of the scene. This feat of textual criticism, which has some bearing on most of the problems considered, probably had its origin in a characteristically sane comment by Dr. Furnivall⁸ on Mr. Fleay's 1874 paper on "*Timon*." But for the complicated piece of detective work involved in following up that clue we are indebted to Dr. Wright. It is to be regretted that he has not shown evidence of similar minute interpolations into the Shakespearean work.⁹ In the main his ascriptions are *en bloc*, not *en detail*. Moreover, the further conclusion that the rejected Sempronius scene was written to replace an original Ventidius scene planned and prepared by Shakespeare, though attractive, can hardly be accepted as more than a possibility.

As a whole, the book will be useful as a summary of much of the previous critical work on *Timon of Athens*. Moreover, Dr. Wright's keen sifting of his material, and his energetic and yet circumspect method of presenting his conclusions, both new and old, combine to make this monograph a forceful and commendable piece of work. There are details which will doubtless invite further revision, and the identification of the second playwright is still an important problem; but the matter of the relation of the two authors would seem now to be satisfactorily established.

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Anthology of French Prose and Poetry, by WILLIAMSON UPDIKE VREELAND and RÉGIS MICHAUD. Boston, Ginn and Company, 1910. 12mo., iv-325 pp.

There has been a tendency of late years in France to restrict anthologies to either poetry or prose, and in many cases the period represented has been limited to a century or even a half-century.¹ Such anthologies seem more coherent and

less elementary than the somewhat haphazard compilations of prose and poetry for school use described by Marcel Prévost as "*morceaux choisis, très mal choisis*." This criticism has been so frequently justified that it is with some apprehension that one takes up a new anthology intended for use in American schools and colleges.

In their preface Messrs. Vreeland and Michaud give the following reasons for publishing a work of this nature for American use: "In the French anthologies, published in France, we have found that in some cases the selections are too scrappy for American students and for American methods of instruction; in other cases some of the best and most familiar passages are omitted for the good reason that they are generally known by all French youths; and in still other cases the volumes are so burdened with selections from writers of minor importance, or else so critical that they seem to form a disconnected history of the literature rather than to be the representative passages of important writers." It is this appreciation of the needs of the American student that has enabled the editors to compile an anthology which will be warmly received by French teachers, especially those who are giving outline courses in the history of French literature for which apt illustrations are absolutely necessary if the student is to take away anything except a dry enumeration of facts.

To include in one volume selections of representative prose and poetry of the last three centuries is a difficult task, and the editors have added to their labors by including examples of the dramatic literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Belgian authors, Fonsny and Van Dooren, in the preface to their *Prosateurs français*, excuse the omission of dramatic material by saying: "On verra qu'il n'est rien de plus difficile à détacher qu'une scène d'une œuvre dramatique. Tout fait corps ici, et ce n'est pas un extrait, mais plutôt un arrachement, quelque chose comme une amputation, une opération chirurgicale que l'on ferait." We are grateful to Messrs. Vreeland and Michaud for proving that so delicate an operation can be successfully performed, and certainly the selections from the comedies of Marivaux, Beaumarchais, Musset, and Augier, preceded by short notes, are by no means disconnected mutilations, but rather

⁸ *New Shakspeare Society Transactions*, 1874, pp. 243-4.

⁹ Indeed this might, perhaps, have been done. With due hesitation I suggest II, 2, 1-8, and IV, 1, 37-40, as among such possibilities.

¹ Pelissier, *Anthologie des prosateurs français*, Paris, Delagrave, 1910; Gautier-Ferrières, *Anthologie des écrivains français*, Paris, Librairie Larousse, 1909.

add a pleasing variety to the prose. It is open to question, however, whether the anthology might not have gained in continuity and effectiveness if the pages devoted to the comedy had been omitted, leaving space for a more complete treatment of the novel. Possibly selections from Honoré d'Urfé and Mlle. de Scudéry would not have added interest to the book as a 'Reader,' but, from the historical point of view, a teacher of literature would have welcomed a page from the *Bréviaire du parfait amour et du beau langage* or the description of the "Carte du tendre," while the addition of Prévost would have given the novel of the eighteenth century a full representation. It is, of course, too much to expect that the novel of the second half of the nineteenth century could be fully represented in a work of this scope, but even so, the omission of Daudet, Maupassant, and Bourget can hardly be justified. As it is, the modern comedy and novel are both insufficiently represented, and the last part of the anthology seems incomplete. But it is ungrateful to single out for criticism a few omissions in an anthology which contains well chosen selections from the works of most of the important writers from Malherbe to Anatole France, selections which are by no means 'scrappy' and which reflect credit on the judgment and taste of the editors.

The compilers of a prose anthology containing over nine hundred pages, when reproved by M. Gustave Lanson for neglecting to include selections from "notre délicieux et unique Marivaux" reply: "Sans doute, mais il n'est pas toujours facile de dénicher, chez un auteur, la 'page d'anthologie.' Elle peut échapper à l'œil le plus pénétrant." The authors of the present work have had the discernment to "dénicher" from the "Vie de Marianne" that most entertaining episode of the Parisian coachman which is admirably adapted for an anthology, furnishing, as it does, a striking example of the realism which characterizes the novels of Marivaux.

One finds constantly in place of passages which have done long service in "Recueils de morceaux choisis," selections which are less hackneyed, and which set forth much more vividly the characteristics of the author. Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, for example, is represented not only by the famous description of the shipwreck from *Paul et Virginie*,

but also by the much more significant description of clouds from the *Etudes de la nature*, to paint which the author spreads upon his palate that gorgeous assortment of colors which was a revelation to the eighteenth century and in which the writers of the nineteenth century have time and again dipped their brushes. In place of the somewhat abnormal "Lions crucifiés," which is usually chosen to represent Flaubert's style as an archaeological realist, we find that the editors have followed Gautier-Ferrières in selecting the exquisite picture of Salammbô gazing upon the sleeping city, a selection which introduces the reader to the real spirit of the novel. Such departures from the beaten path are frequent in the selection of the prose, especially in the field of history, philosophy and criticism, and in such cases the 'familiar page' has usually been suppressed to advantage. Yet, in general, the editors have been true to their announced intention of not rejecting a passage simply because it is well known.

In the poetry we naturally find fewer innovations; but it is remarkable that each poet should be so fully represented and that the omission of the familiar and favorite poem, which one frequently regrets in anthologies devoted to poetry alone, should be so rare.

Throughout the book, the selections seem to have been made with the double intent to interest the reader and to emphasize the characteristics of each author. So judiciously has this been done that the reader may get an excellent conception of the different styles of such a writer as, for example, Voltaire, who is represented by selections from his letters, poetry, fiction, and philosophical and historical works.

The introductory notices are brief but entirely adequate; the criticism has a direct bearing on the passages selected, and the biographical notes are, in general, restricted to admitted facts. It is surprising that in one instance the authors should depart from historical accuracy in stating that Molière married the daughter of Madeleine Béjart, a statement which has as its foundation little more than the slander and gossip of the questionable *Fameuse Comédienne*. The footnotes, which are mostly in the nature of historical and literary explanations, add much to one's appreciation of the selections.

The authors have succeeded in compiling an

anthology which is not only particularly well adapted for use in American schools and colleges, but which compares favorably with works of a like nature published in France, and their book will rank as one of the noteworthy texts edited for school use in this country.

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Molière, *Le Bourgeois Gentilhomme*, edited with an Introduction and Notes by M. Levi. New York, H. Holt & Co., 1910.

In his edition of this most popular classic, Professor Levi has given us the benefit both of his wide knowledge of French literature and of his experience as a practical teacher, with the result that we have a text of the *Bourgeois Gentilhomme* exceedingly well-adapted to the needs of the colleges and high-schools of the country. As is imperative in presenting a play by Molière, the editor has based his edition on that of Despois and Mesnard in the *Collection des Grands Ecrivains*, but, as he states in his preface, he has frequently followed Vapereau's text. Thus he has preferred in general the stage directions, the division into scenes, and the readings of the edition of 1734. He has also changed the punctuation throughout, and has modernized the spelling. A comparison of Professor Levi's text with that of the *Grands Ecrivains* edition shows some forty-two differences in reading; and while in this matter Professor Levi has followed the usual custom, the writer would have preferred a text unchanged except for modernization of the spelling, and possibly the later form of the Turkish ceremony. The edition seems to be absolutely free from misprints.

Besides the text itself, there is an excellent introduction, containing a life of Molière, a discussion of his art, and notes on the characters and history of the play. Although comparatively brief, this introduction contains as much information as a college student needs in order to understand the literary position of the comedy, and more than he is likely to absorb. There are forty pages of notes in which attention is called to the usual

difficulties; references to proper names and occasionally to literary parallels are also given.

As stated above, the edition is carefully prepared and is well suited to the work of our schools and colleges, but the same may be said of two at least of the editions that preceded it. Professor Levi might have made his edition definitive and at the same time of unique value, by introducing into his notes a commentary on the manners and customs of the seventeenth century, a subject peculiarly important for a proper understanding of this comedy, yet too often neglected in its interpretation.

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La Barraca, novela por VICENTE BLASCO IBÁÑEZ. Edited, with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by HAYWARD KENISTON. New York: Holt & Co., 1910.

Teachers of Spanish will gladly welcome the addition of Blasco Ibáñez's *La Barraca* to the list of texts available for use in the class room. Mr. Keniston has done a real service in placing such a virile author within the reach of college students.

In general the text is well edited. The introduction is comprehensive and interesting, covering the life and work of Ibáñez briefly but sufficiently for the needs of the average student. It clearly shows his place among contemporary Spanish novelists and the effect of French influence on his thought and style. With but few exceptions (noted below) the notes are ample and clear, especially those giving Castilian phrases as translations of the Valencian dialect forms. However, notes 50, 1; 83, 20; 108, 30, are not likely to help the student to any appreciable extent. 7, 24 is not well expressed. 11, 8 informs us that *ya* "stands for a wink"; the explanation is picturesque but a perfectly literal translation is satisfactorily explained by the preceding sentence. *Amigos de muchas campanillas* (23, 6) may be colloquial, but is not "slang." In 54, 17 'it was not the thing to go' is just as intelligible and nearer the Spanish *no era cosa de ir*. Notes

might very well have been added for the phrases containing *amenaza* (122, 17), *apagar* (207, 25), *morro* (126, 13), *pegajosidad* (22, 12), and *hacer pelotillas* (108, 19). It is practically impossible to find single words which may be placed in the vocabulary to fit these particular cases; in the last two there is a redundancy in the Spanish sentence difficult to express in English.

There are comparatively few omissions in the vocabulary considering its size. Those noted are as follows: 134, 12, *camón*, m. 'large bed'; 173, 13, *cine*, m. 'zinc'; 194, 30, *fango*, m. 'mud, mire'; 125, 30, *lecho*, m. 'bed,' 'couch'; 112, 7, *mariscal*, m. 'marshal'; 124, 12, *mellado*, -a, 'nicked'; 45, 10, *mezquino*, -a, 'miserable,' 'niggardly'; 111, 10, *sable*, m. 'sword,' 'sabre.' The vocabulary also contains the following misprints: *garilla* for *gavilla*; *cuchillas* for *cuclillas*; *pua* for *púa*; *cantaro* for *cántaro*; *sombrazo* for *sombrajo*; *senile* for *senil*.

By far the worst fault of the vocabulary is the lack of sufficient definition. In some cases none of the meanings given will make sense or express the meaning of the Spanish; in others, slightly different meanings seem to bring out more clearly the flavor of the original. I would suggest the following additions: 13, 7, *descomulgado*, 'accursed,' 'wicked'; 43, 4, *gremio*, 'ring'; 47, 27, *rascar*, 'clear up'; 49, 25, *entablar*, 'prepare'; 52, 21, *plano*, 'side (of a roof)'; 52, 24, *arista*, 'edge'; 59, 21, *final*, 'top'; 83, 9, *perezosamente*, 'idly'; 100, 27, *propinar*, 'treat to'; 103, 20, *cartel*, 'chart'; 103, 21, *punta*, 'corner'; 112, 13, *casaca*, 'coat,' 'jacket'; 117, 10, *guijarro*, 'stone,' 'pebble'; 120, 19, *mesa*, 'counter'; 124, 11, *anafe*, 'stove'; 125, 22, *hervidero*, 'multitude,' 'crowd'; 125, 27, *veta*, 'rivulet'; 128, 11, *bracear*, 'swing the legs'; 133, 15, *corvejón*, 'hock'; 144, 23, *encogido*, -a, 'dejected'; 167, 4, *pujar*, 'vie'; 187, 17, *palanca*, 'catch,' 'lock'; 199, 22, *atisbar*, 'peek out at'; 206, 3, *contar*, 'count.'

The following, while not definitely located, could be improved by the addition of the meanings which follow: *atentado*, 'assault'; *aventar*, 'winnow'; *baicalao*, 'codfish'; *en barbecho*, 'fallow'; *cántaro*, 'jar'; *dormilón*, 'drowsy'; *funda*, 'case'; *glosa*, 'comment'; *infancia*, 'childhood'; *lomo*, 'side'; *monjil*, 'nun-like'; *vista*, 'glance.'

If these minor details are corrected in a future edition the text will be one of the best now published for second year classes in Spanish.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THE BOTTLE IMP

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In *Modern Language Notes* for January, 1910, there is a very interesting discussion of the probable sources of Stevenson's *Bottle Imp*. Mr. Beach gives as the immediate source of the story a drama played in London in 1828 under the name of *The Bottle Imp*. The author of the play, Mr. Peake, no doubt made use of a tale published in a collection entitled *Popular Tales and Romances of the Northern Nations* in 1823, which Mr. Beach shows to be merely a translation of La Motte Fouqué's story, *Das Galgenmännlein*. But there is an earlier occurrence of the story which Mr. Beach does not mention. This is in *Die Landstörtzerin Courasche* by Johann Jakob Christoffel von Grimmelshausen. The story appears here in an abbreviated form and forms but a minor episode in the novel; but in its main points it agrees with the story of Fouqué.

The Brothers Grimm in their *Deutsche Sagen* relate the story and give as their sources the novel of Grimmelshausen just referred to and *Der Leipziger Aventurier*, Frankfurt and Leipzig, 1756. The story is here practically the same as in Fouqué's *Galgenmännlein*. There is a reference to the tale in Karl Simrock's *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*, Bonn, 1887.

It is easy to find stories which resemble this closely in the folklore of other nations. For instance, in T. Crofton Croker's *Fairy Legends and Traditions of the South of Ireland*, London, 1862, we find a *Legend of Bottle Hill*, which bears a close resemblance to the story in question. Without making a detailed and comparative study it is perfectly plain that the story was well known all over Europe and that its origin is to be traced far back to some fable or medieval legend.

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A NOTE ON CHAPMAN

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—In Chapman's comedy, *The Blind Beggar of Alexandria*, there is a passage, eleven lines in length,¹ which recalls very strongly Marlowe's lyric, *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*. Certain lines also suggest an indebtedness to *The Bait*, Donne's imitation of Marlowe's poem. The last-mentioned must have been written not later than June 1, 1593, and Donne's probably was an early one (about 1593), so it is safe to presume Chapman the debtor.

Chapman's lines, which occur in the courtship of the Princess Aspasia by the disguised Count Cleanthes, begin with an invitation—

“ . . . Come, sweet love, . . . ,”

and are followed by a short summing up of the pleasures which the two would enjoy together—singing, angling, love-making, and Aspasia's adornment by him with pebbles brought by him from the “murmuring springs.” The poem concludes with a final invitation—

“Say, sweet Aspasia, wilt thou walk with me?”

Marlowe follows the same general order in his poem : first, an invitation, then promises of music, and of various sorts of adornment, appropriately rustic, and finally he concludes with

“Then live with me and be my love.”

The two poems (for Chapman's lines seem an interpolation in the play) must be compared by the student, however, for the really striking resemblance between them to be appreciated fully.

The likeness to Donne's poem consists principally in the use of angling as one of the inducements which Cleanthes holds out to Aspasia. *The Bait*, itself, seems merely an adaptation of the plan of *The Passionate Shepherd* to angling.

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THE NEW CHAUCER ITEM

To the Editors of the *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—In my article of the last number of the *Notes*, p. 20, the reference to the compensation for the Prince of Wales should read “ten pounds a day,” instead of “one pound a day.” The time of seventy-five days is the important part of the allusion and, as I was reserving the quotation from Delachenal for a longer paper on the general subject, I did not have it before me when I wrote. Ten pounds a day, equivalent to 160 pounds now, or about \$800, is a more princely allowance.

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BRIEF MENTION

The first three volumes of Dr. H. Oskar Sommer's *Vulgate Version of the Arthurian Romances* (The Carnegie Institution of Washington, D. C.) have now appeared. Vol. I contains *L'Estoire del Saint Graal*—that is, the romance which has been commonly called (without manuscript authority) the *Grand St. Graal* and which has been already edited from other MSS. by Furnivall and Hucher, respectively; Vol. II contains the *Merlin*, which Dr. Sommer himself published some years ago, and Vol. III the first part of *Lancelot del Lac*, of which two more parts are yet to come. The final volume of the series is to contain the *Queste del Saint Graal*, which has long been known in Furnivall's edition, and the *Mort Artu*, recently edited by Bruce. It should be explained, perhaps, that Dr. Sommer means by the “Vulgate Version, etc.,” the so-called Walter Map cycle of French prose romances—in other words, the five romances modernized by Paulin Paris in his *Romans de la Table Ronde*, 5 vols., Paris, 1868-77. It will be seen from the above statement that all the romances of the series except the *Lancelot*—which, to be sure, in bulk is about equal to the rest put together—have already appeared in print, and many Arthurian scholars will doubtless have the feeling that Dr. Sommer

¹ *Plays of George Chapman*, edited by R. H. Shepherd, page 17.

would have served the cause better, if he had confined himself to the *Lancelot*, devoting to the collation of as many additional *Lancelot* MSS. as possible the time which he has actually given to the four other romances. On the other hand, in printing the whole of one of the great cyclic MSS. of the series, viz., British Museum MS., Add. 10292-4, he makes it possible, in some degree, to study the work of the scribes and *assembleurs* in fitting the various branches together.

In view of the enormous bulk of these romances, it is perhaps needless to say that the edition is not critical. Dr. Sommer simply prints an exact transcript (without change of punctuation, capitals, etc.) of the above-mentioned British Museum MS., adding a certain number of collations from other MSS. at the bottom of the page. In the case of the first two volumes these collations are fairly numerous, but they almost disappear in the third volume. Dr. Sommer has, moreover, by headlines and side-notes made it easy to follow the narrative. In the only branches where as yet comparison is possible—namely, the *Estoire del Saint Graal* and *Mort Artu*—the text of Add. 10292-4 is found to be somewhat condensed, especially so in the *Mort Artu*. This is likely to be true of any great cyclic manuscript in which the attempt is made to include all members of the series. Considerations of time and material would naturally lead the scribes to condense. Only for the two branches mentioned above, however, can one make any positive assertion as yet on the subject. It is probable, moreover, that better MSS. of each of the romances in the series will be found at Paris, where MSS. of the prose romances are much more numerous than elsewhere. But French scholars have shown no disposition to avail themselves of these treasures, and all students of mediæval literature will be deeply grateful to Dr. Sommer for undertaking the execution of such an immensely laborious task.

In the Introduction to Vol. I, besides a description of the MS. and a table (not altogether complete) of the MSS. and early prints of the five romances, we have what is virtually a summary of the editor's views concerning the development of the cycle as already set forth in various philological journals. But to any one who has followed the work of Gaston Paris and E. Wechssler, Dr. Sommer's "discovery" of his famous trilogy is no discovery at all, and his claims on this score are merely matter of astonishment. The whole question, however, has been subjected to a searching examination by E. Brugger in Behrens' *Zeitschrift*, xxxiv (1909), 99 ff.

The Carnegie Institution is to be warmly congratulated on the splendid press-work of these volumes. The misdating of the first two volumes,

however, is inexcusable. All three appeared in 1910, yet Vol. I is dated 1909 and Vol. II, 1908.

J. D. B.

Possibly others beside the present writer, seeing the title of a book by F. Gaiffe, *Le Drame en France au XVIII^e siècle, ouvrage orné de 16 planches hors texte* (Paris, Colin, 1910), have concluded that it is merely a *livre d'étrennes*, a popular account of the theatre in the century of Marivaux, Voltaire and Beaumarchais. In fact, however, it is a valuable scholarly monograph on the form of drama specifically called *drame*. Growing out of the *tragédie bourgeoise* and the *comédie larmoyante*, this form became definite with Diderot's *Fils Naturel* (1757), and had a triumphant career which was cut short by the Revolution. Its chief importance is perhaps social rather than literary, and it produced few works of permanent interest; but it marks a significant stage in the development of the theatre, in connection with the decay of the classic tragedy and comedy. In his book of 600 pages M. Gaiffe exhaustively treats the origin, characteristics, development and influence of the *drame*, with a list of all the plays produced between 1757 and 1791 which conform to his definition,—“a new *genre* created by the philosophical party for the purpose of interesting and preaching to the *bourgeoisie* and the *peuple* by presenting to them a pathetic picture of their own adventures and their own environment.”

K. McK.

In the *Revue de la Renaissance* for 1910, pp. 113-125, Professor John L. Gerig, by an article on *Jean Pelisson de Condrieu*, has added an additional biography to his series of articles on the less known scholars of the sixteenth century. His careful and detailed study is an evidence of how much material for the literary history of the Renaissance still remains to be gleaned from contemporary sources. Professor Gerig is earning the gratitude of students of French by these biographies, which demand much labor but are forming part of a solid foundation for a better understanding of the period.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

VOL. XXVI.

BALTIMORE, APRIL, 1911.

No. 4.

ZUR SPANISCHEN GRAMMATIK¹

II. VERBALE KURZFORMEN

1. *poder*

a) Präs. Ind.

a) *pueo*² Cantes flamencos 18 *no pueo* : *blandeo*. 72 *no te pueo seguir*.³ 79 *Que no te pueo orbiá* (Marín, Cantos populares II 451 *Yo no te pueo 'rbiá*). Cant. pop. I 445. II 179 : *blandeo*. III 273. 409 : *sereno*. IV 268 : *deseo*. Díaz Cas-sou, El Cancionero panocho 42. 67. J. F. F., La Olla asturiana 90 *puéo* : *esquilaéru*. García Plata de Osma, Rimas infantiles, Apuntes reco-gidos en Alcuéscar, Rev. de Extremadura IV 126 *puéo*.

puées. Rubí, Poesías andaluzas⁴ 126 *Ya te puées aparejar*. Cant. flam. 19. 118 *puées*. 121. La Olla ast. 62.

puée Poes. and. 73. 135. Cant. flam. 24. 39. 44. La Olla ast. 32 : *llueve*. 42. 58. Maldonado, Del Campo y de la Ciudad, Salamanca, 1903, 33 *sino puée* (Druckfehler für *puée*?) *menos de ris-cordárseme siempre*.

Besondere Erwähnung verdient die Form *puei* in Santander : Pereda, Tipos y Paisajes⁵ 148 *puei que pese tres cuarterones*. 149. 363. 364. Fernán-dez y González, Cabuérniga, Sonos de mi Valle, Santander, 1895, 46 *puey que*. Cf. ZrP XXXIV 641 ; XXXV.⁴

poémos. La Olla ast. 77 *ya poémos comer carne*.

¹ Cf. ZrP XXXIV 641 ; XXXV.

² Die Schreibung der an die Spitze gestellten Form gilt für das zunächst folgende Beispiel. Abweichende Schreibungen gebe ich einmal. Gleichförmigkeit ist weder in demselben Dialekt noch in demselben Text vorhanden.

³ Diese Verbindung, Modusverbum + Inf., begegnet am häufigsten. In der Regel werde ich solche Beispiele nicht ausschreiben. Aber auch betreffs anderer Konstruktionen war der Raumersparnis halber Mass geboten.

⁴ Weitere Beispiele für *é* (genauer *de*) > *ei* : *leidores* Leyendas Mor. III 146. 164. *veydor* Ordinac. Çaragoça II 426. 467. Formen, die Baist § 35 zu berücksichtigen wären.

puéen. La Olla ast. 26 *puéen llámase dichosos*.

β) *puo*. Schuchardt, Die Cantes flamencos, ZrP V 318, und Meyer-Lübke I § 435 geben diese Form als andalusisch. Ich habe nur aus Aragon Beispiele : García—Arista y Rivera, Can-tas baturras 58 *no te puó ver ni pintada*. Blasco, Cuentos aragoneses I 63. II 54. Casañal Shakery, 333 Cantares baturros³ 38. 52. Dagegen *puó* Cant. flam. 81 = *pudo*.

pues. Beispiele aus einem arag. Text des 15. Jahrhunderts (Maestro Martín García, Chaton) sind Two Old Spanish Versions of the Dist. Catonis 15 Anm. 52 gegeben. Jünger (andal.?) Aparicio⁵ (Gallardo I 234b) *Ya pues ver : estoy echado Por*. . . Dazu kommen aus neuerer Zeit Cant. pop. II 280 *pués*. Canc. pan. 39 *pués*. Cant. bat. 18. 55. 78. Cantar. bat. 4. 30. 101. 107. La Olla ast. 53.

pue. Das älteste mir bekannte Beispiel steht Rim. Pal. 41 *e non se pue salvar*. Dazu füge ich Poes. and. 29 *pué*. Cant. flam. 82. Cant. pop. II 248 *pué*. 258. IV 185 *Y pué Undebé castigarle*. 215. 221. 437. Rueda, La Reja (Nyrop, La Espa-ña moderna) 131. 28 *esto no pue seguir asín*. Canc. pan. 17. 42. 57. Allué, Capuletos y Mon-tescos ; Novela de Costumbres aragonesas 13. 14. 161. Cant. bat. 49. 55. 63. Sotileza² 210. 547. Peñas arriba³ 148. 371. 404. Caveda, Poesías selectas en Dialecto asturiano² 262. Del Campo y de la Ciudad 38 *Pué que*. . . 104. 110 *Pus ya pué V. ver*.

puen Rueda, La Reja 132, 10 *na puen lágrimas contra piedras*. Canc. pan. 64 *de ti no puén ya decir*. Cantar. bat. 36 *pues con lo que él asperdi-cia / puén comer cinco personas*. 41. 61. 81. Gas-cón, Historietas baturras³ I 28. Cuent. arag. I 72. II 59. 100. Tipos y Paisajes 139. Cabuér-niga 9. 148. Rimas inf., Rev. Extrem. IV 364 *puén*.

⁵ Das bei Gallardo gedruckte Ex. ist ohne Ort und Jahr. Das, welches Barrera besass (Cat. 512b), wurde gedruckt Sevilla, 1611. Ein drittes bei Salvá I 361 a "S. l. ni a. (hacia 1530)."

Die Entwicklung der unter *a*) und *β*) zitierten Formen könnte rein lautlich sein. Ausfall des intervokalen *d* ist in den Dialekten ganz gewöhnlich. *Krasis* in *puées* > *pués* etc. ebenso natürlich (Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* 55). Cf. *Cant. pop.* II 316 *¿Quieres que . . . me qués sin alimento?* 506 *Mira no te qués dormía.* etc.—III 273 *una puñalá.* IV 43 *más e sien puñalás.* etc.—*Canc. pan.* 47 *tó er partío.* 50 *tós.* etc. *puó* endlich könnte aus *pueo* entstanden sein. Für den Ausfall des Mittelvokals *e* werden sich im Verlauf der Arbeit noch mehr Beispiele ergeben. Dass der Akzent auf *o* verlegt wurde, ist klar.

Merkwürdig ist, dass Beispiele für *puéo*, *puées*, etc. (auch *puéa* etc.) in Aragon fehlen. Ich mag sie übersehen haben.⁶ Anderenfalls wird wenigstens in Aragon *puedo* unmittelbar zu *puó* geworden sein. Dafür wären dann andere als lautliche Gründe zu suchen.

b) Präs. Konj.

a) *puea* 1. *Cant. pop.* I 442 *Pá que lo que boy buscando Lo puea 'reansa y bensé.*

pueas *Cant. flam.* 32 : *beas.*

puea 3. *Cant. pop.* I 101 *Er que puea Que s'esconda.* III 273. *Canc. pan.* 88. *La Olla ast.* 14. *Del Campo y de la Ciudad* 97. 127 *Pero cudiao, no te la ejo no sea que te engarañes y no puea dimpués desengarabitate los deos.*

β) *puá* 3. *Cant. bat.* 82 *No tengas miedo á quererme, rosálico sin goler, que yo siempre doy la cara en lo que puá suceder.*

Hierher stelle ich noch *Canc. pan.* 18 *Ponte las arracadas de media luna, que puá ser que la noche se ponga escura.* 51 *La moza qu'es desanchá, la comparo á la acituna; que la que crees qu'está verde puá ser qu'esté más maura.* *Hist. bat.* I 6 *Y bien puá ser que . . .*

Zwar die Grammatik verlangt hier *pudiera*, und eine Entwicklung über *pudiá* (cf. § 8) >

⁶Für die rechte Beurteilung dieser Arbeiten wird die folgende Bemerkung nicht überflüssig sein. Die Hauptmasse des Materials wurde in jahrelangem Lesen gesammelt. Vieles zog dabei meine Aufmerksamkeit auf sich, zu Vieles, und so wird mir hier und dort ein Beispiel entschlüpft sein, das in die Geschichte eines Wortes etc. gehört oder zu sonstigen Zwecken der Vollständigkeit sich geeignet hätte. Lücken, die sich bei der Zusammenstellung für den Druck ergaben, habe ich auszufüllen gesucht, indem eine Zahl von Texten noch einmal daraufhin gelesen wurde. Alles wiederzulesen fehlte mir Zeit und Lust.

**puía* > *puá* wäre nicht ganz ausgeschlossen, allein die Volkssprache darf sich in diesen Fällen *pueda* gestatten. So teilt mir Cuervo brieflich mit, an dessen Güte und Gelehrsamkeit man sich niemals vergeblich wendet.

puán. *Cant. bat.* 13 *Atate bien los calzones que no te se puán caer.*

2. querer

a) Präs. Ind.

a) *quieo.* *Poes. and.* 19 *Pues quieo robala, | y quieo tabien á Blas Lopez | envialo . . .* 61 *Zi quieo, y jerre que jerre.* 66 *¿Asercame yo? . . . | no quieo!* *Cant. flam.* 37 *Que no quieo yo trabajá.* 58 *No quieo yo acordarme.* *Cant. pop.* III 289 *Yahora bienes á quererme, Cuando no te quieo pá ná.* 302. 303 *Contigo no quieo más liga.*

¿Quiées? *La Olla ast.* 100.

quiee. *Juan del Castillo, Sainetes* I 62 *Teresa.*

¿Qué se ofrece? *Poenco.* *¿Me quiee usté | hacer el gusto . . .?* 163 *Quién de ustees quiee prestarme | un trabuco naranjero?* *Cant. flam.* 40 *Tu mare no me quie á mí; Tu mare quiee á la reina . . .*

β) *quió.* *Poes. and.* 37 *porque yo no quió, mal majo, que . . .* 45. 133. *Cant. flam.* 50 *Bibo me quío yo enterrá.* 65 *No quío yo acordarme.* 96 *Yo no te quío á ti pa ná.* 103. *Cant. pop.* II 168 *Que la quío⁷ yo conosé.* III 336 *Que yo no la quío pá suegra.* 409. *Rueda, La Reja* 124, 14 *no quío novio.* 132, 7. *Cant. bat.* 59. 67. 78 *que no quío de tí ni aun eso.* *Cuent. arag.* I 3 *La Pilara me quie á mí, yo la quío á ella.* 14. 72. 84 *No quío nada y quío mucho.* 85 *¿Que no quío dineros!* II 6.

quies. Ich habe keine älteren Beispiele als *Encina* 190. 196 *si quies.* 216 *¿Quiés que . . .?* 247. Gleichfalls alt sind *Pedraza, Danza de la Muerte* (BAE LVIII) 42 b *Déjame un poco, si quies mi vivir.*⁸ *Barahona de Soto* (Marín) 593. 603 *quies⁹ que . . . Autos* (Rouanet) I 300, 501 *quies : rreves : pies.* 398, 106 *quies¹⁰ : conogeis : espantareis.* III 12, 339 : *tres.* 266, 154 : *pies.*

⁷Dazu die Anm. S. 194 : "*Quío : de quiero, quico ; y de ahí quío.*"

⁸Hrsg. : "*Pongo quies por quieres* (contracción que se usó hasta en el siglo XVII) por pedirlo así la medida, en este y algun otro verso."

⁹Hrsg. : "*contracción de quieres, algo usada en el siglo XVI.*"

¹⁰Hrsg. : "*Le ms. et P[edroso] quieres. Mais c'est quies qu'avait écrit l'auteur, comme le prouve la rime.*"

Guillén Robles, Leyendas moriscas II 160 *si tú quie(re)s*¹¹ *vencella*. 225 *si tú quieres* (Hs. *quies*) *salvarte*. 261 *¿ quie(re)s*¹¹ *de mí otra cosa . . . ?* 350 *¿ Quies ¡ oh Amir ! que salga á Alí ?* Guillén Robles, Leyendas de José 168 *¿ y qué quieres* (Hs. *quies*)? 215 *he entendido lo qu' has nombrado en ella* (sc. tu carta), *y lo que quieres* (Hs. *quies*) *de pagar (yo) la obediencia á tú . . . y tú quies guerearme . . .* Palau, S. Orosia (Fernández-Guerra) 400 *quies : heis*¹² (saberlo h.). 2313 *quies*¹³ : es. Weitere Beispiele aus dem 16. und 17. Jahrhundert bei Cuervo, Apuntaciones 533. Aus dem 18. Jahrh.: Castillo, Sainetes I 82. II 40. Dazu aus neuerer Zeit: Cant. pop. II 439 *quies que*. III 340. IV 436. 470. Rueda, La Reja 133, 11 *no me quies como antes*. Canc. pan. 24. 43 *tú me quies como la Virgen*. Cant. bat. 23. 32 *no quies á naide*. 38. Saroïhandy, Ann. Éc. Haut. Ét. 1898, 90 (Graus). Poes. sel. en Dial. ast. 203. 223 *Si tu quies, después iremos*. La Olla ast. 66 : *mes*. Vigón, Juegos y Rimas infantiles recogidas en . . . Villaviciosa, Colunga y Caravia 51. 52. 62 *A quién quies más . . . ?* Del Campo y de la Ciudad 37.

Wenn Diez 537 (= II 186) von "poet. *quies*" spricht, so ist das so zu verstehen, dass die literarische Sprache die Form nur in der Poesie zulässt (oder zuließ?).

Zu vergleichen ist port. *quês*, s. C. M. de Vasconcellos, Arch. f. n. Sprach. LXV 48 b.

quíe. Castillo, Sainetes I 66 *¿ me quíe usté dar la-candela ?* III 249 *Quién quie caldo ?* Poes. and. 33 *¿ quién quíe mas ?* 34. 35. Cant. flam. 40 (cf. sub *quiee*). 65. Cant. pop. III 336 *no me quíe pá nuera*. 449. IV 444. Canc. pan. 59. 71 *Tu macre quíe pa ti un rey*. Cant. bat. 36 *cada cosa quíe su cosa*. 76. 90 *¿ Aun t'atreves á decir / que no te quíe mi presona*¹⁴ *y . . .* 95 *No te quíe mi madre á tí*. Cantar. bat. 29. 39. Del Campo y

de la Ciudad 33 *¿ Y qué quíe usté que haga . . . ?* 38. 134 *¿ Qué quíe usté que haga . . . ?*

In schneller Rede wird *quíe usté* zu *quícusté* (*quíusté*) und dies, durch Ausfall des Mittelvokals, zu *quíusté*. Ich kenne nur arag. Beispiele: Cuent. arag. I 19 *¿ Quiusté un poquico ?* 36 *¿ Quiusté que la llame yo ?* II 10 *¿ Quiusté que le diga una cosa, padre ?* 14 *¿ Y con eso se quiusté curar ?* 16 *¿ Que quiusté que sea ?* 18 *¿ Quiusté que lo lleve ?* 29 *Entrusté, don Antero ; ¿ quiusté cenar ?*

quíen. Schon Lope, El Despertar á quien duerme (BAE XLI) 351 a A *Rugero quíen matar* (im Munde eines *villano*). Ferner Canc. pan. 55 *Munchos hay en este mundo que quíen coger sin sembrar*. Cant. bat. 40 *nos quíen acumular*. Cantar. bat. 102 *no quíen ir á la escuela*. Cuent. arag. I 25 *¿ Que no nos quien creer !* II 87. 88. 97 *estas cosas requíen tiempo*. Hist. bat. II 98 *¿ qué quíen ustés decir ?* 99 *Si quíen ustés un trago de prensao*.

Ob *quieo* etc., *quíó* etc. auf rein lautlichem Wege sich entwickelt haben, ist mir zweifelhaft. Ich lasse zunächst ein paar Autoritäten sprechen.

Schuchardt, ZrP V 317: "Im Inlaut [schwindet *r* im Andal.], nach Rodríguez Marin, in der 3. P. Pl. Perf.: *mataon, comieon, escubrieon* und sonst 'muchas veces': *paa pa* (so auch astur.), *quieo, mia, paece* (ebenso astur.). Es wäre zu untersuchen, unter welchen Bedingungen intervocalisches *r* bleibt; besonders wird es zwischen gleichen Vocalen schwinden (*pernal*,¹⁵ *quies*), wie dies auch im Buenosair. der Fall ist (*pa, pe^gil*)."
Weiter (S. 318) macht Schuchardt auf *pae* < *pare* < *padre, comae* aufmerksam. Ich füge zu diesen Beispielen hinzu *bien vale . . . / lo mesmo que un maavei* Poes. and. 78.

Saroïhandy, Ann. Éc. Haut. Ét. '98, 90, bezeugt für Graus (Aragon) "*quíes* (cast. *quieres*), *mues* (cast. *mueres*)" und bemerkt in einer Anm. zu dem letzteren: "*L' r tombe entre voyelles dans certains mots qui reviennent souvent dans la conversation : paece* (cast. *parece*), *mía* (cast. *mira*), *pa* (cast. *para*). Mais ceci se rencontre également dans la prononciation vulgaire du castillan."

Munthe, Anteckningar 39, führt als astur. auf *paez, quies, pa, pái, mái*.

¹⁵ Mir unverständlich.

¹¹ Die Hs. hat *quies*, obgleich der Hrsg. das nicht besonders bemerkt. Vgl. zu seiner Inkonsistenz die Beispiele SS. 225; 350.

¹² Wie man oben Autos I 398 *conoçés* etc. schreiben könnte, so hier *hês*. Cf. Delgado, Retrato de la lozana Andaluza (1871) 76 *Vamos allá y vello hês*.

¹³ Hrsg.: "quies. Quieres."

¹⁴ *mí presona* = *yo*. Cf. Diez 810 (= III 66). Tobler, V. B. I 32. Krenkel, Klass. Bühnendicht. d. Spanier II 161.

Dazu möchte ich folgendes bemerken :

Betreffs *mataon*, *comieon* heisst es bei Marín, Cant. pop. iv 136 : "No es fenómeno muy general."

Es ist ferner auffällig, dass Formen, in denen bloss -r- gefallen (auch *quiea* etc.; vgl. § 1 a, β.) in Aragon ganz zu fehlen scheinen und in den übrigen Dialekten nur schwach vertreten sind.

Somit bleiben im grossen und ganzen *paa*, *quiés*, *mia*, *paece*, *pae*, *mae*. Alles Wörter, die, wie bereits Saroïhandy ausgesprochen, häufig in der Rede vorkommen, daher leicht verkürzt werden können.

Die grössere oder geringere Verkürzung wird sich nach dem Tempo der Rede richten.

Endlich zeigt *quiées*, wie man sich die Verkürzung in ihrem Anfang vorzustellen hat. Anders Baist § 54 und Leite de Vasconcellos, Rev. lus. xii 306, die von *quiés* (bezw. *quer's*) ausgehen.

b) Präs. Konj.

a) *quiea* fehlt; doch vgl. unter *siquiea*.

β) *quiás*. Cuent. arag. ii 77 *Pues entre mi madre y yo le metimos el piazó en la boca, y que quiás que no, se lo hicimos tragar.*

quíá 3. Cantar. bat. 9 "Quien busque distracción, que entre. Quien quíá cariño, que salga." 19 *¡Quíá Dios que . . .!* 81. 88 *La que me quíá pa marido que venga.* Cuent. arag. i 62 (Jemand, nach seinem "oficio" gefragt, antwortet) *pión, ú bracero, ú como usté quíá llamalo.*

Beispiele aus Andalusien, Leon fehlen; doch vgl. unten.

Hier mögen Zusammensetzungen mit *quíá* folgen :

Canc. pan. 34 *andequiá* (kast. *dondequiera*) *que lo* (sc. *mi cariño*) *pongo, allí se quea.*

Hist. bat. i 25 *Cualquíá me gana á mí á mintir y desagerar cuando yo quiero.*

Cant. flam. 56 *Que tan siquiea una horita ar día Que me benga á be.*

Von einem andal. *siquiá* spricht Schuchardt, ZrP v 321. Ich habe notiert : Canc. pan. 35 *ni siquiá lo imagino.* Hist. bat. i 9 *Saca tú uno del pueblo que no le haiga pegao á la parienta un par de puñetazos siquiá pa recuerdo.* Del Campo y de la Ciudad 117 *¡Y qué haces, que ni siquiá te remangas los brazos pa lavar?*

3. tener

a) *tíee*. Cant. flam. 45 *Que mi queré no tíee*

rienda. 58 *No sarga la luna Que no tíee pa qué.* 61 *Penas tíee mi mare* (Cant. pop. iv 127 *Penas tíe mi mare*).

β) *to*. Poes. sel. en Dial. ast. 76 *non to calentar.* 147 *to añadite.* 234 *to decer.* La Olla ast. 90 *tó facélu.* 96 *tó cortáte.* 99 *non tó quear.*

to ist auf Asturien beschränkt und weiter in seinem Gebrauch, nach den Beispielen zu schliessen, auf die Bildung des Futurs. Doch führt Rato y Hévia, Vocabulario de las Palabras y Frases bables 136, *to tenio* im Paradigma von "ter ó tener" an.

Von diesem Inf. *ter* aus, der allerdings eher galiz. und port. als span. ist, könnte *to* gebildet sein, etwa nach der Proportion *ser : so = ter : x.*

tiés. Cant. flam. 66 *Tú me tiés á mí Como San Lorenzo.* Cant. pop. i 63 *no tiés dinero.* iii 298. 332 *Tú tié 'n la cabeza un nío.* Canc. pan. 41. 54 *Tengo yo cuatro cosas que no tiés tú.* 65 Cant. bat. 17 : *nuez.* 79 *tiés ya otro cortejo.* Cantar. bat. 13. 24. 25 *tú tiés un dedo malo.* Cuent. arag. ii 15 *¡Ay, qué cosas tiés, Manuel!* Del Campo y de la Ciudad 59.

tiê. Cant. pop. i 63 *tiê dinero.* ii 9 *tiê que diña.* 304. Canc. pan. 18 *¡que te tiê rabia!* 52. 58 *asta el que no tiê trebajo, bastante trebajo tiene : encuentre.* 59 *Tan probe es quien no tiê un duro / como er que lo tiê y lo guarda.* Del Campo y de la Ciudad 43 *Tiê que ver esto.* 58. 59 *¡qué tiê eso que ver con . . .?* 77. Rimas inf., Rev. Extrem. iv 367.

Vgl. die it. Imperative *te'* (Vockeradt § 68, 9), *vie'* (Vockeradt § 68, 10).

tién. Ein altes Beispiel Diego Sanchez de Badajoz i 343 *vemos . . . Que las más mujeres tien Envidia . . .* Canc. pan. 56 *La mujer moza y la pulga / tién la mesma condición.* 59. Cant. bat. 96. Cantar bat. 23 *¡Ridiez y qué inteligencia / tién algunos animales!* 41. 65. 79. Cuent. arag. ii 59 *ahí tién ustés lo que son las cosas.* M. Goyri de Menéndez Pidal, La Difunta pleiteada 18 (Romanze aus Villimar [Burgos]) *la* (sc. á Doña Ángela) *tién mandada sus padres / al mercader de la villa.*

Zur Entstehung dieser Formen s. Schuchardt, ZrP v 319 : "Eine schwache Neigung, den dentalen Nasal zu entfernen, zeigt sich auch im Andalusischen : *tíee*, *víee*, *Maolito* oder *Maoliyo*."

¹⁶S. Schuchardt, ZrP v 319.

Ich liege ähnliche Bedenken wie betreffs der Kurzformen von *quiero*.

4. venir

viés. Canc. pan. 40 *Échale pan ar perro si viés á verme*.

bié. Canc. pan. 30 *veo que bié tu paere con una vara*.

vien. Ein altes Beispiel Tirso, El Pretendiente al Reves (BAE v) 41 a *A la fe que vien*¹⁷ *de prisa* (im Munde eines *pastor*). Canc. pan. 87 *los que los vien á prender*.

5. Kurzformen des Imp. Sing. einiger Verba der 1 Konj.

a) *mia*. Cant. flam. 82 *Mia que no has de ser eterno*. Cant. pop. II 69 *Mia tú qué flamenca eres . . . !* 217 *Mia (!) que nombre tan bonito . . . !* 317 *Mia tú si soy güen gitano*. Cant. bat. 20 *Miá (!) tú si seré forano !* 30 *Miá no venga á resultar que . . . !* 48. 62. 78. Cuent. arag. II 6. Capuletos 45. 55. 303 *Mialo* —, dijo la herrera, — Escenas montañesas,² 152. 359. Sotileza 123. 124 *Pos míate (!) el otro . . . !* 164. Del Campo y de la Ciudad 127 *Pus mialá (!) qué roñosa y qué miseriosa*.

Zur Verschiebung des Akzents s. Hanssen § 5, 10.

Mire usté (osté) wird zunächst *mir' usté*¹⁸: Cant. pop. III 417 *No me mir' usté á la cara*. 424. IV 277. Canc. pan. 42 *mirosté qu'es juerte cosa !* Daraus dann *miusté*¹⁹: Poes. and. 77 *miusté; con eza mirá | está isiendo zu poer*. Cuent. arag. I 78

¹⁷ Hrsg.: Vienen.

¹⁸ In einigen Drucken wird die Elision des tonlosen *e* graphisch angedeutet, in anderen nicht. Cant. flam. 108 *Escuch' usté*. Ib. *No gast' usté*. Cant. pop. I 48 *Tap' usté*. 49. 52 *No me peg' usté*. 81 *¿quier' usté . . . ?* 84 *compr' usté*. 99 *Entr' usté* (IV 290 *Entr' usté*) etc. Dagegen Cuent. arag. II 29 *Entrusté, don Antero*. Hist. bat. I 90 *¿Sabusté que . . . ?*

Interessanter ist Poes. and. 78 *¿no vusté que eze potro ez una fiera ?* Und, auf derselben Seite, mit Assimilation des auslautenden, betonten *e* an folgendes, tonloses *u*: *¿Lo vousté ? ¡Juy . . . qué pujansa !*

¹⁹ Doch könnte *miusté* noch auf andre Weise entstanden sein. *mire usté* > *mie usté* (*mje* und *mié*) > *mieusté* (in dem der Mittelvokal fiel) > *miusté*. Vgl. Castillo, Sainetes I 85 *Mie usté quien !* (auf derselben Seite zuvor im Munde derselben Person *Mire usté*). Del Campo y de la Ciudad 135 *mié usté*. Cuent. arag. I 30 *Mielusté* (sc. el termómetro) *allí riba !* 52 *Miela* (sc. á la madre) *usté, ya viene !* Endlich *quiusté*.

Si señor; miusté ésta (sc. capa). II 10 *Miusté esa loca*. 19 *miusté que el pobre cura tié que . . .* Hist. bat. III 39. Rev. de Aragón VI (1905) Secc. gen. 234 b. 235 a. Endlich *misté*. Für das Andal. s. Schuchardt, ZrP v 314: "im Andalusischen [schwinden] Consonanten zwischen Vocalen und die auf diese Weise zusammengeführten, ebenso wie die ursprünglich neben einander stehenden Vocale werden quantitativ und qualitativ mit einander verschmolzen; so lautet z. B. das allerdings sehr häufig gebrauchte *mire usted* wie *míhté*." Aus Aragon und Santander habe ich augemerkt: Cuent. arag. I 25 *Miste, ahí vienen cinco ú seis cantando*. 84 *Miste, traigo unas borrajas que se comen solas*. 92 *miste !* Hist. bat. I 6 *Pos misté, . . .* Escenas montañesas 323 *Misté el jierro en esta nalga*. Tipos y Paisajes 168 *Misté, don prisbítero, . . .*

β) *guarte*. Castigos é Documentos 142 b *guarte mientras las* (sc. palabras) *dijeres*. 177 b *Mio fiyo: guarte é non quieras nin consientas que . . .* Rodrigo de Arana (C. Baena) 483 *Guarte, non bivas en tal amargura Commo . . .* Encina 79 *Guarte, guarte: confesarte !* 199: *arte*. Celestina (1900) 157. 164 *Guarte, señor, de dañar lo que . . .* Quirós (Canc. Gen.) II (1882) 196 a: *parte*. Torres Naharro I 336: *arte: parte*. Valdés, Diccionario de la Lengua 391, 22: "sincopamos o cortamos algunos verbos quando los juntamos con pronombre, como aqui: *Haz mal y guarte por guardate*." Aucto de la Paciencia de Job (BAE LVIII) 32 a. Autos (Rouanet) I 192, 299.

Aus neuerer Zeit stehen mir nur arag. Beispiele für *aguarte* zur Verfügung: Cuent. arag. I 7. 31. 32. II 8. 85. Rev. de Aragón III 40 b. 877. Die Besprechung der Bedeutung würde mich hier zu weit führen.

Da nachtoniges *a* nicht fällt, so ist an eine rein lautliche Entwicklung nicht zu denken.

Vgl. schliesslich port. *guarte* Cornu § 106 (S. 957), it. *quarti* (*guarte*) Nannucci, Analisi critica dei Verbi it. 277 (wo auch prov. und afz. Beispiele), fz. *gar* (*gars*), *agar* (*aga*) Nyrop II § 154.

γ) *tirte*. Encina 124 *tirte á huera !* Gil Vicente [Böhl de Faber] 59 *Tirte afuera !* Lucas Fernandez 6. 21. 143 *tirte allá !* 152 *Tirte d'hi !* Torres Naharro I 268 *Tirt' ahuera !* Don Quixote II 47 (der Doctor Pedro Rezio de Agüero spricht)

soy natural de un lugar llamado Tirteafuera (s. dazu Clemencin v 437).

Vgl. port. *tirte* Cornu § 106.

6. Einzelheiten

a) *diz* in der Formel *diz que* ist nach der Meinung einiger Grammatiker Verkürzung von *dicen*. So Valdés, *Diálogo de la Lengua* 391, 30 (wo er von *vocablos sincopados* spricht): "Tambien dezimos *diz que* por *dizen*, y no parece mal." So auch Cuervo, *Dicc.* II 815 b: "En sentido indeterminado se ha usado y hoy familiarmente se usa *diz que* por *dicen que*." Folgen Beispiele aus Garcilaso, Castillejo, etc. Ein älteres Beispiel (Prim. Crón. Gen. 53 a 4) bei Hanssen § 27, 14, der dieselbe Meinung äussert. Ich füge hinzu Prim. Crón. Gen. 49 b 52. 236 a 37. 567 a 30. 699 b 26. Weitere Beispiele aus Lucas Fernandez, Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, Lope de Rueda und den Autos zu geben, scheint mir überflüssig. Dagegen mag hier noch ein Beispiel aus der Feder eines lebenden Autors in einer gelehrten Zeitschrift stehen: P[az] y M[é]lia, *Revista de Archivos* Sept.-Oct. de 1910, 237 *Diz que al oír esto algún congresista . . . exclamó muy por lo bajo . . .*

Allein wir haben es garnicht mit einer Verkürzung zu tun, nicht mit *dicunt*, sondern mit *dicūt*. Krenkel III 235 (zu El Alcalde de Zalamea 790 *Esta tarde diz que ha hecho La villa eleccion de oficio*) bezeichnet richtig *diz* als "unpersönliche Form" und übersetzt "es heisst, man sagt." (Ähnlich, doch weniger bestimmt, Moreira, *Rev. lus.* IX 359: "Usam-se constantemente entre o povo frases como: "*diz que* está a sair a procissão," isto é, "alguem diz," "diz-se";—"diz que sim" por "dizem que sim" ou "diz-se que sim";—"diz que foi assim" em lugar de "diz-se que foi assim.")

Wie Diez 914 (= III 208 Anm.) längst gezeigt wird "im Mlat. *dicūt* oft für *dicitur* gesetzt." Unter den lat. Beispielen eins aus der Esp. Sagr.²⁰ Weitere lat. Beispiele für *dicat*, *dicūt* bei Löfstedt, *Spätlat. Studien*, Uppsala [1908] S. 55 aus Filastrius, *Adversus Aleatores*, etc.

Diez I. c. giebt auch ein it.²¹ und ein prov. Bei-

spiel. Mehr prov. Beispiele und Verweis auf ein afz. Beispiel bei Levy, *Prov. Suppl.*—Wörterb. II 245. Ein Beispiel aus Guiraut von Bornelh bei Kolsen, *Festschrift Tobler*, 1905, S. 215.

Zudem findet sich die volle Form *dize* in derselben Verwendung: Prim. Crón. Gen. 668 b 49 *Ca era ya Gutierrez Fernandez omne de grand edad et onrrado et de guardar en onrra . . . et dize aun que era Gutierrez Fernandez omne de . . .* Rev. de Aragón III 169 a (es handelt sich um Bilder in einer Kirche) *La que primero veris, . . . será una piana mu grande y qu'ice que representa al Señor cuando . . .* 169 b *Luego, hay en otra pianica tres cruces: en una de ellas, está clavao el Señor, en otra el mal ladrón Cestas, y en otra el güen ladrón Limas, y un soldao á lo que sea, qu'ice que se llama Anginas, y que . . .* Hist. bat. III 91 (zwei *baturros* unterhalten sich über einen *alcalde*) *Dice* (= "es heisst," kaum "er sagt") *que ha sido toa su vida arriero, y que donde él esté no roba naide . . . más que él.*

diz allein, wie in Sig[üenza] Vida de S. Jer[ónimo] 4. 13 (383) *Le oían de buena gana, porque tenía, diz, mucho donaire*, nennt Cuervo, II 816 a, selten. Ich möchte hierherstellen Rim. Pal. 299 *Vna ves pidrán* (sc. los mercadores) *cinquenta doblas por un panno, Si vieren que estades duro o entendedes vuestro danno, Dis, (l.:) por treynta vos lo do.* Ebenso 300 a, obgleich auch hier die Rede in der ersten Person fortgeht. Dann 300 c und sicher 302 *Non se tienen por contentos por vna ves se doblar Su dinero, mas tres tanto lo quieren amuchiguar: Dis: somos en perigos por la tierra o por mar . . .* Ich übersetze: "es heisst," "die (ihre) Rede ist."

β) Kurzformen von *parece*.

paee. Rueda, La Reja 133, 4 *me paee . . . que.* 135, 9. 136, 4 *No paee sino que algo . . .* Canc. pan. 41 *el sol paee tu cara.* 46 *le paee á las gallinas.*²² Ib. *le paee á un saco é melones.*

²² Vgl. Espejo 64 *E si con ella yoguiere de su grado, saquen le los ojos a amos.* Lope de Rueda II (1896) 15 *¿Cómo le llaman á aquestos que de un hombre hacen cuatro?* Fernán Caballero, La Familia de Alvareda (CEC) 325 *Le temo á las cosas que Dios permite para castigar á los hombres.* Cant. pop. III 11 *Y le pregunto á las olas.* 150 *Dile, niña, á tus labios Que no me hablen.* Weitere Beispiele giebt Cuervo, *Apuntaciones* 209. In allen geht das Pronomen dem Objekt (Dativ oder Akkusativ) vorher. Ich möchte die Nichtkongruenz so erklären, dass der Redende

²⁰ Leider ist in dem Zitat ein Druckfehler.

²¹ Nach Tobler, *ZrP* II 150, ist *dice* "es heisst" eine dem It. "bis heute geläufig gebliebene Wendung."

Sotileza 382. 384 *¿Te paece poco, Sotileza?* 467. Del Campo y de la Ciudad 65. 68. 86.

Nach dem § 2 a, β Gesagten ist diese Form m. E. nicht auf rein lautlichem Wege entstanden.

paice Cantar. bat. 21. 61. 68. Capuletos 38. 44. 122. Sotileza 285.

Ich vermute *páice*, wohl unter dem Einfluss des Inf. *pàecér* Rev. de Aragón I 9, dann, *paicer* Capuletos 122; cf. ZrP xxxiv 641; xxxv²³ und *páices*: Cant. bat. 20 *Me páices por comparanza manzanica*. 27 *Páices* (!). 32 *páices*. 51 *Páices* etc. *paez*, leon.²⁴ Peñas arriba 46. 55. 223. Cabuerniga 122. 123. 156. Poes. sel. en Dial. ast. 267 *Paéz que* . . .

pes in *pesque*. Cuervo, Apuntaciones 541: "De la acentuación normal *paéz que*, usada en Asturias, sale *pesque* (dazu in einer Anm. Beispiele aus Pimentel y Vargas); pero con más frecuencia hemos oído *pasque* ("*pásque no ha venido*"), dislocado el acento: *páez que* (§ 753)."

Andere Beispiele für *aé* > *é*: *quaraenta* > *quarenta* Prim. Crón. Gen. 328 a 10. 334 a 33. 336 a 35. *Cinquaesma* > *Cinquesma* F. Juzgo V. L. 23. *maestre* > *mestre* Alex. 1958 (M.-F. 2100 *maestro*). Wohl auch *traer* > *trer* Poes. sel. en Dial. ast. 78. 175.

"Dieser Prozess (ich eigne mir eine Ansicht Schuchardt's, Vokal. II 305, an) ist weiter Nichts, als eine Zusammenziehung; der betonte Vokal . . . übertönte den unbetonten . . . bis zu dessen vollständigem Verhallen."

paz. Diego Sanchez de Badajoz II 140 *Paz que* . . . Autos I 141, 8; 9; 11; 12. III 420, 268 *paz honbre sera obrigado a creer lo que* . . . 536, 712.

im Augenblick, wo er das Pronomen ausspricht, zwar ein singulares Objekt im Sinn hat; unmittelbar darauf schiebt sich aber in seinem Bewusstsein ein plurales Objekt an die Stelle des singularen, das im Grunde nicht mehr als das letztere besagt. Im Espejo heisst es kurz vor der zitierten Stelle *saquen le los ojos a él e a ella*. Cant. pop. III 11 beginnt: *Todas las mañanas voy A la orillita del mar*. 150 wird der Redende zunächst an *boca* gedacht haben. Noch einfacher ist die Vertretung des Singulars durch einen Plural in den übrigen Beispielen. Warum aber immer *le* und nicht (bei folgendem Akk.) einmal *lo* oder *la*?

²³ Ein weiteres Beispiel für *ae* > *ai* ist *maistro* Rev. de Aragón I 331 a. Cantar. bat. 88. (Betreffs der Aussprache *maestro* s. Cuervo, Apuntaciones 58.)

²⁴ Vgl. Menéndez Pidal, Manual § 107, 4 (S. 191).

pas. Tirso, La Ventura con el Nombre (BAE v) 532 c *pas*²⁵ *que*.

Wohl andal. Ursprungs. Vgl. noch unter *pes*. *pae*. Del Campo y de la Ciudad 66 *Me pae que éstos ya llevan comía más de la su parte*.

Abfall des auslaut. *z* (das vorher zu *s* geworden) ist mir nur aus dem Andal. bekannt.²⁶ Liesse sich an Verlust durch Proklise denken? Etwa, wie in *Roy Diaz*?

Aus diesem *pae* sind endlich, je nachdem *a* oder *e* den Akzent trug, entstanden *pa* und *pe*.

pa in *Pámique ñon adelantamos ñada*, El tiu Xuan, Costumbres asturianas, Sama de Langres, 1909, S. 59.

pe. Alonso Garrote, El Dialecto vulgar leonés hablado en Maragatería y Tierra de Astorga 63: "Sufre una síncopa notable *paréceme*, que se pronuncia *péme* en toda Maragatería. En la Ribera también, y además *pe que* por parece que."

7. Perf. Plur. 3

estuvión. Cuent. arag. II 17 *Pregúntele usté al hipotecario, que estuvión*²⁷ *aquí con su entenao y los afeitó en seis minutos*.

hición. Hist. bat. I 6 *va á hacer con tú más perradas que hición los judíos con Nuestro Señor*.

Es handelt sich um *-ieron* (im folgenden Abschnitt um *-iera* (*-uera*) etc.); verkürztes *-aron* ist mir nicht begegnet, doch s. § 2 a, β .

Die Verba sind solche, von denen die Rede häufigen Gebrauch macht, fast ausschliesslich Hilfsverba der Zeit und des Modus. Nur dies Moment dürfte für die Entwicklung in Frage kommen.

Ich vermute (cf. § 8), dass sich auch *estuvieon* etc. wird belegen lassen. Und zwar in Andalusien; nur der erste Typus (*estuvión*) ist mir in

²⁵ Hrsg.: "*Pas, paz, paez, paece*, contracciones rústicas de *parece*."

²⁶ Vgl. *Beatrí* Cant. pop. I 62 (cf. 61). *be* = kast. *vez* Cant. pop. II 142. IV 129. *crú* Cant. pop. II 315. Vgl. ferner die Schreibungen *Rimas inf.*, Rev. Extrem. IV 125 a *cálig*. 127 a item. 126 a *bég*. 126 b *diég*. Ib. *Cróg*. 366 b item. 366 b *codornig*.—125 a *alféreh*. Und Schuchardt, ZrP v 319 f.

²⁷ Eine willkommene, neuere Parallele (vgl. Meyer-Lübke III § 317) zu *nous chantions avec lui* = *nous chantions, moi et lui* Tobler, V. B. III 16, wo zur Literatur über die Frage noch Risop, AnS CVI 146, nachzutragen wäre.

Aragon bekannt ; weder jener noch dieser scheinen in Leon vorzukommen.

8. Impf. Konj.

diá. Canc. pan. 34 *si juera* (sc. El hoyiquio de tu barba) *sepoltura / yo mesmo me diá la muerte*. Cuent. arag. II 90 *No se pondría usté pa que yo le diá las tres güeltas*.

estuviámos. Cuent. arag. I 25 *¡Ni que estuviámos en Carnaval!*

estuvián. Hist. bat. II 56 *si . . . no estuvián* (sc. los papeles) *en regla, no tenía más remedio que llevarte al pueblo atau codo con codo*.

fuea. Cant. flam. 61 *¡Quien fuea pajarito, Y abriera sus alas!*

fuá 1. Canc. pan. 31 *como si yo juá castillo*. Cuent. arag. II 51 *¡Pues ni que yo fuá Weyler!* Rev. de Aragón IV 1, 185 a *¡Si yo juá ministro . . .!* VI Secc. gen. 83 a *Si fuá yo que tú*.

fuás. Cuent. arag. II 59 *¡Pero, hombre, ni que fuás tonto rematao!*

fuá 3. Cant. bat. 37 *si tó esto fuá mío*. Cuent. arag. II 10 *¡Como si fuá una mosca!* 29 *¡Ni qué (!) fuá usté judío!* Hist. bat. I 31.

fuáis. Cuent. bat. II 9 *¡Si no fuáis tan lamineros, que tóo se os apetece . . .*

fuán. Cuent. bat. II 59 *¡Cómo se puén perder dos burros? ¡Ni que fuán dos sargantanas!*²⁸

hubiea. Cant. pop. v 57 *Si no hubiá sío por er joyete, Rabo-largo l'hubiá dao la muerte*. Zu *hubiá* merkt der Hrsg. an: "por hubiera: *hubiea*, *hubiá*. Como *quió* por *quiero*: *quieo*, *quió*."

hubiá 1. Cant. bat. 53. Cantar. bat. 48 *Si yo hubiá entrau en la apuesta hubiá ganau . . .* Cuent. arag. II 58 *¡Más me calía que mi padre m'hubiá escachao de una patá pa que n'hubiá llegao á hombre . . .!* 65. Hist. bat. I 25 *Hi dicho me caso y me caso. Si hubiá dicho: fenezco soltero . . . ¡así mi hubián traído á la princesa de Indias! ¡Pa su agüela!*

hubiá 3. Cant. bat. 17 *güen pelo me hubiá lucido*. Cuent. arag. I 96. II 58 (cf. *hubiá* 1.). 84 *¡Ojalá s'hubiá muerto!*

hubiamos. Cuent. arag. I 22 *como si l'hubiamos cantao el rosario*.

hubián. cf. *hubiá* 1.

pudiá 3. Canc. pan. 40 *¡quién pudiá ponelle cortinilla ar sol!*

pusiea 3. Cant. flam. 57 *Ar subí la escala, Le ijo ar berdugo, Que le quitara la túnica blanca, Lo pusiea e luto*.

quisiá 1. Canc. pan. 25 *Quisiá que pudiera ser, por angún arte partirme*. 32 *Las jarras e tu jarrero zagala quisiá yo ser*. 40. 43 *Quisiá yo gorberme pulga*. 69. Cant. bat. 90. Cantar. bat. 11 *Yo quisiá golveme el cura con quien . . .* 47. Cuent. arag. II 9. 70. Rev. de Aragón VI Secc. gen. 83 b.

quisiás. Cuent. arag. II 39 *el tempero ha sido malo, y este año la cosecha pa tú no la quisiás*.

quisiá 3. Cantar. bat. 55 *Te lo aviso por si acaso quisiá emplealo tu padre*.

quisián. Canc. pan. 38 *Si . . . los picapedreros quisián picallo* (sc. el mármol).

supiás. Cuent. arag. II 86 *si tú supiás lo que es mi mujer . . .*

tuviá 1. Cuent. arag. II 51 *Pues yo, si tuviá estanco, lo tendría pa fumar de balde*.

tuviá 3. Cant. bat. 94 *Reconcho quién tuviá veinte años menos!* Cuent. arag. II 86 *quién tuviá un clavico como ese!*

tuviáis. Cuent. arag. II 56 *como si no tuviáis Matadero*.

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CERTAIN SOURCES OF SIR JOHN OLDCASTLE.

In speaking of *Sir John Oldcastle* in the introduction to *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* Mr. C. F. Tucker Brooke says: "The first part of *Oldcastle* was beyond question composed for The Lord Admiral's Company as a reply to the successful Falstaff plays, which the Lord Chamberlain's Servants had been acting."¹ To support this assertion Mr. Brooke mentions the prologue to *Oldcastle*, the gambling scene between the King and Sir John

¹ *The Shakespeare Apocrypha* . . . Edited . . . by C. F. Tucker Brooke, B. Litt., Oxford, 1908. Intro. p. xxvii-xxviii. (All my references to *Sir John Oldcastle* are to this edition.)

²⁸ = kast. *lagartijas* Borao.

of Wrotham, and certain explicit references to the wild exploits of the King as Prince of Wales. That the authors of the first part of *Oldcastle* utilized *Henry IV* and *Henry V* to a considerable extent is easily shown; and it is equally plain that they also drew upon the three *Henry VI* plays for certain hints for passages in the play.

In the first place Sir John of Wrotham is undoubtedly based upon Falstaff. They have the same vices, the same doubtful honesty, and even mistresses with the same Christian names—Doll and Doll Tearsheet, respectively.

Next, taking up the resemblances to the Shakespearian plays in order, we come first in Act I, Sc. 1 of *Oldcastle* to a passage which recalls Act I, Sc. 3 of the *First Part of King Henry VI*. In the latter play, in which the scene is before the Tower, the Duke of Gloucester and his servants enter and find themselves barred from the Tower by order of the Cardinal-Bishop of Winchester. Almost immediately the Bishop enters with his servants. A quarrel between him and the Duke ensues, and they come to blows. The servants follow their masters' example. In the tumult the Lord Mayor enters with his officers, and attempts to pacify the combatants. He does not succeed in doing so until he causes the riot act to be read. When this action is taken the Duke and the Bishop with their followers withdraw from the stage.

In *Oldcastle*, Act I, Sc. 1 is laid in a street in Hereford during the Assizes. Lord Herbert and Lord Powis and several of their followers enter and fight, the two noblemen heading the two parties. During the fight the Sheriff of Hereford enters and attempts to disperse the rioters, but he is unable to do so, and is finally driven from the stage. The Mayor of Hereford and his officers then enter; the former commands peace and causes the riot act to be read, but unlike the similar case in *Henry VI*, no effect is produced by it, and so the battle continues. Lord Herbert is at last wounded and Powis then flees. The Sheriff enters with reinforcements—the Judges of Assize in their robes—and rescues such of Lord Powis's followers as remain. The rest of the scene is occupied with low comedy and with an explanation of the origin of the quarrel between the two lords. There is one speech of Herbert,—

"Thy heart's best blood shall pay the loss of mine,"

that is probably founded on a line of Winchester in *Henry VI*—

"Thy heart-blood I will have for this day's work."

The next indebtedness is to be found in *Oldcastle* (Act II, Sc. 1), is to *Henry V*, Act V, Sc. 1. Fluellen and Gower enter, the former with a leek in his hat; and in response to a question from Gower he says that he will force Pistol to eat it. Pistol enters swaggering and is accosted by Fluellen. The latter comes to the point and bids Pistol eat the leek. He refuses contemptuously. Then Fluellen beats him and continues at short intervals to do so, all the time discoursing upon the virtues of the leek, until it, and even its skin, is eaten. Then Fluellen gives Pistol a groat with which to mend his broken pate, while Gower reproves him for his previous actions. In *Oldcastle* a summoner (corresponding to Pistol) enters before Lord Cobham's (Sir John Oldcastle's) house, with a process from the Bishop of Rochester's court to serve upon Oldcastle. Harpoole, the faithful servant of Oldcastle, appears and learns the summoner's business. He examines the parchment which the officer has and then comes to his point—the forcing of its bearer to eat it. The officer, who is, at his entrance, quite assured in bearing, attempts to brave it out. Harpoole beats him, however, until, protesting very vigorously—as does Pistol,—he eats the summons. While he does so, Harpoole ironically praises its toothsome-ness. As Fluellen makes Pistol eat the skin of the leek, so does Harpoole force the summoner to eat the waxen seal on the parchment. After the document has been disposed of, Harpoole calls the butler and orders a pot of beer for the summoner, with which to wash down his lunch. The beer having been drunk, the officer is dismissed, Harpoole in the meantime giving him certain directions concerning his future conduct.²

²Schelling (*The English Chronicle Play*, pp. 132, 154) considers Sc. 3, Act I of *George a Greene* the source of this incident in *Oldcastle*. In the first-mentioned play George a Greene forces Mannering, an emissary from the rebel Earl of Kendal, to swallow the three seals attached to his commission. It is likely that *George a Greene* was the original source of the idea; but if *Henry V*, as I think it

In Act III, Sc. 1 of *Oldcastle*, Richard Earl of Cambridge recounts the claim of his family—that of York—to the English throne. This scene is closely parallel to Act II, Sc. 2, *Second Part of King Henry VI*, in which the Duke of York—son of Cambridge—lays his claim to the throne before Salisbury and Warwick.³ The parallel is a very close one, the chief difference being that in *Henry VI* the brief history of the rise of the house of Lancaster precedes the pedigree of the Duke of York, whereas in *Oldcastle* Cambridge's pedigree is given first.

Murley, the rebel, and his followers enter in Act III, Sc. 1 of *Oldcastle*. They are a sort of mob which is much like the "army" of Jack Cade, which is first introduced in the *Second Part of Henry VI*, Act IV, Sc. 2. Here George Bevis and John Holland enter discussing the rebellion which has just broken out; to them enter Cade and his men. In the other play the whole force enters at the opening of the scene. Murley is much concerned as to who will dub him knight. Cade is worried about the same point, but for only a moment; his way out of the difficulty is by dubbing himself. There are no further specific resemblances in the scenes pertaining to the rebellions, but the general likeness of them is considerable.

Sir John of Wrotham, whose intended likeness to Falstaff has been mentioned, appears first in Act II, Sc. 1 of *Oldcastle*. Certain of the comedy scenes in which he takes part are modeled upon similar ones in the *First Part of King Henry IV*, and in the *Second Part of King Henry IV*; for instance, in Act III, Sc. 4 he and Doll halt the King and rob him.⁴ It is in this scene that refer-

ences to Falstaff, Peto, and Powis and to the adventures of the King in their company are made. Sir John's scenes with Doll should be compared with Falstaff's scenes with Mrs. Quickly and Doll Tearsheet. Lines 36 to 121 of Act III, Sc. 4 of *Oldcastle* should be compared with Act III, Sc. 2, *First Part of King Henry IV*.

Immediately after his robbery (which is referred to above) the King begins to game with several of his lords (*Oldcastle*, Act IV, Sc. 1). Sir John enters and not knowing the King, asks admittance to the game, and this being granted, during its progress, treats the King very familiarly. In *Henry V*, Act IV, Sc. 1, the King (Henry V, as in *Oldcastle*), while going about the English camp in disguise on the night before Agincourt, meets three soldiers, one of whom, William, discusses with the King the English chances in the coming battle, and defends Henry against his own criticisms of himself. The surprise of the priest when he discovers the true quality of the King (in the latter part of Act IV, Sc. 1 of *Oldcastle*) and that of Williams upon the same discovery (*Henry V*, Act IV, Sc. 8) are somewhat alike, but the characters of the two men are so different as to prohibit any close resemblance in conduct. Their pleas for mercy are not dissimilar.

Act IV, Sc. 3 of *Oldcastle* opens in the entrance of a tavern near St. Albans. Ostlers and carriers are the principal characters introduced. Act II, Sc. 1 of the *First Part of King Henry IV* opens in an inn-yard in Rochester. Various inn-servants and carriers are the chief figures. In the scene first mentioned Gadshill is attempting to get what information he can about the motions of the travelers whom he is to aid Prince Henry, Falstaff, and the rest to rob. In the other play the scene is closely connected with one following in which search is made for Oldcastle and his wife, who are being pursued.

In Act V, Sc. 8 of *Oldcastle*, Sir John Oldcastle and his wife, being closely followed by their enemies, take refuge in a wood near St. Albans. Here they lie down upon the ground to rest. Sir Richard Lee, the owner of the land, appears searching for the murderer of his son. They come upon the two fugitives and arrest them upon suspicion of their having been concerned in the murder. This scene is reminiscent of Act IV, Sc. 10, *Second*

was, was produced a short time before *Oldcastle* and was the immediate provocation of it, then it is reasonable to suppose that Shakespeare's scene was the one built upon. A careful comparison of the three scenes in question will show only the germ of both the later ones in that in *George a Greene*, while there is, on the other hand, a close correspondence between that in *Henry V* and that in *Oldcastle*.

³ Fleay has noticed the similarity of these two scenes (*Chronicle of the English Drama*, Vol. II, p. 117).

⁴ Schelling suggests this indebtedness of *Oldcastle* to Shakespeare; and in addition to it that of the gambling scene between King Henry to *King Henry V*, Act IV, Sc. 1, in which the King meets the soldiers in his tour of the English camp. (*Elizabethan Drama*, Vol. II, pp. 278-9; *The English Chronicle Play*, pp. 132-3.)

Part of *King Henry VI*, in which Jack Cade takes refuge in Iden's garden. He is exhausted by rapid flight and by hunger and is looking for herbs with which to appease his appetite. Iden, the owner of the garden, discovers him, and after a fight which is provoked by Cade, kills him. Furthermore in this scene Lady Oldcastle says to her husband :

"Lay then your head upon my lap."

Mortimer (Act III, Sc. 1, *First Part of King Henry IV*) is thus addressed by his wife—Glen-dower interpreting—

"On the wanton rushes lay you down
And rest your gentle head upon her lap."

The points of resemblance cited above are sufficient, I think, to prove that what may reasonably be considered among the most effective passages and characters in the six plays of Shakespeare and his possible collaborators which deal with the York-Lancaster dissensions—embryo and otherwise—were closely imitated and drawn upon by the authors⁵ of *Sir John Oldcastle*.

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A GERMAN TRANSLATION OF PAS- SAGES IN THOMSON'S *SEASONS*

In 1745 Bodmer brought out an edition of Pyra and Lange's poems under the title : *Thirsis und Damons Freundschaftliche Lieder*. In the volume, as will be recalled, was included an anonymous German translation of three episodes from Thomson's *Seasons* bearing the respective titles : *Lavinia*, *Damon*, and *Celadon und Amalia*. The only German text accessible to me is that of the second edition, which was prepared by Lange in 1749.¹ Referring to the translation in question, Lange says in his preface : "[ich] habe die, der ersten Ausgabe angehängten Erzählungen auch bei die-

ser Auflage gelassen," from which I infer that he retained them in their original form.

On the German version of these three passages Theodor Vetter in the *Bodmer Denkschrift*,² comments as follows :

- "1. Lavinia=Thomsons *Autumn*, 177-310.
Nur wenig weggelassen ; im Ganzen genau und gut übersetzt.
2. Damon=Thomsons *Summer*, 1268 bis ca. 1330. Sehr frei, mit Weglassungen und Abänderungen.
3. Celadon und Amalia=Thomsons *Summer*, 1171-1222. Genau übersetzt."

It was probably an oversight on the part of Vetter when he attempted to compare the German translation with the wrong English version, as he seems to have done. Thomson, as is well known, made several revisions of the *Seasons*, and as a consequence it is a somewhat puzzling matter to follow the changing text of the various earlier editions of the poem.

A word about those editions of the *Seasons* which primarily concern us here will perhaps not be amiss. According to Zippel³ the quarto edition, which appeared in 1730, was the first collected edition of the *Seasons*. In the same year another edition, in octavo, appeared ; the text, save for six additional lines in *Winter*, being identical with that of the quarto. 1738 saw another edition, the text of which is practically the same as that of the octavo, but the new text of the two editions of 1744 contains "additions of above one thousand new lines." For the reading of *Summer* as contained in this expanded version I depend upon Zippel's critical edition of the *Seasons* in which the text of *Summer* of 1744 is reproduced in full (cf. Zippel, p. 61 ff.); the variants of *Autumn* (1744) are given by Zippel in footnotes. For the purpose of comparison I consult the first edition of the collected *Seasons*, i. e., the text of 1730 which, as already noted, is virtually identical with that of 1738.

²Joh. Jak. Bodmer. Denkschrift zum C. C. Geburtstag. Zürich, 1900, p. 377.

³Otto Zippel : *Thomson's Seasons*. Critical edition. "Being a reproduction of the original texts, with all the various readings of the later editions, historically arranged." Berlin, 1908. Cf. p. x.

⁵I have followed Henslowe in assigning *Oldcastle* to several authors. He gives as collaborators, Munday, Drayton, Wilson, and Hathway.

¹Cf. *Deutsche Literaturdenkmale des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts*, No. 22 (1885), p. 153 ff.

Vetter does not indicate which edition of the *Seasons* he had before him. At first sight it seemed natural to suppose, however, that it was one or the other of the two parallel editions of 1744. That—chronologically at any rate—might well have been the case; but, strange to say, I discovered upon examination that Vetter's numbering of the verses agrees with the edition of 1746. This would, of course, confront us with a situation at once quite impossible, chronologically, inasmuch as the first edition of the German translation came out in the year previous, viz., 1745. The question of the 1746 edition—whether this particular edition was used by Vetter or not—may therefore be dismissed forthwith; this text, however, compared with that of 1744, contains all told but eleven additional lines,⁴ so that a confusion of these two editions would, in the question before us, be of no great consequence. Whether either of the editions of 1744, however, is to be regarded as the basis of the translator's version, is the important question. This now remains to be examined.

Comparing the German version of the *Lavinia* passage with the first (1730) edition of the collected *Seasons*, I find that there are no omissions whatever, and this, oddly enough, contrary to the commentator's statement: "Nur wenig weggelassen." How shall we explain the discrepancy? In the edition of 1744 we read, *e. g.* (*Autumn*, ll. 185-9):

"By solitude and deep surrounding shades,
But more by bashful modesty, concealed.
Together thus they shunn'd the cruel scorn
Which virtue, sunk to poverty, would meet
From giddy fashion and low-minded pride."

Except for a variant of the third line above, this entire passage is one of the poet's many later expansions, and as such is, of course, lacking in the 1730 edition; but it is important to note that it is also wanting in the German version before us.

Again, in *Autumn*, ll. 206-7 (ed. 1744), the passage

"their best attire,
Beyond the pomp of dress"

is lacking in the first edition, and this, too, we do not find in the German translation. Compared

⁴*Ibid.*, p. xi.

with the edition of 1730 the following passages in *Autumn* (1744) show later variations or expansions: ll. 210-17, 239-40, 248, 288, 291-4, and in each case the German version agrees in every detail with the text of 1730 and not with that of 1744. This partial list of examples adduced from the *Lavinia* passage will suffice to show why the comment "Nur wenig weggelassen" needs revision. To go at once to the root of the matter, the situation seems to be this: it was not the translator who omitted anything, but Thomson who made additions in a later version; and these later additions are lacking in the German translation simply because they are lacking in the English text of 1730.

But it is in connection with the *Damon* episode that the Swiss scholar permitted himself—from the very nature of the case—to be betrayed into a more egregious error. "Sehr frei, mit Weglassungen und Abänderungen," in his judgment here. But it is simply the poet's own radical alterations and extensive additions in the later text which seem to have misled him to hold the anonymous, but none the less able and conscientious translator accountable for the apparent discrepancy. As a matter of fact the translation of this particular episode, instead of being "very free, with omissions and alterations," seems quite as close as a metrical translation can well be and is, moreover, without any omissions whatsoever. If it were my purpose, at this time, to present a detailed study instead of a mere brief note, I should deem it necessary to quote the two variant *Damon* passages, of 1730 and 1744, in full,—so widely does Thomson's own later, revised form of the episode differ from his earlier version. Indeed, it is not too much to say that by reducing the number of characters in the *Damon* episode and by otherwise changing the situation, Thomson, in the later version, gives us an altogether new story. Nevertheless—to repeat for the sake of emphasis—the German version clearly and closely follows the earlier form of the episode as found in the virtually identical editions of 1730 and 1738.

Of the German version of the *Celadon and Amelia* episode the commentator says: "Genau übersetzt." With respect to the text of 1730 this would be quite true; hardly, however, with reference to the later expanded version, for, aside

from a number of minor verbal differences, there is at least one passage in the later (1744) English edition [also in the ed. of 1746] which is wanting both in the earlier version and in the German translation. The passage includes ll. 1184-6 (ed. 1744):

"and where its mazes stray'd,
While with each other blest, creative love
Still bade eternal Eden smile around."

Perhaps it will be helpful to compare at least one passage from the *Celadon and Amelia* episode of 1744 with the corresponding passage as found in the text of 1730.

Summer, ll. 1206-8, ed. 1744 :

"From his void embrace,
Mysterious heaven! that moment, *to the ground*
A blacken'd corse, was struck the beauteous maid."

Summer, ll. 937-9, ed. 1730 :

"From his void embrace,
Mysterious heaven! that moment, *in a heap*
Of pallid ashes fell the beauteous maid."

The translator's version here, as indeed throughout the three episodes, faithfully follows the *text*, though not necessarily the *edition*, of 1730 for, as I have already pointed out, the edition of 1738 is virtually parallel with it. The German version of the passage just quoted reads as follows :

"Aus seinen Armen *fiel*, o des geheimen Schicksals!
Das schöne Kind denselben Augenblick
In einen Aschehaufen."

Proceeding on the assumption that for the purpose in hand the text, but to repeat, not necessarily the edition, of 1730 is to be regarded as authoritative, I renumber the three passages as follows :

1. The *Lavinia* passage = *Autumn*, ll. 184-307.
2. The *Damon* passage = *Summer*, ll. 980-1037.
3. The *Celadon und Amalia* passage = *Summer*, ll. 897-944.

A glance will show that this numbering differs in each case from that of Vetter.

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THE SUITORS IN THE PARLEMENT OF FOULES AGAIN

It is a pleasure to express my appreciation of the article by Mr. Samuel Moore of Harvard in the January number of the *Notes*, because his facts do, in some sense, reinforce the case I presented in the July number of *Modern Philology*. I am pleased also, that he so fully accepts the conclusions of that paper. Yet I should like to correct one point in which Mr. Moore seems to do my paper something of injustice. It occurs in the following passage :

"Professor Emerson decides without hesitation that the second eagle represents Friedrich of Meissen. His chief reason for the decision is that it would be 'a strange procedure on Chaucer's part to introduce, as a rival suitor of Richard, one whose betrothal had been broken off as early as 1373, at least seven, perhaps nine years before the time of the poem.' He offers no evidence of the breaking off of the earlier match."

A reading of the original article¹ will show that in these sentences I am calling attention to Professor Koch's reference to "the strange procedure on Chaucer's part," and his emphasis upon the possible lack of knowledge regarding affairs in Germany.² My real argument begins with the next sentence, which Mr. Moore does not quote : "At any rate Chaucer would scarcely have been likely to use this long-past betrothal, if there had been a more active suitor in the field." I then present at length the extremely active three, Friedrich of Meissen, Charles of France, and Richard II. My argument, then, is in the activity of these three, and their closer relation in time than any other suitor who has yet been named. If accepted at all, the reasoning carries with it the exclusion of any fourth suitor, especially one in whose case no activity has yet been proved for almost ten years before Anne's marriage.

To put the matter in another way, in his poem Chaucer had limited the suitors of Anne to three. The three chronologically nearest her marriage were those I have just named. They, also, are logically the only ones to be considered, because of

¹ *Modern Philology*, VIII, 47.

² *Essays on Chaucer*, 407-8.

their active relations in the matter extending up to the marriage of Anne, and in the case of Friedrich of Meissen far beyond. By the limits of the problem, therefore, as well as on chronological and logical grounds, the serious consideration of any other than these three suitors seemed to me then, as it seems to me now, quite unnecessary. To argue further for the exclusion of William of Baiern-Holland seemed a work of supererogation.

On the other hand if, in the future, any one should attempt to displace Friedrich of Meissen or one of the other suitors, and again introduce William of Baiern-Holland, he must reckon with the data Mr. Moore has brought forward. Or if any one should wish to show why Chaucer chose three rather than four suitors, he might find the reason in Mr. Moore's added facts. Until one of these courses is adopted I cannot see that these facts are so necessary to my argument as Mr. Moore seems to think.

Another evidence of friendly relations between the reigning houses of England and Hainault might have been cited by Mr. Moore. It is earlier than the account of the visit of Anne to the duke and duchess of Brabant on her journey to England, and I have used it, together with Mr. Moore's second quotation from Froissart (p. 10), in the paper to which I referred in a footnote to my *Modern Philology* article, that on the date of the *Knight's Tale*. That article has been in type since last summer, but is not yet published.³ The additional reference is in Froissart's *Chronicles*, II, ch. xliii (Johnes, I, 593). It tells how, when Sir Simon Burley started from Germany to negotiate for the hand of Anne,—he was appointed June 12, 1380 (Rymer's *Fœdera*, VII, 257),—he visited the duke and duchess of Brabant at Brussels, and there met duke Albert of Hainault and other lords who had gathered for a "great feast of tilts and tournaments." Sir Simon made known his errand, and

"The duke and duchess of Brabant . . . were much rejoiced on hearing the cause of his journey into Germany, and said it would be a good match between the king of England and their niece. They gave Sir Simon Burley, on his departure, special letters to the emperor, to assure him they approved very much of this marriage."

³ In January, when this was written. It has since appeared.

If Duke Albert of Hainault had wished to oppose the betrothal of Richard and Anne on account of his son, here was ample opportunity just as the negotiations were beginning. The absence of the slightest evidence connecting that son with Anne after 1373 shows how unnecessary it is even to consider William of Baiern-Holland, as compared with the indispensable Friedrich of Meissen.

Still, in either case, the conclusions are the same, and the further data regarding one of Anne's earlier suitors are interesting in themselves, whether essential or not. Let me add that before Mr. Moore's article appeared I had come to consider less valuable the suggestion of Professor Koch,⁴ quoted in my former article, that "people most likely had not a very clear notion as to affairs in Germany." Something like international exchange of news, to an extent we are likely to underestimate, must have been common even in the fourteenth century.

It is interesting to note, also, Mr. Moore's further interpretation of the last lines in the *Parlement of Foules*. Yet is he quite right in assuming that his interpretation is wholly new? In discussing the *Legend of Good Women*, Mr. R. K. Root⁵ gives essentially the same suggestion, referring the desired favor to the relief from official duties in February, 1385. Even before that, Koch had interpreted the last lines as indicating "that Chaucer was searching for a new subject to work upon," though he does not note Chaucer's purpose in the expression "for to fare The bet."

I cannot let this note go to print without expressing my regret that the study of the suitors of Anne did not develop something more definite regarding the date of the *Parlement*. The astronomical reference in line 117, as interpreted by Professor Koch,⁶ must refer that portion to the year 1380 or 1382. It seems impossible that the poem could have been written in the latter year without some more definite reference to the marriage, or at least the accomplished betrothal of Richard and Anne. Yet the year 1380 is too early for at least the latter part of the poem, since the year's delay, symbolized in the request of

⁴ *Essays on Chaucer*, 407-8.

⁵ *The Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 140; cf. also p. 64.

⁶ *Chronology of Chaucer's Works* (Chaucer Soc.), p. 37 f.

Anne for "respit" "until this yeer be doon" could not have been foreseen.

One middle ground between these two assumptions has perhaps occurred to others, although I believe not before suggested. Perhaps Chaucer wrote the introduction, or proem, at the earlier date, with or without reference to the marriage of Richard and Anne, though the marriage with a Bohemian princess had been proposed as early as June, 1380. Indced the translation of the *Dream of Scipio* may once have been independent of any relation to the later subject of the king's courtship. It has little connection with the later story of the "formel egle" and her suitors,⁷ except to introduce the guide "African" who, although he grasps the poet's hand in lines 169-70, is never again mentioned. Does the poet forget his benefactor, or are we to assume that he here intends a subtle characteristic of the psychology of dreams?

Yet whether the *Dream of Scipio* was written as an introduction to the later story or not, if the single stanza invoking Citherea is accounted for as belonging to the summer of 1380, the rest of the poem may be assigned with some confidence to 1381.⁸ In the latter case it would have preceded, instead of followed, the *Palamon and Arcite*, or the *Knight's Tale* as we know it.⁹ This

⁷ We might except, perhaps, the first two stanzas, which, however, are general, rather than specific, on the subject of love, and not unlike many other lines of the poet. So the invocation to Venus (ll. 113-19) is only loosely connected with the general story, and even breaks the natural continuity of lines 112 and 120. Yet I cannot go so far as Mr. Root in calling the *Dream of Scipio* "an unfortunate bit of introductory machinery" (*The Poetry of Chaucer*, p. 65).

⁸ It must be remembered also that, according to the terms of the betrothal made in May, 1381, Anne was expected in England "about the feast of St. Michael," or September 29. The poet might therefore have been completing his poem not later than the summer of 1381. Besides, as the formal betrothal is mentioned in the poem no more than the marriage, the year's delay may have applied to the time between the opening of negotiations in June, 1380, and the actual betrothal in May, 1381. The poem may have been completed any time after the latter event.

⁹ Professor Lowes suggests this order in "The Prologue to the Legend of Good Women," etc., *Publications of the Mod. Lang. Ass'n.*, xx, 861, footnote. With more confidence, he also places the *Parlement* before the *Palamon* in his article on "The Date of Chaucer's Troilus and Criseyde," *Ibid.*, xxiii, 290. Professor Tatlock also pre-

would fully account for the omission of reference to the marriage, and show why the poem considered the courtship only. Perhaps it was first publicly presented in welcoming the new queen.¹⁰

It may be, too, that the problem of the date of the *Parlement* will be finally worked out in the relations of its ampler description of the garden of love,¹¹ and the more concise description of the temple of Venus in the *Knight's Tale*,¹² both based in the main on Boccaccio's *Teseide*. While no proof has yet been brought forward that the longer description was written first, it seems to me that is more natural than the reverse order.¹³ If that be so, and the *Parlement* preceded the *Palamon*, the latter would be the subject which Chaucer alludes to, by anticipation, at the close of the former poem. Led to use the *Teseide*, as he had in the *Parlement*, and continuing to read it more thoroughly, the poet saw how he could mold a larger portion of it into the *Palamon and Arcite*, and this became his next venture. In any case, I cannot but think that 1381 is a much better date for the former poem than 1382.

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fers 1380 to 1382 for the *Parlement* in *Development and Chronology of Chaucer's Works*, p. 43.

¹⁰ As a side light on the question of date, it is difficult to explain the description of the "parliament" itself (ll. 519-619), without feeling that it is a satire upon this form of government. If so, it could scarcely have had a fitter subject than the parliament of Northampton, which met in November, 1380. The fiasco which this parliament made in its poll-tax proposals, and the consequent troubles of the year 1381, may easily have led many Englishmen to feel that representative government lacked many of the elements of success. Even the "Good" parliament of 1376 could scarcely have borne that name among courtiers, while most of those which followed for several years were anti-Lancastrian, and this would have probably meant that they had little of Chaucer's sympathy. Perhaps on this account he now directed his satire against the Commons. Later he was bold enough to speak out with even greater severity on political subjects in lines 939-952 (E. 995-1008) of the *Griselda* story, and in *Lack of Steadfastness*.

¹¹ Ll. 183 to 294.

¹² Ll. 1060 to 1108; A. 1918 to 1966.

¹³ I note that Professor Lowes, in his article on "The Prologue to the Legend of Good Women" and the note cited above, thinks that on the score of precedence "honors are easy."

TRACES OF GLEIM'S GRENADIER-LIEDER IN 1809

The *Preussische Kriegslieder in den Feldzügen 1756 und 1757 von einem Grenadier*, were written before Herder invented the term *Volkslied* and before he and Goethe had crystalized the meaning of it. They contained little of that "Volkstümlichkeit" with which their none too eminent author wished to color them; but yet possessed qualities that made them popular in certain circles, for a long time.

The songs were intended, in spite of their unpretentious language, or I might almost say—by reason of it, to appeal to the ears of a cultivated circle of readers, learning just then to appreciate the beauty of some of the humbler poetry. That they reached such readers is certain, but evidences of their popularity among the "cultivated" are few. Nor is it probable that they were popular with people possessed of little culture, for we do not find in their songs—the so-called *Volkslieder*—any borrowing from the *Grenadier-Lieder*.

It seems to have been rather among the middle classes that these songs attained their greatest popularity and most inspired imitation. Even before the end of the Seven Years War which they celebrate, and while their hero, Frederick, was still in the field, mediocre poets brought out anonymous imitations of the *Grenadier-Lieder*, written in the same meter (that of the *Chevy Chase*) and the same general tone. This adaptation, which became in some instances¹ plagiarism pure and simple, gave rise to a rather distinct type of over-patriotic war-song written in what was called "die Gleim'sche Manier."

Because I suspected Gleim's war-songs continued to exert an influence on nineteenth-century poetry of a like kind, I have examined the war-poems from the year 1809, edited by Robert F. Arnold and Karl Wagner,² a collection of odes and songs of all sorts, from the most exalted to the humblest, full of sympathy with Austria in her war against Napoleon,—songs written fifty-

one years after the first edition of Gleim's Prussian songs against Austria appeared.

I find that nine of the hundred and forty-seven songs are built up on the *Chevy Chase* meter (that of the *Grenadier-Lieder*); and the fact is noteworthy, tho not strange, that it is in just these songs we find all the *direct* borrowings from the Grenadier's vocabulary.

The following passages taken from the *Kriegslieder* and from *Achtzehnhundertneun* represent the result of my search for direct adaptation of Gleim's phrases:

	1809, No. xxxix, Str. 1 (anonymous).
Gl. ix, l. 1 ff. ³	
<i>Erschalle, hohes Siegestied</i>	<i>Erschalle froher Kriegsge-</i>
<i>Erschalle weit umher!</i>	<i>sang,</i>
	<i>Erschalle weit umher,</i>
Gl. i, l. 1.	1809, No. xxxix, Str. 2.
<i>Krieg ist mein Lied! weil</i>	<i>Krieg will der Feind, so sei</i>
<i>alle Welt</i>	<i>denn Krieg!</i>
<i>Krieg will, so sei es Krieg!</i>	<i>Wohlan, zum Kampf—zur</i>
	<i>Schlacht!</i>
	1809, No. xl (anonymous)
Gl. i, l. 13 ff.	Str. 6.
<i>Und streit', ein tapfrer Gren-</i>	<i>Und fällt im Kampf der</i>
<i>adier,</i>	<i>brave Mann</i>
<i>Von Friedrichs Muth er-</i>	<i>In diesem edlen Streit;</i>
<i>füllt!</i>	<i>So sank er auf der Sieges-</i>
<i>Was acht ich es, wenn über</i>	<i>bahn,</i>
<i>mir</i>	<i>Wo Oestreich Lorbeern</i>
<i>Kanonendonner brüllt?</i>	<i>streut!</i>
<i>Ein Held fall ich; noch</i>	<i>Als Held fiel er,—noch ster-</i>
<i>sterbend droht</i>	<i>bend droht</i>
<i>Mein Säbel in der Hand!</i>	<i>Das Schwert in seiner Hand:</i>
<i>Unsterblichmacht der Helden</i>	<i>Unsterblich macht derHelden</i>
<i>Tod,</i>	<i>Tod,</i>
<i>Der Tod fürs Vaterland!</i>	<i>Der Tod fürs Vaterland.</i>

Also the following passage seems to have been influenced, tho less directly, by the above lines of Gleim's.

1809, No. LIII (anonymous), Str. ii.
Und Brüdern die als Helden
fallen
Für's Vaterland den Tod,
Lohnt über Sternen, wo sie
wallen,
Mit tausend Freuden Gott.
Drum frisch zum Kampf
mit frohen Herzen!

¹Cf. e. g., Dittfurth, *Historische Volkslieder des sieben-jährigen Krieges*, Berlin, 1871, p. 67.

²*Achtzehnhundertneun. Die politische Kriegsliteratur des Kriegsjahres*, being Vol. 11 of the *Schriften des Literarischen Vereins in Wien*, Vienna, 1909.

³At the right are the references to Sauer's edition of the *Kriegslieder*,—Vol. 4 of *Deutsche Lit.denkm. des 18. Jhdts.* Stuttg., 1882. At the left are passages from *Achtzehnhundertneun*.

Uns schützt der Allmacht
Hand!

*Der Heldentod macht keine
Schmerzen,*

Er ist für's Vaterland.

Gl. IV, 1. 3.

1809 No. LV. Str. 5.

(Wenzel Neumann.)

*Was kannst du? Fliehen
kannst du nur;*

*Was kann er? Fliehen kann
er nur*

Und siegen können wir.

Und rauben Gut und Haab,

The following passages from the same poem by Neumann show the same leaning—tho less concretely than in the foregoing—on Gl. III and IV, (*Schlachtgesang bey Eröffnung des Feldzuges 1757* and *Schlachtgesang vor der Schlacht bey Prag*).

Gl. III, 1. 1.

1809 No. LV. Str. 1.

(Neumann.)

*Auf Brüder, Friedrich,
unser Held,*

*Hinaus! Wen Muth belebt,
hinaus!*

*Der Feind von fauler Frist,
Ruft uns nun wieder in das
Feld,*

*Es ruft Karl der Held!
Nur Hasen lasse man zu
Haus,*

Wo Ruhm zu hohlen ist.

Wir aber ziehen ins Feld.

Gl. III, 1. 21.

(Ditto) Str. 7.

*Und böt uns in der achten
Schlacht*

*Der Name: Franz sei unser
Schutz,*

*Franzoss und Russe Trutz,
So lachten wir doch ihrer
Macht,*

*Den raubt uns nicht der
Tod;
So bieten wir den Feinden
Trutz;*

Denn Gott ist unser Schutz.

Denn wir vertrauen auf Gott!

These are the closest analogies, and further examples would only give added proof of the evident fact that "Vater" Gleim struck, in these *Grenadier-Lieder*, a tone which resounded in German war-poetry for at least half a century.

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THE GLOVE AND THE LIONS IN KENTUCKY FOLK-SONG

Apropos of such familiar poems as Browning's *The Glove*, Schiller's *Der Handschuh*, and Leigh Hunt's *The Glove and the Lions*, is the ballad given below. It was sung and then recited to me a few days since by a citizen of Pikeville, in the Cumberland mountains of Kentucky, a district populated to a considerable degree by those

migrating thither from North Carolina through the Cumberland Gap about a century ago.

I have within the last two years set down on paper about one hundred and twenty of these "ballets," as they are called by the Eastern Kentucky Highlanders who sing them. About forty of the collection seem to have been composed on British soil, as evidenced by their identity or close similarity to those in Professor Child's collection, or else by their inclusion of local English or Scottish place-names; for example, *Edinboro*, *Nottingham*, *Sheffield*, *London*, *Newgate*, *St. Pancras*, *Kathrine Street*, etc. Others contain allusions to early colonial days—gold-seeking on the Spanish Main, the loves of white settlers for Indian maidens; others more modern deal with the Civil War, and later feuds, murders, disasters, or migrations. Common among them are ballads of love, 'complaints,' and stories of young lovers disappointed or triumphant over obstacles. A few are of the bestiary type; some are humorous, though the prevailing tone, like the music to which they are sung, is in the minor key.

With the exception of certain erotic songs in the manner, phraseology, and flavor of Burns—a fact easily understood—only the one here given has, to my knowledge, any immediate relation to a recognized literary theme.¹ And even this, one must feel, is not so closely connected with the finished poems of Browning, Schiller, or Leigh Hunt cited above, as with the folk-tale common to them all, and underlying, perhaps, even the account of Poullain de St. Croix in his *Essais Historiques sur Paris*, generally regarded as the source of the various literary versions. As such one may read it, not overlooking the naïvete and ease with which Paris becomes Carolina and cour-tier becomes sailor. To make this tendency toward localization more complete, I have even heard "lion's den" of stanza five sung as "wildcat hole."

THE FAN.

Down in Carolina lived a lady,
And she was beautiful and gay;
She was determed (*sic*) to live a lady,
And no young man should her betray,

¹Since this was written, about six months ago, my collection has grown to about three hundred, with the result that other resemblances have been found.

Unless he was a man of honor,
 A man of honor and of high degree ;
 At length there came two lovely sailors
 They came this lady for to see.

One he was a bold lieutenant,
 A man of honor and of high degree ;
 The other was a brave sea-captain,
 Belonging to a ship called Karmel Call.

Then up spoke this fair young lady,
 Saying, "I can be but one man's bride";
 Saying, "You come here tomorrow morning,
 And this here question we'll decide."

Then she called for coach and horses
 To be ready at her command ;
 They rode away, they rode so lovely,
 They rode till they came to the lion's den.

There they stopped and there they halted,
 While these young men stood ghastly around ;
 She fell senseless, she fell senseless,
 She fell senseless to the ground.

To herself she did recover,
 She threw her fan in the lion's den,
 Saying, "Which of you to gain a lady
 Will fetch to me my fan again?"

Then up spoke this bold lieutenant,
 Saying, "Madam, of this I do not approve ;
 Madam, I'm a man of honor ;
 I will not lose my life for love."

Then up spoke this brave sea-captain,
 Who was there a-standing nigh,
 Saying, "Madam, I'm a man of honor ;
 I will receive your fan or die."

Then down in the cave he boldly entered,
 While these lions looked fierce and wild ;
 He ripped, he raved around amongst them
 And returned safe with her fan.

When she saw her love a-coming,
 Unto him no harm was done,
 She threw herself all in his arms, saying,
 "Here is the prize that you have won."

Then up spoke this bold lieutenant,
 Just like some man, that was troubled in mind,
 Saying, "In these woods, I'll always wander
 And not a girl I'll ever find."

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HAUSER, OTTO, *Weltgeschichte der Literatur*.
 Leipzig und Wien. Bibliographisches Institut.
 1910. 2 Volumes.

As the Introduction shows, an attempt is here made to present the world's literatures from the point of view of the Gobineau-Woltmann principle of "race" which, though not yet very well known in this country, during the last decade has attracted a vast amount of attention in Germany. According to this theory the civilization of any people is the expression of inherent race characteristics ("dasz der Mensch als solcher seine Geschichte macht"), and influences from without play a secondary part, and then generally in non-essentials. As the real bearers and creators of civilizations in Western life and producers of geniuses, this theory names the peoples from the north of Europe, the blond peoples with but slight pigmentation ; only as this blond element predominated in a race, did that race stand high in intellectual and artistic achievement. We cannot but feel that this theory—whatever its scientific importance may be—frequently carries H. too far afield. Any history of literature should be primarily a contribution to our æsthetic and cultural appreciation of letters, and not to our anthropological knowledge and insight. In a book on anthropology, H. might make some telling points by references to illustrative literary phenomena: in a book on literature, the anthropological discussions appear essentially inorganic. For instance, one finds little satisfaction in H.'s ethnological explanation of the cause of the great wave of enlightenment in France, with Voltaire at its head, as a Germanic, not a Gallic protest (I, 420), while no attempt is made to sketch the political and social aspects of the Counter-Reformation without which Voltaire is inconceivable. Unsatisfactory also and unsafe appears the attempt at proving merely on the basis of names the Germanic descent of conspicuous individuals, like Macchiavelli (I, 272). Again from the name only H. adduces the theory that Ignatius da Loyola was by origin Germanic (I, 309). This is especially perplexing, as Houston Stewart Chamberlain in his *Grundlagen des neunzehnten Jahrhunderts*, which is built upon the same ethnological

principle as H.'s book, makes a special point of proving Loyola the very embodiment of everything that is anti-Germanic in the Roman church (I, 618, of the "Volksausgabe," München, 1907). We are compelled, then, to dismiss the anthropological increment in the work before us as essentially irrelevant.

What a "World's History of Literature" should offer is the application of the comparative method in a larger and more suggestive fashion than can possibly be done in the treatment of the literary output of any single nation. Not only should the interpenetration of literary forces be revealed, but by means of contrasts and parallels, which continually suggest themselves, a ripper understanding of literature as the expression of ever-recurring forces should be attained. To be sure, some such helpful cross-references occur: as I, 117 the comparison between the religion of Zoroaster and Christianity; or again, I, 163 the reference to *Paul et Virginie* in connection with *Daphnis and Chloë*; or I, 409 the excellent contrast between Racine's *Phèdre* and Euripides' *Hippolytus*; or II, 143 the treatment of the story of Tristan and Isolde as found in Gottfried, Wagner, and Swinburne. Perhaps the best instance of such illuminating treatment is found in the paragraph on Stendhal (I, 448), where H. aptly points out that the so-called realistic style of the later nineteenth century had its powerful forerunner in Stendhal who in his Renaissance stories—the *Cenci*, etc.—had simply adopted the style of the Italian novelists of the quattro- and cinquecento. But these cross-references, though good, appear far too sporadically, and do not sufficiently determine the character of the work as a whole.

A few obvious gaps may serve as illustration. Thus, although the characterization of the *Pant-schatantra* (I, 98) is excellent in itself, it loses value because the author fails to compare and contrast it with the great number of other collections of stories throughout the world's literature, such as the *Decamerone* and all its successors. More serious still, in the discussion of the Greek drama, (I, 145 ff.) is the neglect on H.'s part to compare and contrast the conception of guilt and of fate among the Greeks with that of Shakespeare, and again with that of Hebbel and Ibsen. H.

might have shown the striking similarity—in spite of fundamental differences—between the conception of fate in the dramas of Aeschylus and Sophocles and in such modern dramas as Hebbel's *Maria Magdalena* and Ibsen's *Ghosts*. Instead of contenting himself with a mere passing reference to the technical similarity between Ibsen's analytical plays and the drama of the Greeks (II, 293), H. might thus have given us in a nutshell the points in common and the points of difference between the ancient and the modern psyche, as they reveal themselves in tragedy. I, 164, the *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* is in no way associated with Alexander-epics of the Middle Ages. In a German book we might expect in connection with Basile (I, 281) some reference to Clemens Brentano, in connection with Gozzi some reference to Richard Wagner (*Die Feen*), and in connection with Cervantes' *Novelas exemplares* (I, 326) a reference to Ludwig Tieck, to whom these "leuchtende Novellen" were a veritable source of inspiration. Again, in a German book we might look in the discussion of *Don Quixote* for some reference to his enormous influence upon the German Romantic School, flowing from a profound affinity between its author and the quixotic leaders of that remarkable movement. I cannot feel that H.'s discussions of Voltaire's *Essai sur les Moeurs et l'Esprit* (I, 428) is at all adequate. The contrast with Bossuet's *Discours* remains vague, and nothing is done to illuminate the difference in principle between Voltaire's conception of history and that of Vico, Herder, the Romanticists, and the moderns. H.'s lack of comparative method is most conspicuous in his treatment of Diderot (I, 429). The importance of Diderot as the first great critic to base judgments of painting on the emotions rather than exclusively upon the intellect, and his value in this connection for Heinse, Fr. Schlegel, and indirectly for Rio in France and Ruskin in England, is altogether overlooked. Nor is Diderot's *Neveu de Rameau* sufficiently appreciated as the great forerunner of Balzac's studies of character, nor "La Religieuse" as the forerunner of Zola's naturalistic novels. Nor do we find a word as to the position in the history of narration of Diderot's *Madame de la Pommeraye's Revenge* in *Jaques le Fataliste*, as the first example of the specifically psychological short-

story. Here, for the first time, the conception of the Italian "novella" as the recital of an extraordinary event was combined with profound psychological analysis, and the entire story is made to pivot about one occurrence which changes the lives of all concerned. It would have been interesting to pursue this conception throughout the nineteenth century in Germany (notably in Kleist, Heyse, etc.), in France (notably Mérimée, Maupassant, etc.), in England (notably Poe, Hawthorne, Kipling), in Russia (Turgenjew, etc.), in view of the fact that the short-story has for the last hundred years played such an important part. The discussion of Milton (II, 30 ff.), in a work of this nature, should certainly contain an appreciation of the poet's enormous influence on the continental literatures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries down through Chateaubriand. Nor should a "Weltgeschichte der Literatur" stop here, but should have something to say on the peculiar psychological and sociological reasons for such sovereign sway. Instances of this nature might be greatly multiplied, not only from those literatures already adduced, but also from the Norwegian, the Russian, etc.

Besides the omission of illuminating cross-references and comparisons, H. frequently fails to make an important phenomenon appear in its proper perspective. For instance, in the discussion of Theocritus and the pastoral poetry of the ancients (I, 159), it would be helpful to find references to the pastoral poetry of the Renaissance and of the eighteenth century (Gesznér), and a hint that similar conditions here produced similar phenomena. The mere reference back to Theocritus and Virgil in the paragraph on Italian pastoral poetry (I, 268), and to Sanazaro under the treatment of Sidney (II, 18) is in no sense exhaustive, while the paragraph on Gesznér contains no hint that he is the exponent of views of life and art akin to those of Sanazaro and his school. In the discussion of the *Decamerone* (I, 248) nothing is done to make the reader appreciate how this work bulks in the history of literature as the great fountain-head of similar "frame-stories" from Chaucer to Tieck's *Phantásus*. Passing references, such as that Sacchetti and Chaucer used Boccaccio as a source (I, 250; II, 10), do not throw Boccaccio's

work into relief. That Tieck's "*Phantásus*" should nowhere be mentioned in this German book is at least surprising. The same lack of perspective is apparent in H's treatment of the love-letters of the nun Marianna Alcoforado (I, 357) which he introduces merely as an exponent of seventeenth century sentiment in Portugal. Thus their real significance as an expression of uncontrolled passion coming one hundred years before Rousseau is lost sight of.

In connection with the discussion of Giuseppe Baretti (I, 287 f.) to whose importance as a hyphen between English and Italian literatures H. does full justice, I should like in parenthesis to call attention to a work on the Italian critic by L. Collison-Morley, *Giuseppe Baretti and his Friends*, London, 1909, which sheds much new light on the life and activity of one of the most interesting of the lesser writers of the eighteenth century.

The task of æsthetic interpretation, so important in every history of literature, becomes in a work of the compass of the one before us veritably gigantic. H., who is peculiarly fitted for his undertaking by his wide experience as a translator from many languages (English, Chinese, Japanese, Italian, Hebrew, Danish, etc.), has accomplished it on the whole with remarkable adequacy. Only superhuman versatility could be equally just to national temperaments as divergent as the English and the Hindoo, the ancient Greek and the Slav. Here individual bias must play an important part. H. evidently has great natural affinity with the Romance point of view. Hence his thorough appreciation of writers like Dante (I, 238 ff.), D'Aunzio (I, 303 f.), Stendhal (I, 448), etc. English literature, too, finds in him, in many cases at least, a most sympathetic spokesman, as appears in the discussion of Milton (II, 30 ff.), Lafcadio Hearn (II, 71 f.), Swinburne (II, 91 f.), etc., etc. However, the paragraphs on Molière (I, 411 f.) do not seem to me to do justice to this subtle and original genius; those on Balzac (I, 448 f.) give no satisfactory conception of the importance of that mastermind among modern novelists. Nor is H. with all his admiration for English literature capable of overcoming the almost universal prejudice against Wordsworth which obtains on the conti-

ment. The poetic significance of Wordsworth escapes him completely (II, 54 f.). A poem of the importance of *Tintern Abbey* is not even mentioned. Nevertheless, it would be captious not to emphasize H.'s remarkable ability to enter into national temperaments differing from his own.

All the more surprising is the unsatisfactoriness of his treatment of German literature. His discussion of the æsthetic value of the *Nibelungenlied* (II, 145 f.) is altogether weak. The treatment of Goethe (II, 201 ff.) would make the sage of Weimar appear as a prolific writer of considerable talent, and nothing more. *Heinrich von Ofterdingen* (II, 209) is passed over with the phrase "der zerfließende Roman" without one further word of comment. It is well-nigh unpardonable in a German treatise to make no attempt at understanding this extraordinary work as the great exponent of the romantic genius and one of the most important prophecies of the art of Maeterlinck. Brentano (II, 211) H. dismisses summarily with the words: "Lesbar ist keines seiner Werke mehr. Es fehlt jede Darstellungskraft, jede künstlerische Zucht." He makes no effort at doing justice to the narrative art displayed in the story *Vom braven Kasperl und dem schönen Annerl*, and does not even mention *Die mehreren Wehmüller* with its mad charm. Furthermore, I cannot feel that H. is fair to so complex and original a thinker as Herder (II, 200 f.). As far as I can judge, H.'s treatment of Italian literature is the most satisfactory, that of German literature the least so.

Perhaps the greatest value to the public in a work of this sort would reside in the wealth of material presented. To find within two covers a history of literatures recondite or little known must, of course, be most welcome. Here H. appears to me to meet every reasonable demand. So, the chapters on Byzantine literature (I, 164 ff.) must be grateful to all those anxious to study the medieval currents of literary life from a larger international point of view, and the "Christliche Literaturkreis" (I, 196 ff.) is valuable for a comprehension of many later literary phenomena. But H. does not stop there. He offers chapters on Rhaeto-Romanic literature (I, 304 f.), on Albanese (I, 307 ff.), on the literatures of the various dialects of India and Persia, of the Mon-

gols, the several Slavic tribes, the Turks, etc., etc. To suggest additions may seem cavil. I may say, however, that I missed in Italian literature a reference to D'Azeglio's "I miei Ricordi" and its importance as a document of the genesis of the "risorgimento." More serious is the complete absence of any systematic treatment of Yiddish literature. A "Weltgeschichte" should certainly take some cognizance of such a rich expression of the life of several million people, especially after Leo Wiener's treatise: *The History of Yiddish Literature in the Nineteenth Century*. New York, Scribner, 1899. Remarks like "Semen Gregorewitsch Frug . . . der auch in Jargon schrieb" (I, 66) can hardly be regarded as sufficient.

In conclusion we may say that this book, the value of which is enhanced by excellent illustrations, will in spite of faults (many of which I appreciate are unavoidable in a work of such compass), be found a useful and reliable compendium of literatures.

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Stage Decoration in France in the Middle Ages, by DONALD CLIVE STUART. New York: Columbia University Press, 1910. ix, 230 pp.

This study of the medieval stage of France shows considerable differences of treatment from its predecessors. By considering drama in the Middle Ages as a unit, the evidence of both secular and religious plays has been combined. Where the texts themselves do not furnish any specific directions, their individual lines have been searched for hints regarding their setting. These innovations are important. They alone give the volume unusual worth. And besides, the author follows a direct chronological order in his exposition. The conditions peculiar to the thirteenth century, for instance, are distinguished from the situation which obtains in the fourteenth and fifteenth. The indoor theater of the *pui* or fraternity—the ancestor of the Renaissance stage—is also carefully differentiated from the open-air structures placed in front of churches or built in public squares.

One of the interesting questions which runs through several chapters concerns the position of the different parts of the scenery relative to one another. How many levels were presented to the spectators? Were Heaven and Hell always set above and below Earth? The earliest play which can be cited as a witness is *Adam*, where there were two levels, one for Earth, the other for the Earthly Paradise. But Hell is merely indicated, by doors or gates. Plays contemporaneous with *Adam*, as the fragment of the *Resurrection* and Bodel's *Jeu de St. Nicolas*, and those which came half-a-century later, Rutebeuf's *Miracle de Th ophile* and Adan de la Hale's comedies, require but one level, Earth. Bodel, to be sure, divides the scenery on that level into four sections, corresponding to a palace, a prison, a tavern and a hut. Now if these survivals of the thirteenth century drama are representative, the conclusion follows that the stage setting of the time was simple, and that it was all in place when the action began.

It is probable that the fourteenth century saw a considerable development of the open-air play. The pantomime of the *Passion* given by Philip le Bel, in 1313, and the pageant in honor of Isabeau of Bavaria, in 1389, would indicate growth in that direction. But the texts of this century, practically limited to the one manuscript of the *Miracles de Notre Dame*, belong to the indoor theater, and do not require any more scenery than Bodel's *Jeu de St. Nicolas*, their elder by at least three generations. From a study of the lines of the *Miracles*—for their manuscript does not offer any guidance as to their staging—Dr. Stuart concludes that the larger number were performed on one level, Earth. In a few Heaven appears on another level, while Hell seems to have been rarely set, if at all. The scenery contained doors and windows. Localities distant from the place of the main action were apparently represented by suggestion only. The stage used by the average *Miracle*, which hardly ever exceeded seven scenes, would not be larger than the one built, near the middle of the sixteenth century, in the Hotel of Burgundy, and if the few settings for Heaven were suppressed it would correspond to that well-known one in kind. Where the *Miracles* ran to eleven or twelve scenes, as they sometimes did, either a wider stage was needed, or the scenery was changed during the performance.

With the fifteenth century, stage decoration reached its height in France. The large open-air plays of that day varied in nature and extent of scenery with the ideas of their constructors. All, however, must have agreed in giving Hell a greater prominence, and it was towards the beginning of the century that Hell's opening as a dragon's mouth was probably invented. As for levels, some plays set Heaven, Earth and Hell on the same plane, and in this order, going from East to West. Others demanded different levels, with Earth midway between Hell and Heaven. Sometimes Hell and Heaven were subdivided even, and five or more stories were used for the action instead of three. The same growth in complexity is also seen in the stage of the fifteenth century *Miracles*, which set Heaven and Hell much more frequently than their predecessors had done.

But it is the stage of the Fraternity of the Passion that is of the greatest consequence for the future history of the French theater. Trinity Hospital and the Hotel of Flanders begot the Hotel of Burgundy. In Trinity Hospital, all localities, Heaven, Earth and Hell, were quite certainly on the same level. Indeed, the stage directions for the plays which were performed there would prove that Heaven and Hell were more often understood than set. The stage sloped towards the front, making the scenery in the rear slightly higher. There were not many scenes in the plays.

The *moralit s*, farces and *sotties*, secular plays performed indoors, did not require a setting any more extended than the stage of the Fraternity could supply. At least so much might be inferred from the few allusions scattered through their lines. Still, Heaven, when represented in them, occupied a different level from Earth. As for Hell, hardly ever shown, its position remains indefinite. In by far the larger number of these plays Earth alone was used. The average number of scenes was three.

Take *Pathelin* as an example of this kind. It has three scenes: house, shop and court. The house contained a bed for the sick Pathelin. This bed was in full view of the audience, because the front wall of the house was removed. In the side walls would be doors and windows. Accordingly

Pathelin spoke from his bed during the scene of illness, and did not come out to the front of the stage, to an indeterminate place, as Rigal's theory of a conventional speaking-place would imply.

From all of which it would follow that the Parisians, at least, had long been accustomed to a stage of one level and having only a few partitions. To this stage of Trinity Hospital and the Hotel of Flanders Hardy succeeded in the Hotel of Burgundy, and after him Corneille. The average theater-goer of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, attending indoor plays the larger part of the year, would look on the great outdoor mysteries as exceptions, unusual undertakings reserved for festivals and days of public rejoicing. And the tradition of the Franco-Roman stage would consequently be unbroken.

Now, Dr. Stuart would have this tradition reach back into Roman times and find its beginnings in Rome itself. To the formulation of this theory he devotes the pages of his first chapter. And the colporters of the Roman drama down through the centuries to the invention of the liturgical convent plays would be the actors of the Roman school, the mimes. Not only would they have kept the profane theater alive, they would have also suggested to the monks the possibilities of the religious drama by attempts they themselves had made along this line. The hypothesis, as may be seen, is an attractive one. Unfortunately documents seem to be lacking for its proof. Indeed, some allusions may be even cited against its soundness. Dr. Stuart has not found any mention of the mimes' activity during the whole crucial period of the evolution of the liturgical drama, or approximately the tenth century. But at the middle of this period stands one quite explicit witness. Bishop Atto (after 960) of Vercelli, in northwest Italy, not far from French territory, says in one of his sermons on worship, that true worshippers "non laetantur in theatris, ut scenici; non in epithalmiis et cantilenis, ut mimi; non in saltationibus et circo, ut histriones."¹ For "ludus scenicus" is "castitatis raptor," and was invented by Bacchus and Venus. The good bishop surely differentiates actors from the mimes, or singers. And a German contemporary of his

seems to confirm this idea that the mimes were the singers of the crowd, when he speaks of them as singing songs of a great battle.² The same division between actors and singers, but without naming either class, is made by the unknown reviser (1002 or 1003) of the life of Matilda of Germany (†968). After her husband's death "neminem voluit carmina secularia cantantem, nec quemquam videre ludum exercentem," we are told.³ So that the tenth century had its plays equally with the ninth and eleventh. What those plays were and by whom they were acted is not so clear.⁴

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English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642. JOHN TUCKER MURRAY, M. A. 2 vols. London: Constable and Company, 1910.

Students of the Elizabethan drama have been awaiting for some years the results of Mr. Murray's examination of the records of English provincial towns. It has long been recognized that from these town records we might expect a large addition to our knowledge of the Elizabethan dramatic companies, and also that this additional knowledge is essential to any comprehensive and reliable history of these companies and likely to throw much light on various matters connected with the drama. The results of Mr. Murray's

² Widukind of Corvey (-973-) in Pertz, *Scriptores*, III, 428.

³ Pertz, *o. c.*, IV, 294.

⁴ Dr. Stuart (p. 31) dates *Sponsus* around the year 1000, and is therefore obliged to set the development of the liturgical drama far back into the tenth century, with its origins as early as the ninth and possibly the eighth. But *Sponsus* is a hundred years younger, at least, and therefore, so far as this specimen is concerned, the liturgical drama need not have begun until after the breaking-up of the Carolingian empire and after the invention of its supposed embryos, the tropes of St. Gall and St. Martial's of Limoges. Nor can we gainsay the evidence, whether political, social, religious or intellectual in kind, that only in the closing years of the tenth century was the ground prepared in western Europe for the advent of a new literature, for a new idea of poetry and a new conception of dramatic art.

¹ Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, CXXXIV, 844.

thorough and extensive researches are now embodied in two handsome volumes which are sure to receive a hearty welcome and careful study.

These additions to our knowledge of the drama are extensive and valuable. Heretofore we have known but little of the companies outside of London. Mr. Murray adds not only compilations from all available sources of information but a very large number of entries chiefly from the Mayor's Court books, the account books, and the letter books of the corporations of provincial towns. All this material has been carefully analyzed, and is preserved in serviceable and convenient form. While it must be confessed that these researches have discovered nothing of startling importance or requiring a revolutionary revision of dramatic history, they constitute the most important addition since Fleay to the stage history of the Elizabethan drama, and correct and supplement our knowledge at many points. The volumes fully justify this statement in their preface.

"The new material collected from the provincial records has considerably modified the history of almost every known dramatic company of the Elizabethan period, has brought to light a large number of new companies and many hitherto unknown actors, has given much new information about the methods of licensing companies, the relations of the London and provincial companies, the plays acted in the provinces, the places of acting, the attitude of the people toward the players, their earnings, and their relations to their patrons. Of these details it has been impossible in this book to treat fully those referring more especially to the customs of the companies. This, I hope to do in a subsequent work."

In addition to presenting this new material, the volumes provide, in tables conveniently arranged for reference, lists of court performances, mortality tables for the plague, and various documents concerning the companies. Moreover, they undertake the rewriting of the history of each company, and thus traverse, revise and supplement a considerable portion of the matter in Fleay's *History of the Stage*. They do not deal with the plays presented or the authors employed, or, in detail, with the theaters occupied; but they give an account of the players, patrons, appearances at court, and careers, both in London and the provinces, of each dramatic company. In collecting and

analyzing documentary evidence, as well as in pursuing Fleay's conjectures and theories, Mr. Murray has made full and discriminating use of the work of his predecessors in this field, especially of Mr. Greg's admirable edition of *Henslowe's Diary*. Unfortunately he does not seem to have seen Feuillerat's *Documents relating to the office of the Revels*,¹ or Dr. Gildersleeve's illuminating *Government Regulation of the Elizabethan Drama* (1908).²

The material collected by Mr. Murray's researches is of high worth; his compilations and reprints seem, so far as my limited examination goes, comprehensive and accurate. It is on his interpretation and discussion of evidence in the histories of the companies that I wish to offer some criticism. Here he falls into errors not uncommon among scholars, and especially likely to beset the writers of history in a field where the evidence is fragmentary and where conclusions must be in large measure conjectural and speculative. The facts that we have about the dramatic companies—notwithstanding Mr. Murray's additions—are still insufficient for a full history. At every point one is obliged to distinguish between what is known, what is probable, and what is mere conjecture; and at every point one must be on guard against forcing far-reaching generalizations from uncertain evidence or still more uncertain guesses. Mr. Murray has undoubtedly tried to avoid Mr. Fleay's faults in these respects and has usually succeeded in discriminating between fact and conjecture; but like Fleay, he has been too eager to derive complete and final conclusions from incomplete and shaky evidence. Still further, his evidence is from too narrow a field. The extended and unexpected fields into which a small problem may lead the investigator, give literary research both its chief difficulty and its chief delight. No one can undertake to solve the vexing problems of Elizabethan stage history from an examination of a single restricted field. A history of the companies should be based not only on the documentary records of performances, but also on biographical data in regard to actors and writers, on the evidences for dates of the plays, on a thorough study of governmental regulations of the theaters,

¹ Bang's *Materialien*, vol. xxi, 1908.

² Columbia University Studies in English.

on data in regard to the playhouses, and on a study of the plays themselves in connection with the companies that performed them. All these matters, not to speak of wider fields of political and literary history, are so intimately related that it is very difficult to isolate any one of them and give that satisfactory treatment. Mr. Murray is writing history on the basis of information that needs interpretation or checking by means of data from many adjoining fields. In volumes like these, which must be used mainly as reference books, it would have been desirable to confine the histories of the companies to bare statements of what is absolutely established by documentary evidence, and relegate all controversial matter to foot-notes or appendices. As the volumes stand, the student will be compelled to go behind the histories to the collections of facts and records, for Mr. Murray's method of interpreting evidence is both too rigid and too narrow.

One of his most serious errors, it seems to me, is in his treatment of the closing of the theaters during the plague. Since his conclusions play a considerable part in his histories of all the companies, and since he opposes my discussion of the subject published some ten years ago,³ I shall venture to treat the matter at some length. He revises Fleay's conflicting statements and sets forth a new account of the governmental regulations concerning the closing of the theaters during the plague, and he then examines the evidence that I had offered to show that the theaters were open in 1608 and 1609 in spite of such regulations. Having disposed of this evidence to his satisfaction, he regards it as an established conclusion that the theaters were always closed when the regulations required. He has consequently made all his histories accord with his understanding of these regulations. He overlooks or neglects my contention that the governmental ordinances were at best irregularly enforced and often violated, and consequently cannot be taken as fixing the periods of closing the theaters, especially at a time when the plague was not very severe. Miss Gildersleeve's full discussion has made this contention far more convincing than did my brief

comments, and Mr. Murray would hardly have neglected this aspect of the case if he had had the good fortune to read her monograph.

To begin with, his account of the regulations is far from certain: if it is more correct than Fleay's, it is much more conjectural than Miss Gildersleeve's. He adopts here, as elsewhere in the book, the year 1575-6 as the date for the important communication from the city authorities to the Privy Council; but the date of this document is uncertain, and convincing evidence has been advanced to prove that it was written later than 1582.⁴ Moreover, Mr. Murray's interpretation of the results of this letter is no surer than his date; he fails to consider its relation to the petition and proposals of the players to which it replies; and so assumes a prior regulation for 50 deaths a week, altho this is merely what the players proposed. He also jumps to the conclusion that the proposals of the city were adopted by the Privy Council. Really there is no certainty of any regulations being enforced prior to this document, or what regulations the Privy Council proceeded to adopt. Probably, as Miss Gildersleeve suggests, the result was a compromise measure. So far as the suburbs are concerned, where the public playhouses were erected, Mr. Murray's conclusion that plays were prohibited when deaths from the plague exceeded fifty a week, is not improbable.

His further discussion rests in part on these uncertain conclusions; and without following it in detail I shall merely state what the facts are. In 1603, a terrible plague year, the royal patent for the King's Men provides merely that they may perform "when the infection of the plague shall decrease," but the draft of the patent to the Queen's Men, 1603, and the order of the Privy Council, 1604, both forbid playing when deaths from the plague amount to more than thirty weekly. There is no provision whatever in regard to the plague in the patents granted to various companies in 1606, 1609, 1610, and 1613. Not until 1619 do we

³ *The Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher on Shakespeare*, 1901, pp. 14-18. Mr. Murray's discussion is in vol. II, pp. 171-179.

⁴ See Gildersleeve, *op. cit.*, pp. 156-159; 164, 5; and 173. 175, and E. K. Chambers, *The Academy*, Aug. 24, 1895. The documents are in the Lansdowne MSS. and some of them were printed by Collier, *English Dramatic Poetry*, I, 214 ff. The document, omitted by Collier, which Miss Gildersleeve prints (pp. 172, 173) is especially important, as it alludes to the Paris Garden disaster and thus determines its date as later than Jan. 13, 1583.

have further documentary evidence, when, in the Patent for the King's Men, forty is fixed as the legal number. This is again mentioned in the patent of 1625. Entries in Herbert's office book for 1636-37 are not altogether clear but seem to indicate that forty remained the limit. In the literature of the period there are many references to regulations on the plague, and Mr. Murray is perhaps right in drawing from these indications of a change made somewhere between 1607 and 1610; by that time forty, and not thirty, seems to be regarded as the fixed number. Allusions of this sort are, however, widely dispersed, and a thorough search would be necessary before venturing a conclusion. It will be seen that for the whole period 1576-1642, we have only scant evidence as to what the regulations actually were.

So much for the regulations themselves. Let us see their bearing on the particular period. The plague, which had been prevalent since the great outbreak of 1603, still caused deaths of over forty a week, with the exception of two or three isolated weeks, when the number dropped just below forty, from July 28, 1608 to November 30, 1609. This would, according to Fleay and Mr. Murray, cause the complete closing of the theaters for a period of seventeen months. I had contended, on the contrary, that strict enforcement of the regulations was improbable under these conditions, and had also advanced positive evidence of theatrical activity during the period. Mr. Murray's examination of my evidence that the theaters were actually open need not be considered here. Any one who will read my statement and compare it with Mr. Murray's can come to his own conclusions. The only new evidence that Mr. Murray has on the matter is from the provincial records. As he says, "There are recorded several visits of the King's, Queen's, and Prince's companies during 1608, showing clearly that these companies did travel during that year."⁶ To be sure they travelled that year, as in many years; but his tables do not show that they travelled any more in this period than in many others when the plague was not prevalent. The King's Men, for example, were at Coventry in October, 1608, several places in May, 1609, and in Dover in July, 1609; but they were also travelling as much in

1607, and were in Barnstable on July 9, although the plague had been below forty a week for seven months. The companies frequently travelled for various reasons, and there is no indication of any large amount of provincial travelling by the companies in this period, 1608-1609.

But the major premise of my contention was "that there is no certainty that any regulation prohibiting theatrical performances during the plague was rigidly enforced. . . . When fear of the plague was not excessive it seems reasonable to suppose that the regulations were unenforced or evaded."⁶ Miss Gildersleeve's examination of government regulation of the Elizabethan theater has made plain how extremely unlikely it is that any regulation was ever rigidly, carefully, and universally enforced. Her conclusions in regard to the plague regulation are substantiated by her extensive study of the relations of city and court to the theatrical companies. I quote from her concluding summary:

"Judging from the extreme laxness with which most laws seem to have been enforced, we should indeed be chary of believing that the plague rule was followed with precision. Probably the players often disobeyed it, as did the Cockpit company in May, 1637. And apparently the Master of the Revels sometimes secured for them some relaxation of it. That it was by no means a regulation operating with mechanical exactness, but was subject to variation according to different influences and personalities, and the will of various high officials, appears from an interesting account, given in a letter from Garrard to Wentworth, of a meeting of the Privy Council."⁷

The folly of maintaining that the regulations worked mechanically and precisely seems to me manifest; it is folly to do so when other evidence opposes and when the plague was comparatively mild, and it is unsafe to do so for any time. The only safe assumption for the plague periods is that theatrical activity was interrupted and lessened. Mr. Murray insists on his theatrical regulations, not only for 1608 and 1609, but for the entire period. Whenever the plague deaths were fifty, forty, or thirty per week, according as he inter-

⁶ *Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher*, p. 15.

⁷ *Government Regulation*, pp. 213, 214. See also Fleay's partial withdrawal of his theory when he places *Cymbeline* in the autumn of 1609. *History of the Stage*, p. 162.

pretends the law for different periods, he assumes that the companies were not acting in the city but were probably travelling in the country. In this way he vitiates his histories of all the companies.

Mr. Murray's treatment of the plague may serve to indicate what I mean by the rigidity and narrowness of his method. The same characteristics can be found in his treatment of other matters; they are most evident in cases of governmental regulation, where Miss Gildersleeve's discussion affords us the opportunity of comparing his theories with a recent and better informed treatment of the same subjects. Take, for example, the matter of licenses. Licenses for theatrical companies were borrowed, forged, and stolen, and perhaps also traded and bought; hence, particularly during Elizabeth's reign, the possession of a license was by no means certain proof that the possessors formed an organization authorized to enjoy the patronage indicated. Further, during the Stuart reigns, it seems possible that under one license,—as that for the King's Men,—one company may have been acting regularly in London, while another detachment of the same company was acting in the country. These considerations might be supported if space permitted. Their significance may be illustrated briefly from Mr. Murray's treatment of the Queen's companies during Elizabeth's reign. He notes that there were two Queen's companies in 1588, but explains the multiplication of the Queen's Men by asserting:

"This shows that after 1574, at least, all the companies who expected to perform before the Queen at Christmas, such as the Earl of Leicester's, the Earl of Warwick's, Lord Clinton's, St. Paul's choir boys, etc., as well as the Court interlude players, sometimes called themselves 'Her Majesty's players.' Probably they did this only when in London, to avoid the Lord Mayor's regulations against players, for when in the provinces, they seem to have regularly appeared under the titles of their respective patrons."⁸

In this discussion he is misled again by accepting the old dating of the documents in the Lansdowne manuscripts as 1574–1576, instead of 1582–1584, as now seems almost certain. But his inferences show a reluctance to admit exceptions to his rules.

⁸ Vol. I, p. 5.

As a matter of fact, the various and conflicting references to the Queen's companies before 1583, and also after that date, indicate nothing more than great confusion in assuming that title. It seems to me very dangerous to assume as an established rule that every reference to a particular company shows that that company was then absent from London and travelling about the country. To this rule, as I have already noted, there may be many exceptions.

Another theory, which Mr. Fleay pressed too hard, is to the effect that all, or nearly all, dramatists were regularly attached to the service of particular companies. This seems to be adopted by Mr. Murray, at least in the case of Ben Jonson, where it is not at all applicable. Apparently, it is this theory which impels him to the old error that Jonson left the employ of Henslowe after the duel with Spenser and that *Every Man in His Humour* was acted in November, 1598. As appears in a letter to Dudley Carleton, *Every Man in His Humour* was first performed before September 20, 1598,⁹ the duel was on September 22, 1598. There is no real evidence that Jonson ever acted with the King's Men. Aubrey's allusion to his acting at the "Green Curtain" may be true, but it is by no means sure when he acted there, or whether the Chamberlain's Men ever acted there. The reference in Marston's *Scourge of Villainy* can hardly be said to prove anything.

Take one more instance, in which Mr. Murray becomes entangled by one of Fleay's theories—the date of *The Scornful Lady*. The matter is not of much importance, but it offers a fair example of the complications that are always arising in Elizabethan chronology. The Quarto,—1616, states that the play was "acted by the children of Her Majesty's Revels in the Blackfriars." Now, the Queen's Revels apparently ceased to use that name after 1605, when they were in trouble over *Eastward Ho!*, but continued to use the Blackfriars theater until August, 1608, when the lease was resold to Burbage. In January, 1610, a new company called the Queen's Revels acted in Whitefriars. What happened to the original company from August, 1608, to January, 1610, is

⁹ Mr. Murray quotes the letter of this date from Tobie Matthew to Dudley Carleton mentioning the play, but sticks to the later date in his text; vol. I, p. 101.

unknown—probably they disbanded; but perhaps they kept up some sort of an organization. By a devious argument, which I have elsewhere examined,¹⁰ Mr. Fleay was led to suppose that they retained possession of Blackfriars until 1610, and that Burbage's company, the Kings' Men, did not take possession of that theater until that date. According to Fleay's theory that the theaters were closed because of the plague, the only time during 1608–1609 when there was acting at Blackfriars was from November 30 to January 4, 1609. It is during this month that he dates *The Scornful Lady*, and he uses this assignment as both the cause and effect for his argument that the Kings' Men did not occupy Blackfriars. But all this is conjecture on conjecture, and the references to the Cleve wars in *The Scornful Lady* are the surest *terminus a quo* for its date. These references, which Mr. Murray and I have both discussed,¹¹ seem to me more likely to have been written in 1610 or 1611 than in 1609. Moreover, *The Scornful Lady* was a popular play, and the references to Blackfriars in the Quarto of 1616 may refer not to the original but to later performances of the play in the second Blackfriars theater, which was built in 1615–17; or, more probably, to a joint occupancy of the Blackfriars by the Kings' Men and the Revels company. I am free to admit that it is quite possible that the first Queen's Revels gave some plays in Blackfriars in 1609, and that *The Scornful Lady* was acted there at the close of that year; but these matters are very doubtful, and other explanations are at least possible. I merely protest that it is dangerous to use Fleay's conjectures in regard to the occupancy of the theater as a support for the date of this play, and it is also dangerous to regard the date of this play as fixed and to use it as a support for Fleay's theory of the occupancy of the theaters. Mr. Murray, however, is not puzzled by the matter, but states his conclusions in a brief and what might seem to the casual reader a simple and conclusive paragraph.¹²

It would not be difficult to go on criticising details of stage history that rest on thin ice, if not on certain mistakes. Government regulations did

not work mechanically. Licenses for companies were not always authoritative; the theaters were not always reserved for a single company; playwrights were not always restricted to employment by one company. The data for the stage history of the Elizabethan drama are meager and conflicting. Fixed conclusions must be relatively few in comparison with those that are probably or merely conjectural. It is necessary to advance to these probabilities without resting too much on general theories and without resting one conjecture too heavily on another, and with a full indication of the range of possible error. These are the elementary rules for procedure; they are, however, too often forgotten by investigators under stress of their special interests or enthusiasms. This is my excuse for repeating them here and illustrating some violations; but in so doing I do not wish to criticise captiously, or to seem to deny to Mr. Murray the great credit that his work deserves. In his history he has followed and exposed many of Fleay's conjectures, and from a consideration of old and new evidence has written a far better and more reliable history of the companies than his brilliant predecessor, who essayed a wider field. Mr. Fleay's wider researches were injured, not merely by his fondness for conjecture, but by his blind adherence to theories of stage history. Mr. Murray has kept too much to these rigid and mechanical methods, and he lacks—as who does not?—Mr. Fleay's immensely wide knowledge of all sides of the Elizabethan drama. It is not then as an historian of the stage, but as an investigator and discoverer of new evidence that he wins our unqualified praise. As storehouses of much old and much new data in respect to the companies his books are of manifest value and will probably be better appreciated as students become fully acquainted with them.

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¹⁰*Influence of Beaumont and Fletcher*, pp. 18, 19.

¹¹*Ibid.*, 85–87; Murray, I, 153 n.

¹²Vol. I, p. 153.

MARIO SCHIFF, *La fille d'alliance de Montaigne: Marie de Gournay*. Essai suivi de "l'Égalité des hommes et des femmes" et du "Grief des dames," avec des variantes, des notes, des appendices et un portrait. Paris: Champion, 1910. 12mo., 147 pp.

In *Studi di Filologia moderna* for 1909 M. Mario Schiff published an article called *La fille d'alliance de Montaigne: Mademoiselle de Gournay*, and appended to it a list of Marie de Gournay's works, reprints of her autobiographical poem and of the *éloges* given her by two Italian scholars, and a brief account of her relations with her disciple, Anne-Marie de Schurman. At the same time he announced his intention of reprinting Mlle de Gournay's two essays in defense of her sex. Last year he realized this purpose by publishing the text of her *Égalité des hommes et des femmes* and her *Grief des Dames* with a list of variant readings and a few introductory pages of criticism, but, desiring to make a larger book than these fifty pages of essay and criticism, he reprinted in the same volume his article of the year before, retaining the four appendices and adding a fifth on the reputation of Montaigne's *Essays* during the first half of the seventeenth century. From the title which he gave to this collection of articles he shows that he considers his study of the woman more important than his reprint of her essays. I shall therefore criticize his volume as primarily a treatment of the life and works of Montaigne's *fille d'alliance*.

And first let me say that there is room for an exhaustive study of this interesting woman, who touched on so many sides the literary and social life of France during the eighty years that followed her birth in 1565. She was that enthusiastic friend of Montaigne who published his *Essays* after his death and did much to establish them in the public esteem. She made a brave, if futile fight to uphold Ronsard against Malherbe. She ought to be remembered gratefully by her sex as one of the first defenders of women against their natural oppressors. She was novelist, poet, essayist, philologist. To those interested in the social life of the early seventeenth century her defense of herself and the piquant anecdotes to

which she gave rise constitute not her least claim to remembrance.

It is not surprising to find that several scholars have written about her during the last fifty years. Feugère,¹ Livet,² Stapfer,³ Paul Bonnefon⁴ have discussed her in essays that present the main facts of her life and show the importance of her work. None of these attempts to be a complete study; none contains more than some hundred pages out of a larger treatise. They leave room for a further consideration of Mlle de Gournay's writings and of contemporary references to her life and works. But if such a study is undertaken, it should aim to be definitive, and not simply to add another commendable essay to the four we already possess.

M. Schiff appears to have seen this opportunity, but he has not yet given us the definitive treatise. A comparison of his essay with those that preceded it shows that he adds few facts to what was already known and emphasizes less fully than Bonnefon and Stapfer the main ideas which Mlle de Gournay represented. What he has done that is new is to collect a few details from the letters of Pasquier, Balzac, and Chapelain that other biographers had overlooked,⁵ to go further than they in his use of Marolles and Sorel,⁶ to glean some facts from Marie's accounts of herself,⁷ to quote at length passages to which his predecessors had briefly referred.⁸ He treats his heroine fairly, not hesitating to show the deliberate way in which she sought royal favor and her excessive flattery of the sovereign. His criticism of others seems justified in the cases of M. Strowski, Feugère, and M. Ascoli,⁹ but his difference of opinion with M. Bonnefon as to whether Marie visited Lipsius while in Belgium leads to no conclusion.¹⁰ His passing objection¹¹ to Livet's classification of Mlle de Gournay as a *précieuse* is not sufficiently sustained by his mentioning her attack upon these

¹ *Les femmes poètes au XVI^e siècle*, Paris, 1860, pp. 127-232.

² *Précieux et précieuses*, Paris, 1859, pp. 261-291.

³ *La famille et les amis de Montaigne*, Paris, 1896, pp. 157-236.

⁴ *Montaigne et ses amis*, Paris, 1898, II, 315-408 (first edition, 1892).

⁵ Cf. pp. 5, 7, 19, 29, 42.

⁶ Cf. pp. 22, 45, 26, 39.

⁸ Cf. pp. 13, 38, 39.

¹⁰ Cf. p. 18.

⁷ Cf. pp. 20, 22, 32.

⁹ Cf. pp. 14, 38, 47.

¹¹ Cf. p. 27.

"donselles à bouche sucrée." As M. Schiff's predecessors have pointed out, she is one of the *précieuses* in her use of metaphors, her display of pedantry and *conceits*, just as she differs from them in her use of crude and antiquated terms. She may claim the *précieuses* as her offspring, though she must have appeared to them sadly out of date.

Of course, if M. Schiff limits his essay to fifty octavo pages, he is obliged to omit much that others have given. He slurs over Marie's rôle as novelist and poet. He should not dismiss her *Proumenoir* without some note of its position among early French novels and without gathering from it the indications it throws upon the character of its author. His criticism of her verses is limited to quoting one poem, mentioning the subjects of a few others, and declaring that her "petits vers sont mauvais." Though the last remark is true, there are some happy exceptions to it. Her noble quatrain on Jeanne d'Arc is better worth quoting than her grotesque lines on the Bain du Roy.¹² It is still more regrettable that he discusses so little the part she played as editor of Montaigne and defender of sixteenth century speech.

Therefore, as his essay neither summarizes completely what is already known of Mlle de Gournay, nor gives much new information or comment concerning her, it remains unimportant as a contribution to our knowledge of the authoress, or to our understanding of what her labors meant to French literature and society in the sixteenth century. But it gains in value, if we demand less of it. If we consider the essay, not as the main portion of the work, but as an introduction to a profounder study of Mlle de Gournay in one of her special activities, we find that its utility becomes immediately obvious. Now, unless M. Schiff intended writing a thorough account of Mlle de Gournay's various occupations, he could not have done better than to study her as "la mère du féminisme moderne."¹³ With the exception of Stapfer, critics have treated this side of her summarily. M. Schiff writes himself, "Il est tout à fait curieux de constater que les critiques qui se

sont occupés de Marie de Gournay n'ont pas fait de ses traités en faveur des femmes et des nombreuses déclarations de féminisme qui émaillent ses ouvrages, le cas qu'il en fallait faire."¹⁴

We should have expected him, then, to make his study of Mlle de Gournay as a feminist the core of his work, to which the essay I have criticized would serve as an attractive and informing introduction. Indeed he seems to have had some such intention when he proposed to publish her two essays, an admirable way of bringing out her right to be considered a champion of her sex. Despite their theological arguments, verbiage, classical allusions, lack of logic, these are written with a picturesque enthusiasm that does not exclude a certain moderation in their demanding for women only equality with men, or a perception of how much women's inferiority is due to their education and the treatment accorded them by the opposite sex. Moreover M. Schiff has proved a careful editor, furnishing an elaborate list of variant readings, adding to the text the few necessary notes, showing that the main ideas and many phrases of the *Grief des Dames* had already appeared in their author's preface to the 1595 edition of Montaigne's *Essays*.

But this is not enough. He should have collected the views on feminism that she published elsewhere than in these essays. He should have developed his response to his own query whether she is seeking to defend herself or her sex in her discussion of rights. He should have shown just what she brought to this discussion that was new, in what respects she followed earlier writers. Instead of so doing, he confines his critical estimate of these essays to a few pages, loosely joined to his previous treatise, in which he analyses the arguments of the essays and makes a few suggestive comments concerning them. He seems to have rushed into print almost as soon as he had his texts ready for publication and thus misses his second opportunity as he has missed his first. He does not atone for the incompleteness of his general sketch of Mlle de Gournay by a thorough study of her defense of women.

And this is the more unfortunate as M. Schiff is an exact scholar who shows thorough appreciation of the value of the personal detail and the

¹² Page 33.

¹³ A title applied to her by M. Joran and quoted by M. Schiff, p. 49.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*

original document. If we needed proof of this, we could find it in his appendices, where he increases our knowledge of the character and achievement of Mlle de Gournay by listing the various editions of her writings, by republishing the text of her "autoportrait," by showing her influence in the Low Countries and the respect in which she was held in Italy, and finally by demonstrating the early popularity of Montaigne's *Essays*, which must have been partly due to the assiduous labors of his chosen editor. The only fault I find with these appendices is that their addition to a volume already composed of three separate essays deprives the book of a unity that might have been attained by a larger central treatise, into which could have been incorporated the facts now presented without proper coordination.

I conclude, then, that M. Schiff has made public some details hitherto overlooked concerning the life and works of Mlle de Gournay, that, despite a certain lack of unity in his volume, he helps to renew interest in an unusual personality, reprints three of her smaller works in convenient and scholarly form, suggests various ideas, which might, if sufficiently developed, have led to important results. But he scatters his energies in too many directions, he has not enough that is new in fact or critical estimate to make his book a definitive treatment of Marie de Gournay, and at the same time he does not sufficiently study her rôle of feminist to make that the central portion of his work. I hope that he has already felt the force of this rather obvious criticism, and that he intends to publish hereafter either a complete study of Mlle de Gournay or an exhaustive consideration of her position in the modern movement towards the equality of the sexes.

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CORRESPONDENCE

Covacle, NOT *conacle*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—Stratmann-Bradley's *Middle-English Dictionary* gives:

Canacle, *conacle*, sb.? mistake for *covercle*; lid of a cup. A. P. 1461, 1515. The *NED*. presumes that *canacle*, *conacle* [of unknown derivation and meaning] is 'a cup.'

The word has been recorded only in the two instances of *E. E. Allit. Poems*, edited by Morris.

I have not seen the *ms.* and do not know how far *a* and *o* are kept distinct. *Laued* for *loued* in the printed text, p. 85, l. 1703, looks suspicious. At any rate, I take it for granted that *n* and *u* are written alike. The editor is at a loss about several words (see pp. 11, 40, 50, 56, 82), and it is beyond all probability that a distinction which is rather exceptional with fifteenth century scribes should be observed in a *ms.* that, according to the preface, is written in a small, sharp, irregular character . . . often difficult to read.

Couacle, which, of course, might just as well be read *conacle*, also occurs in *Partonope of Blois*, Add. *ms.* 35,288, Brit. Mus. lf. 13 b. (now at press; ll. 1076-78):

Thys cuppe was of safer flyne,
Hyt moste nedes showe well wyne.
pe couacle was of Rube redde.

The last line runs in the French text, ed. Crapelet, l. 1025:

Li covercles est d'un rubi.

There are French variants of *covercle* without *r* (see the *Complément* of Godefroy), but the English form rather represents an independent change from *covarecle* to *covacle*, due to the analogy of the frequent nouns in *-acle*.

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A NOTE ON 'A BRITISH ICARUS'

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the December (1910) issue of *Modern Language Notes*, Professor J. M. Hart, in his interesting communication, entitled, *A British Icarus*, quotes from Geoffrey of Monmouth as follows: "This Prince (Bladud) was a very ingenious man, and taught necromancy in his kingdom, nor did he leave off pursuing his magical operations, till he attempted to fly to the upper region of the air with wings which he had prepared, and fell down upon the temple of Apollo, in the city of Trinovantum, where he was dashed to pieces." This is evidently the source of the following passage in Milton's *History of Britain*, Bk. 1: "He (Bladud) was a man of great invention, and taught Necromancy: till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of Apollo in Trinovant, and so dy'd." Such a passage is read with interest in connection with the following from the introductory portion of the same book: "Nevertheless there being

others besides the first supposed Author, men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquitie, who admit that for approved story, which the former explode for fiction, and seeing that oftentimes relations heretofore accounted fabulous have been after found to contain in them many foot-steps, and reliques of something true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little beleev'd, till undoubted witnesses taught us, that all was not fain'd; I have therefore determin'd to bestow the telling over ev'n of these reputed Tales; be it for nothing else but in favor of our English Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by thir Art will know, how to use them judiciously." In the light of our recent interest in aviation, Milton, thinking of Bladud, might have added to "foot-steps and reliques," prophecies "of something true."

Though Milton never produced a poem founded on the early history of Britain, is it not possible that he made judicious use of the story of the "British Icarus" in the following passage from *Paradise Lost*, 2. 927-938, which so strongly suggests some of the experiences of our modern aeronauts?

"At last his Sail-broad Vannes
He spreads for flight, and in the surging smoak
Uplifted spurns the ground, thence many a League
As in a cloudy Chair ascending rides
Audacious, but that seat soon failing, meets
A vast vacuitie: all unawares
Fluttring his pennons vain plumb down he drops
Ten thousand fadom deep, and to this hour
Down had been falling, had not by ill chance
The strong rebuff of som tumultuous cloud
Instinct with Fire and Nitre hurried him
As many miles aloft."

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BRIEF MENTION

No more important aid to the scientific study of the French language has appeared in recent years than the *Atlas linguistique de la France*,¹ which is now complete, with the exception of the index. Criticism of many details of this monumental work is possible, and attacks on the general plan have not been wanting, but there is no question that this series of maps preserves for us a great mass of invaluable material that was on the point of passing beyond our reach; that it has sensibly modified the methods of etymological study; and that it has given to the accurate recording of the dia-

lects a stimulus, already reflected in the recent works in this domain, which not only assures a more analytic knowledge of the French *patois*, but even gives promise of resulting in the discovery of principles that have fundamental bearing on the nature of linguistic processes. Students of French whose means do not permit them to own the work should at least see that it is at hand in all research libraries.

A book of great interest to Romance workers is Meyer-Lübke's *Etymological Dictionary*, the first instalment of which has just appeared in the *Sammlung Romanischer Elementar- und Handbücher*.¹ The arrangement by the alphabetical order of the Latin etyma, introduced by Körting, is maintained, but the number of titles is substantially diminished (1129 numbers in M-L for A-Biso, against 1425 in K.) by a wise conservatism in positing hypothetical Latin forms. Where there is no positive evidence for such a background and where at the same time the form can be derived by affix from a stem existing in the Romance language in question, the word is classed under the simplex. Non-Latin etyma with more than local reflexes are included, while late learned words are omitted and dialect forms are cited only where they seem to throw additional light on the development. The aim has been to refer to essential bibliography, tho the frequent limitation to the latest or the most important reference is sometimes liable to be misleading. The discussion is exceedingly compact (less than a page on *AMBITARE* and *AMBULARE* as against some five pages in K.), but is incisive and illuminating. There is no hesitation in assuming a positive attitude, but the decision is usually backed up by a brief phrase giving its essential basis. Etymologies accounted clearly abortive are passed over in silence—perhaps a few that merit at least mention sharing this fate with less worthy companions. The section of the dictionary now before us suffices to demonstrate that Professor Meyer-Lübke brings to the difficult task he has undertaken the skilled touch of an experienced scholar and writer, and it is with gratification that we greet a work that will put within our reach his great store of etymological knowledge.

¹ Par J. Gilliéron et E. Edmond. 35 fascicules in-folio de 50 cartes chacun. Paris, Champion. 875 fr.

¹ *Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*. Lieferung 1. Heidelberg, Winter, 1911. 8vo., xxii-80 pp. Mk. 2. The complete work will comprise about 900 pages.

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THE TRANSMISSION AND DATE OF *GENESIS B.*

How came the Old Saxon *Genesis* to England? Who carried it thither? When was it transplanted from the Continent, to become a riddle and a testimony of international relations? These questions have been answered very vaguely, and quite without support of evidence. An Englishman who had learned Old Saxon brought it home from the Continent, said Professor Sievers.¹ Some Saxon monk, coming to England, perhaps the John who was made abbot of Æthelney (Somerset) in the reign of Ælfred, introduced the poem, conjectured ten Brink.² But these guesses have done little more than hint at possibilities; they have been the merest conjectures. The historical evidence that has been brought forward is of a kind to prove the influence of England on Germany, not at all of Germany on England, except for the surprising phenomenon of *Genesis B* itself. The poem is unique from every point of view; and the puzzle of its grafting on English literature has long piqued the curiosity of scholars.

With considerable diffidence, since I can support my theory with nothing but circumstantial evidence, I am going to hazard a new conjecture as to the man who brought the Old Saxon *Genesis* to England. I am able, furthermore, to give with assurance only the initial of his name, though I can show that what is known about his career makes his transmission of the poem both possible and, to my thinking, probable.

About the year 1000 there was written a life of St. Dunstan,³ who had died in 988.

¹ *Der Heliand und die angelsächsische Genesis*, p. 16.

² *History of English Literature*, English trans., 1889, I, 82, note.

³ Edited by Stubbs, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, 1874 (Rolls Series, 63), pp. 3-52.

The author of this *Vita*, which is the earliest extant biography of the great archbishop, describes himself, in the somewhat fulsome and pompous prologue, as "omnium extimus sacerdotum B. vilisque Saxonum indigena." He pleads his lack of qualifications for his task, "nisi forte quæ vel videndo vel audiendo, licet intellectu torpenti, ab ipso didiceram, vel etiam ex ejus alumnis." Twice he asserts that he has seen the events that he narrates. Because of his description of himself as priest and his silence as to Dunstan's monastic reforms, one may infer that he was not a monk,⁴ but a clerical scholar who had found with Dunstan both service and friendship. Quite clearly, he had been associated with Dunstan so long and intimately that he knew the whole course of the saint's life and could write a sketch of him without difficulty. Bishop Stubbs conjectured that he got the stories of the childhood, and of the early temptations and visions, from Dunstan's own lips.⁵ Indeed, B.'s work is singularly free from miracles of the grosser sort; it illustrates very admirably the character of his master, and thus shows his claim to sainthood.

B. everywhere writes as a friend and follower of Dunstan, but incidentally as a foreigner. Not only does he speak of himself as "vilis Saxonum indigena," but he refers to things English as a native would not have done. Thus an evil spirit responds to Dunstan "voce Saxonica se ex Orientis regni partibus esse."⁶ Again, the term "senioratus" for "patron" is used, though it was never employed, according to Stubbs, except on the Continent.⁷ From such indications it seems clear that B. was a Saxon scholar from the Continent, who had found a patron and friend in Dunstan. He seems to have been learned according to

⁴ See Stubbs, p. xi.

⁵ Stubbs, p. lvii.

⁶ Cap. 33.

⁷ See the discussion of B.'s origin by Stubbs, pp. xii-xviii.

his fashion, for he quotes a poem by Sedulius,⁸ and accomplished in letters, if the composition of bad verse be a criterion; but he cannot be commended for his Latin style, which is cumbrous and sometimes obscure. He seems, however, to have been devoted to his master; and he gave with candor and insight the results of his personal observation.

By a brilliant conjecture, Bishop Stubbs threw further light on B., showing that he was, in all probability, the writer of three letters of the period. In the first of these,⁹ a man who calls himself "B. fæx Christicolarum," addresses Dunstan's successor at Canterbury, Æthelgar, regretting the loss of those literary and educational advantages that his youth had known under the patronage of the Bishop of Liège, since whose death he has been exiled from Wisdom's Court. It appears that Æthelgar has commissioned B. to go to Winchester, there either to examine or to copy a manuscript of Aldhelm's *De Laudibus Virginitatis*. The second letter¹⁰ was written by a man who places himself under the protection of Dunstan, describing himself as "exilii catenulis admodum retitus." In the third letter,¹¹ which is addressed to some person whose name is only indicated by the initial N., the writer calls himself "bellus sed causa, si dici liceat, infortunii misellus." He says that, after leaving his patron and crossing the sea, he has run into debt for the purchase or hire of a horse on landing, and stands in danger of being sold.

The circumstances mentioned in these letters, no less than their style,¹² persuaded Bishop Stubbs that they were written by one man, and that he was the author of the early

biography of Dunstan. Certainly "B. fæx Christicolarum" recalls vividly enough the "omnium extimus sacerdotum B. vilisque Saxonum indigena" of the prologue; nor is it likely that there could have been in England at one time two wandering scholars, whose affairs would so perfectly accord with what we learn about the author of the *Vita*. The pun in the third letter is difficult to interpret. "What name is indicated by the initial B. can only be conjectured," says Stubbs; "it may have been the common Saxon Bruno; or some name to which the Latin 'Bellus' might be supposed to answer, one of the many names that begin with Bert, or it may have been Benedict or even Beda."¹³ Something more precise than this may be attempted. The name may have been Berht (Beorht); which is of common occurrence; or, not impossibly, it may have been Berhtram,¹⁴ which would account for both "bellus" and "misellus." I must leave the matter so, and pass to the more important question of this Saxon B.'s continental relations.

What we learn of them seems at once to justify the identification of the letter-writer with the biographer and to make it very likely that B. would bring a Saxon poem with him to England. The Bishop of Liège mentioned in the first letter could be no one, as Stubbs showed,¹⁵ save Evraclus¹⁶ (Ebrachar, Ever-

¹³ P. xxvi.

¹⁴ This second conjecture depends on the possibility that B. etymologized Berhtram as *Berht* (*beorht*) + *arm* (*earm*). The form *Bærhtram* appears in a tenth century document from Kent, printed in Birch, *Cartularium Saxonieum*, no. 1010, and in Kemble, *Codeæ Diplomaticæ*, no. 477. Professor Frederick Tupper reminds me "that we often have in such cases the Latin synonym of only one member of a compound name," which makes my first conjecture plausible. *Lupus* for *Wulfstan* is a well-known instance, and Boniface's *Caritas* for the Abbess Leobgyth is of the same character (see Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*, p. xlv).

¹⁵ P. xxv.

¹⁶ For the career of Evraclus, see the account by Anselm, *Gesta pontificum Leodiensis*, cap. 24, ed. Koepke, *M.H.G. SS.* VII, 201-202; Reinerus, *Vita Evracli Leodiensium memorabilis episcopi*, ed. Pez,

⁸ Cap. 36. Two verses from *Veteris et Novi Testamenti Collatio*.

⁹ Printed by Stubbs, pp. 385-388, from MSS. Cott. Tib. A. 15 and Vesp. A. 14.

¹⁰ Printed by Stubbs, pp. 374-376, from MS. Cott. Tib. A. 15.

¹¹ Printed by Stubbs, p. 390, from MS. Cott. Tib. A. 15.

¹² See the discussion by Stubbs, pp. xxii-xxvi. I should note that the letter-writer, like the biographer, has a fondness for making verses.

aclus, Evraclus), who held the see between 959 and 971. Evraclus was one of the extraordinary men of the tenth century. He was a Saxon, studied first at Cologne, and was later a pupil of the unfortunate Ratherius, either at Liège or in Germany. While still a young man, he was made provost of Bonn; and he was elevated to the bishopric of Liège at the instance of the Emperor Otho I and his brother Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne. During his occupancy of the see he did much to raise its ecclesiastical and educational renown: he founded three monasteries, and in one of them, St. Martin's, he established a school that soon came to rival Aleuin's at St. Martin's of Tours. He seems to have been a man of wide and independent learning, for in 969 through his knowledge of astronomy he saved the German army from panic at a total eclipse of the sun; and he encouraged letters by arranging courses of study in monasteries throughout his diocese, as well as by bringing in, often at his own expense, clerks from abroad as teachers. From his youth he was devoted to St. Martin, through whose relics he is said to have been cured of lupus, and to him he dedicated his chief monastery. His last days were clouded by uprisings, of which the cause is unknown. However, his palace was raided by his enemies, and his career ended in disorder.

The evidence, as it stands, makes it clear that B., the letter-writer, did not exaggerate in referring to Liège under Evraclus as the Court of Wisdom. B., the Saxon biographer of Dunstan, is unlikely to have received his

training elsewhere than under the Saxon bishop of the Belgian city, who made his schools during the sixties of the tenth century a gathering point for all the learners and learned of a wide region. Evraclus, it will be noted, was particularly devoted to St. Martin; and the biographer B. seems to have held that saint in special honor, for he mentions him with the greatest reverence and, after the fashion of hagiographers, chooses him for comparison with Dunstan. As far as circumstantial evidence can go, the identification of the letter-writer and the biographer is complete.

Furthermore, I submit that no man could be found more likely to have carried an Old Saxon poem into England than this same B. Himself a Saxon, he was trained, or at any rate was patronized, by a Saxon bishop of the widest intellectual interests, a man who encouraged learning in all its branches and must have been, in the nature of things, a collector of manuscripts. He was exiled by the death of his master, and went to England to find new episcopal patrons. In England he was, once at least, employed in connection with a manuscript, which implies a certain knowledge of such things as well as an interest in them. Evraclus, we saw, died in a time of disorder and most probably left his affairs in confusion. It would have been easy for the poor scholar B., even if he had not previously been so rich in books as Chaucer's Oxford clerk, to put two or three manuscripts in his wallet before he fled into exile. If the palace was looted, as well as raided, he might properly have taken such treasures as were precious to him personally in order to save them from his patron's enemies. He must have been, we are justified in believing both from his nationality and his references to Evraclus, of the Bishop's immediate circle; and he would, accordingly, have had ready access to the palace, whether or not he lived there. I have no wish to romance about B.: the outline of his story is circumstantially complete. I feel no certainty that he brought the Old Saxon *Genesis* to England, because circumstantial evidence cannot give absolute proof; but I think it very probable that he did so. Whether or not he

Thesaurus Anecdotorum, IV, 3, 153-166, Migne, *Patrologiæ Curs. Comp. Lat.* cciv, 117-124, W. Arndt, *M.G.H. SS.* xx, 561-565; F. Cramer, *Geschichte der Erziehung und des Unterrichts in den Niederlanden während des Mittelalters*, 1843, pp. 91-94; A. Le Roy in *Biographie nationale de Belgique* VI, 616-620; *Gallia Christiana* in Migne, *Patrologiæ Curs. Comp. Lat.* cxxxv, 943-946; *Histoire litt. de la France* VI, 335; and S. Balau, *Etude critique des sources de l'histoire du pays de Liège au moyen âge* (*Mém. couronnés et mém. des savants étrangers*, Acad. Royale de Belgique, 1902-03), pp. 101-102. None of the modern writers, as far as I can see, adds anything to what can be learned from Anselm and Raynier (Reinerus).

translated the poem himself after learning English I do not see that we have any means of deciding.

The acceptance of my conjecture would make the date of *Genesis B.*, I am well aware, some twenty-five years later than the year hitherto accepted as its *terminus ad quem*. The customary view is that expressed by Professor Brandl in Paul's *Grundriss*:¹⁷ "Da die alts. Dichtung gleich der handschrift 'noch in das 9. Jahrhundert' zu setzen ist, dürfen wir die Entstehung des ags. Textes schwerlich vor das 10. Jahrhundert verlegen; und da in der erhaltenen ags. Handschrift noch zahlreiche *ie* begegnen, haben wir die Mitte des 10. Jahrhunderts wohl als untere Grenze anzunehmen." At first sight this evidence looks convincing; but, like the results of too much of the phonological investigation of Old English, it does not bear close scrutiny because it fails to take into account all the factors involved. I do not need, in order to show that the translation of the Old Saxon *Genesis* may have been made in the last quarter of the tenth century, to present a complete phonology of *Genesis B.*¹⁸ I shall merely call attention to a few facts which seem to me to render invalid the argument for 950 as the latest possible date of the translation.

In the first place, the levelling processes in late W.S., affecting short *i*, *y*, and *ie* in stressed syllables, have run their full course as far as *Genesis B.* is concerned: the scribe (or the redactor, if you please) never writes *ie*. The "numerous" instances of the use of *ie*, which are mentioned as proving that the text could not have been written after about 950, are all cases of *ie*. Naturally, long sounds were likely to preserve distinctions that were being lost in the pronunciation of short sounds; a conservative tendency in representing them would by no means be remarkable. Yet, as a matter of fact, the substitution of *ȳ* for *ie*

customary in late W.S., is generally the rule with the scribe of *Genesis B.* I find that he uses *ie* sixty-four times. Of these cases, however, forty-seven are instances of the use of the form *hie* for the third personal pronoun, interchanging with *hēo*. That we might expect to find *hȳ* in a work of the last quarter of the tenth century I do not deny; yet we find *hī* as Ælfric's customary form, and in the *Blickling Homilies*, which have on all accounts to be dated after the Benedictine Reform, we note *hie*, as well as *hī*, *hēo*, and *hȳ*.¹⁹ Evidently, the *ie* in this word is of little value in determining the age of a text.

The other seventeen instances of *ie* in *Genesis B.* must be considered more in detail. They are the following: *ȳieman* 349, *ȳien* 413, *whitesciene* 527, *oðiewdest* 540, *siene* 607, *ȳiet* 618, *sie* 621, *ȳienȳ* 627, *hierran* 633, *iewde* 653, *sciene* 656, *niede* 697, *sciene* 700, *oðiewde* 714, *iewde* 774, *hierde* 797, and *scienost* 821. A glance at this list will make it clear that only eleven words are involved. Of these, *ȳienȳ* is not an O.E. form at all, but O.S., as Sievers showed long since. The ten words thus left are certainly not sufficiently "numerous" to afford weighty evidence that the scribe wrote at a time nearer to Ælfred than to Ælfric, particularly in view of the notes that I shall add as to their use. The forms *ȳien* and *ȳiet* are of uncertain origin²⁰ and of doubtful history. *ȳiet* is found in the *Blickling Homilies*, moreover, along with other forms of the word.²¹ As to the writing of *sciene*, the scribe seems to have been most uncertain. We find *sciene* three times, *scienost* once, *scȳnost* once, *scēne* twice, *scēnran* once, *scēnost* once, *scēone* once, and *scēonost* once. The *ie* occurs in the forms of *iewan* uniformly; but it is found in the *Blickling Homilies* also, and isolated.²² The form *hierde* is exceptional, as it appears once against *hȳrde* nine times.

¹⁷ 2te Aufl. II, 1090.

¹⁸ I wish to acknowledge, with my thanks, the use that I have made of an unpublished study of the vowels in *Genesis B.* by my colleague, Professor J. Duncan Spaeth.

¹⁹ See A. K. Hardy, *Die Sprache der Blickling Homilien*, §124. It matters little that these homilies were of Anglian origin, since they have all the earmarks of late W.S.

²⁰ See Sievers' *Ags. Gram.*, note to §74.

²¹ See Hardy, §32.

²² See Hardy, §39.

Thus far I have tried to show merely that the scribe of *Genesis B.* is a somewhat untrustworthy guide, and that the supposedly numerous instances of *ie* in the work are, in reality, very few. I wish now to point out another significant fact, which seems to have been unnoticed. The use of *ie* in *Genesis B.* must certainly be due to the scribe, or redactor, and not in most instances to the translator, because it is found with about the same frequency in *Genesis A.* In a number of lines equivalent to the number in *Genesis B.* *ie* occurs nine times, aside from the common use of *hie*. Two words (*ȝiet* and *sie*) from the list given above again appear, while *ie* is nowhere found. The correspondence shows, clearly enough, that the occasional use of *ie* in both poems is the result of a conservative tendency on the part either of the copyist or of the man who inserted the Old Saxon translation into the Old English poem. Since *Exodus* and *Daniel* do not show the same looseness in allowing an occasional *ie* to slip in, the copyist of the Junian MS. itself cannot fairly be held responsible.²³ On the other hand, since an old poem like *Genesis A.* shows the same usage as *Genesis B.*, while another old poem like *Exodus* avoids it, no valid argument can be constructed on this evidence as to the *terminus ad quem* of the translation. The use of *ie* appears to be merely a bit of scribal conservatism.²⁴ If my reasoning is justifiable, there is nothing in the way of my conjecture that an expatriate Saxon brought the original of *Genesis B.* to England about 971; at least, there is no chronological difficulty.

Furthermore, and finally, the last quarter of the tenth century is, on historical grounds, a far more probable date for the introduction and translation of *Genesis* than the first half of the century. The revival of letters under Ælfred soon spent its force, or rather was

destroyed by the Scandinavian invaders. On the unimpeachable authority of Ælfric we learn that when Dunstan and Æthelwold started their reform "no English priest could write or understand a letter in Latin."²⁵ Dunstan was made abbot of Glastonbury in 946 or thereabouts, and Æthelwold was granted the charter of Abingdon about 954. Ælfric further says, speaking of his reasons for composing his own homilies: "and me ofhreoƿ þæt hi ne cuþon ne næfdon þa godspellican lare on heora gewritum, buton þam mannum anum ðe þæt Leden cuðon, and buton þam bocum ðe Ælfred cýning snoterlice awende of Ledene on Englisc, þa synd to hæbbene."²⁶ It is most unlikely, in these circumstances, that the Old Saxon poem would have been brought to England, or translated there, during the half-century of intellectual dearth which followed the death of Ælfred. But in spite of its peculiarities and possible archaisms, *Genesis B.* is unmistakably post-Ælfredian in its language. If not of Ælfred's time, there is every reason to believe that it would have been neither imported nor translated until after the Benedictine reform. Thus again it seems probable that the Saxon priest B. brought with him to England a poem in his native tongue.

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DIE DOPPELDRUCKE VON GOETHE'S WERKEN, 1806-1808

Die sogenannte "Zweite Auflage" der ersten Cottaschen Ausgabe der Werke ist eingehend besprochen worden von J. T. Hatfield im *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Bd. V. S. 341-352, wo auch auf die frühere Literatur hingewiesen wird. Es handelt sich hier aber keineswegs um eine "Zweite Auflage," obwohl dies auch Hirzel¹ an-

²³ I note but one case of *ie* in *Exodus*, save for *hie*, which is frequently used.

²⁴ A similar conservatism is shown in words with *ea* (breaking of *a*) before *i* + cons. *Ea* is prevalent, but *a* is kept in *aldor* (ruler), *aldre* (on, to *aldre*), *ahwolda*, and *waldend*, apparently as archaic and consecrated forms.

²⁵ English preface to his *Grammar*, ed. Zupitza, p. 3.

²⁶ *Sermones Catholici*, ed. Thorpe, 1, 2.

¹ *Verzeichniss einer Goethe-Bibliothek* (1884), S. 65.

nimmt, sondern nur um Doppeldrucke einzelner, beim Verleger inzwischen vergriffener Bände. Die irrige Annahme einer "Zweiten Auflage" lässt sich zurückführen auf eine Anzeige im *Intelligenz-Blatt des Journals des Luxus und der Moden* 1809, No. 1, wo unter den zur Michaelismesse 1808 im Cottaschen Verlag fertig gewordenen Werken angeführt wird:

"Goethe (von) sämtliche Werke. 12 Bde. gr. 8. 2te Auflage. Weiss Dreckp. Subscr. Pr. 2 Carolin. ord. Dreckp. Subscr. Pr. 1½ Carolin."

Dazu macht August Fresenius in der Weimarer Ausgabe Bd. 13^u S. 114 die Bemerkung: "Darnach hat es den Anschein, als ob von allen zwölf Bänden von A ein zweiter Druck (A¹) existire." Dies ist jedoch ganz und gar nicht der Fall: vielmehr bezieht sich die Anzeige auf die erste Cottasche Ausgabe (A), da die *Schriften* und *Neuen Schriften* zusammen als Erste Auflage betrachtet wurden. Der heutige Gegensatz zwischen den als *Schriften* und als *Werken* bezeichneten Ausgaben existierte damals überhaupt noch nicht, denn die Bogenorm der Göschenschen *Schriften* ist durchweg *Goethe's W.(erke)*, während sich bei den Ungerschen *Neuen Schriften* die Bogenorm v. *Göthe Schriften* vorfindet. Vor dem Erscheinen der Cottaschen Ausgabe gebraucht Goethe gewöhnlich den Ausdruck *Schriften*, dann werden *Schriften* und *Werke* nebeneinander gebraucht, bis schliesslich der letztere Ausdruck die Oberhand behält. So heisst es z. B. in Goethes Entwurf des Verlags-Kontrakts vom 14. Juni 1805 (Briefe Bd. 19. S. 13, 13): Unterzeichneter hat die Absicht, seine Schriften neu herauszugeben . . . Dagegen unterm 12. August (ib. S. 42, 5): Der Herr Geheimerath von Goethe hat die Absicht, seine sämtlichen Werke in zwölf Bänden . . . Ähnlich schreibt Goethe am 18. August 1806 (ib. 175, 19): Mit der fahrenden Post geht der vierte Band meiner Werke an Sie ab. Dagegen heisst es später wieder im Tagebuche (Bd. 3. S. 198) 13. März 1807: Den 9. Bd. meiner Schriften eingesiegelt. Drei Tage später wird sogar der Empfang der ersten vier Bände mit den Worten angemerkt: (ib. S. 199) Kam die erste Lieferung meiner Schriften von Tübingen an. Am 9. Juni 1807 (Briefe Bd. 19, S. 345, 8) wünscht Goethe

die vier Bände seiner Werke, dagegen schreibt er unterm 1. Nov. (ib. S. 446, 20): Der Band von meinen Schriften, mit dem ich noch im Rest bin. Noch im Jahre 1821, in den Anmerkungen über die Harzreise im Winter (W 33ⁱ, 333, 6. 7.) wird der beiden Cottaschen Ausgaben AB unter den Worten *der vorletzten*, und *der letzten Ausgabe* gedacht, ein deutlicher Beweis, dass Goethe die *Schriften* noch immer mitrechnete, trotz des verschiedenen Titels. Überhaupt hat Goethe von den Neudrucken höchstwahrscheinlich nie gewusst, denn laut Kontrakt hatte der Verleger nicht nur das Recht, eine beliebige Anzahl von Exemplaren zu drucken, sondern er durfte sogar auch andere Formen wählen, z. B. die einer Taschenausgabe. (Vgl. Briefe Bd. 19, S. 42-44). Dagegen durfte er die nach Belieben gedruckten Auflagen oder Exemplare nur innerhalb der festgesetzten Termine Ostern 1806 bis Ostern 1814 verkaufen, denn auf die von Cotta vorgeschlagene Klausel:

"5. Bis zum Absatz der ersten Auflage findet keine neue Statt, falls dieser auch länger als sechs² Jahre erforderte,"

antwortete Goethe:

"Diese Bedingung ist, wie die Schrift zeigt, später eingeschrieben und Sie haben in der Eile der Expedition wohl nicht gedacht dass dieselbe den ersten Punckt gleichsam aufhebt. Damit sich der Autor nicht um die Stärke der Auflage, nicht um die Weise zu bekümmern brauche wie der Verleger die Werke in's Publicum bringt, ist dort eine Zeit festgesetzt welche allen Mishelligkeiten vorbeugt. Durch No. 5 aber würde der Termin aufgehoben, wodurch manche Weiterung entspringen könnte."

Hierin liegt auch die eigentliche Ursache für das Veranstellen der Doppeldrucke. Wenn ihm der 5. Punkt bewilligt worden wäre, so hätte Cotta gleich zweimal soviel Exemplare gedruckt, als ihm sonst nötig geschienen, denn er hätte sie ja auch nach Ablauf des Termines verkaufen können. So aber war dies unmöglich, und etwaige

² Nachträglich verlängerte Goethe den Termin auf acht Jahre.

unverkaufte Exemplare wären einfach Makulatur gewesen. Also machte er die Auflage verhältnismässig klein.

Das Manuscript des 2. und 3. Bandes wurde am 30. Sept. 1805 an Cotta abgeschickt, der erste Band am 24. Feb. 1806, der vierte Band am 18. August desselben Jahres, abgesehen vom Elpenor, der erst am 8. Dec. abgefertigt wurde. Zweifellos wurden also der zweite und dritte Band vor dem vierten gedruckt, da Goethes Exemplare der ersten vier Bände schon am 16. März 1807 in Weimar ankamen. Da nun, wie wir sehen werden, vom 1. und 4. Bande je drei verschiedene Drucke vorliegen, so ist es höchst wahrscheinlich, dass auch vom 2. und 3. Bande dieselbe Anzahl existiert, obschon bisher nur zwei bekannt sind. Man darf annehmen, dass Cotta, zu einer Zeit wo der 1. u. 4. bez. 1. bis 4. Band schon gedruckt waren, etwa nach der Ostermesse 1807, der stärkeren Nachfrage wegen sich entschlossen hatte die Auflage zu vergrössern. Die schon gedruckten Bände mussten neu gesetzt werden, bei den folgenden konnten natürlich von demselben Satze gleich einige tausend Exemplare mehr abgezogen werden.

Vom 5. 6. 7. u. 9. Bande liegen je zwei Drucke vor, dagegen beruhen die Abweichungen im 10. u. 11. Bande lediglich auf Presskorrekturen, was Hatfield nicht erkannt hat. Vom 9. Bande sind nur die Bogen 1-4 neugesetzt, während die Bogen 5-28 in allen mir zugänglichen Exemplaren identisch sind. Vom 8. Bande scheinen keine Doppeldrucke zu existieren. Zur Zeit also, als Bogen 1-4 des 9. Bandes, sowie die Bände 1-7 schon gedruckt waren, beschloss Cotta eine nochmalige Verstärkung der Auflage: bei den noch nicht gedruckten Bänden, bez. Bogen, wurde die grössere Anzahl Exemplare vom ersten d. h. einzigen Satze abgezogen, bei den Bänden 1-7 sowie den 4 Bogen des 9. Bandes musste der Text neu gesetzt werden. Dabei wurde nicht nur der Titel des 7. Bandes verdruckt, wie Hatfield angibt, (Datum 1807 anstatt 1808) sondern auch der des 6. Bandes: 1808 anstatt 1807. Die Daten der beiden Titel wurden einfach verwechselt: Band 6 von A trägt also das Datum 1807, während A¹ das Datum 1808 aufweist; dagegen trägt der 7. Band von A die Jahreszahl 1808, A¹ jedoch das frühere Datum 1807. Es ist nicht wahrscheinlich, dass sich Doppeldrucke der Bände

10-12 vorfinden werden. Bei den *Neuen Schriften* liegt nämlich ein ähnlicher Sachverhalt vor: vom 1. Bande liegen fünf Drucke vor, vom 2.-5. Bande je drei, vom sechsten zwei, vom 7. Bande nur ein einziger.

Über den textkritischen Wert dieser Doppeldrucke gilt genau dasselbe wie bei den *Neuen Schriften*: der erste, echte Druck hat den richtigen Text, die Nachdrucke verschlimmbessern nur, wenn auch hie und da ein auffallender Druckfehler mit beseitigt wird. Da ich den textgeschichtlichen Einfluss dieser Doppeldrucke an anderer Stelle ausführlich zu erörtern gedenke, wird hier von der Angabe von Einzelheiten abgesehen. Nur ist zu bemerken, dass Hatfield den Sachbestand gänzlich verkennt, wenn er annimmt, "dass man (vermutlich in Cottas Offizin) zu den älteren Lesarten in S und sonstigen früheren Quellen zurückkorrigierte." Das tut der Nachdrucker nie—beim ersten Bande hat Hatfield einfach A und A¹ verwechselt, oder vielmehr A¹ und A², denn der echte Druck A war ihm unbekannt.

In der folgenden Übersicht werden für jeden Band acht bis zehn der wichtigsten Varianten geboten—dabei werden die bekannten Siglen gebraucht, und zwar bedeutet

- S : Goethe's Schriften. Leipzig, 1787-1790. 8 Bände.
- S¹ : Goethe's Schriften. Leipzig, 1787-1791. 4 Bände.
- N : Goethe's neue Schriften. Berlin, 1792-1800. 7 Bände.
- A : Goethe's Werke. Tübingen, 1806-1808. 12 Bände.
- B : Goethe's Werke. Stuttgart, 1815-1819. 20 Bände.
- B¹ : Goethe's Werke. Wien, 1816-1822. 26 Bände.
- C¹ : Goethe's Werke. Stuttgart, 1827-1830. kl. 8°. 40 Bände.
- C : Dieselbe Ausg. in 8°.
- N², A¹, A², B² : Doppeldrucke der betreffenden Ausgaben.

H : Handschriften } im App. der Weimarer Ausgabe
E, J : Einzeldrucke } (W) beschrieben.

Überschrift): Die Freuden SAA¹, Die Freude A¹B. 65, 23 (W 1, 115, 71): Er gleicht AW, Es gleicht A¹A²-C. 131, 6 (W 2, 74, 5): stürzt herab H¹JSA, stürzt hinab A¹A²-CW. 211, 27 (W 2, 26, 82): Myrthenhaine JAA¹, Morgenhaine A²-CW. 342, 18 (W 1, 291, 46): gereiht AC¹CW, gereizt A¹A²BB¹. 344, 3 (W 1, 293, 2): Martial sich zu mir AB²C¹C. Martial zu mir A¹A²BB¹. 399, 5 (W 1, 307, 5): Bymbelntrommeln A, Cymbelntrommeln A¹, Cymbeln, Trommeln A²-CW.³ 388, 12 (W 1, 338, 64): als ein Vollendetes NA, an ein Vollen-detes A¹A²-CW.

ZWEYTER BAND.—100, 22 (W Bd. 21, 100, 25): fühlen NAB, fühlten A¹. 100, 26 (W 101, 1): in meinen Herzen ABC¹, in meinem Herzen A¹B¹CW. 132, 15 (W 182, 20): sollen Sie N²A, sollen sie NA¹B. 134, 5 (W 134, 10): Schmerzens NABB¹, Schmerzes N²A¹. 280, 16 (W 280, 19): zerstreuen NAB, erstreuen A¹. 293, 6 (W 293, 7): spühren NA, spüren A¹. 332, 8 (W 22, 6, 8): ihren N²ABB¹C¹C, Ihren NA¹W. 425, 14 (W 98, 14): ich war NAB, war ich A¹.

DRITTER BAND.—64, 5 (W Bd. 22, 196, 4): Philine ABC¹CW, Philinen NA¹B¹. 117, 3 (W 248, 28): halte NA, hatte A¹. 205, 27 (W 338, 23): in der Gesellschaft NA, in die Gesellschaft A¹-CW. 309, 19 (W 23, 82, 16): ohngefähr HNAB¹, ungefähr A¹BC¹CW. 319, 15 (W 92, 12): verblaszt NAB, erblaszt A¹. 374, 17 (W 147, 19): der arme Mignon NABB¹C¹, die arme Mignon A¹CW. 398, 27 (W 171, 22): entfernern NAB, entfernten A¹.

VIERTER BAND.—19, 12 (W Bd. 9, 20, 250): schon jetzt HA, jetzt schon A¹A²-CW. 38, 6 (W 40, 6): Keller SAA¹, Kellner A²-CW (so auch 47, 28; 48, 3; 48, 8). 57, 23 (W 60, 320): Da ist HSAA¹, Das ist A²B. 163, 18 (W 299, 534): Stäte EA, Stätte A¹A². 164, 29 (W 301, 564): strenge A, strengen A¹A². 207, 12 (W 243, 1463): Palmire find A, Palmire find¹ A¹, Palmiren find¹ A²B. 251, 6 (W 387, 592): ins Geheim EAA¹, ingeheim A²-C. 282, 5 (W 418, 1242): Vertrauensvolle EA, Vertrauensvolle A¹A²-CW. 332, 6 (W 11, 18, 343): von Herzen A, vom Herzen A¹A²-CW. 344, 16 (W 30, 670): Arme AA², Aermte A¹.

FÜNFTER BAND.—6, 19 (W Bd. 8, 6, 18): Strich SA, Streich A¹B 37, 2 (W 36, 20): auch wohl SA, wohl auch A¹-C. 41, 5 (W 40, 24): der letztere SA, der letzte A¹-CW. 69, 11 (W 69, 21): Berlichingens ESA, Berlichingen A¹-CW. 77, 20 (W 78, 1): gespürt SA, gehört A¹-CW. 123, 7 (W 124, 12): gewiesen ESA, bewiesen A¹-CW. 135, 8 (W 136, 15): ich gethan habe, SA, ich gethan, A¹-CW. 182, 13 (W 184, 11): Sinnen SA, Sinne A¹-CW. 295, 1 (W 294, 23): auf einen Helm SA, auf einem Helm A¹-CW. 373, 15. 16 (W. Bd. 11, 190, 16): aus ihren Händen wieder SA, aus ihren wieder A¹-CW. 374, 26 (W 416, 9): an seinem Halse). A, an seinem Halse hangend). A¹-CW.

SECHSTER BAND.—27, 3 (W Bd. 10, 27, 583): träufend HSA, träufelnd A¹-CW. 152, 20 (W 160, 1383): Der Rache SAB, Die Rache A¹B¹. 203, 28 (W 212, 2633) frommen SAW, frohen A¹-C. 266, 22 (W 275, 621): steile Fels EAW, stille Fels A¹-C. 279, 12 (W 289, 921): Von allen EAW, Vor allen A¹-C. 306, 12 (W 317, 1505): Lasz mich's verheelen EA, Lasz mich verheelen A¹-CW.

SIEBENTER BAND.—2, 5. 6 (W Bd. 11, 198, 6): Pedro von Rovero SA, Pedro von Rovera A¹-C, von Rovero W (Druckfehler). 114, 11 (W 312, 550): süssten HSA, süszen A¹-CW. 181, 20 (W 12, 51, 23): seinen Anfang SAW, ihren Anfang A¹-C. 181, 22 (W 51, 25): vergraben SA, begraben A¹-CW. 190, 12 (W 60, 12): gefährlichste SA, gefährliche A¹-CW. 243, 3 (W 112, 6): ihn, er geht EJA, ihn, und er geht A¹-CW. 265, 10 (W 135, 358): hier SAB¹, hie A¹BC¹CW. 322, 19 (W 190, 161): lasz TA, laszt A¹-CW.

NEUNTER BAND.—8, 15 (W Bd. 17, 124, 12): d e r Hand NA, der Hand A¹-CW. 20, 19 (W 136, 11): zuförderst NA, zuvörderst A¹. 28, 7 (W 144, 7): Gelingt mir NAW, Gelingt nur A¹-C. 38, 25 (W 154, 26): ihn noch immer NAW, ihn immer A¹-C. 44, 5 (W 160, 3): und eilte NA, und ich eilte A¹-CW. 45, 20 (W 161, 17): wo ich NA, wie ich A¹-CW. 51, 27 (W 167, 22) liebste Tante NAW, liebe Tante A¹-C. 63, 24 (W 180, 5): neue, Ihr NA, neue. Ihr A¹-CW.

ZEHNTER BAND.—Hier liegt kein neuer Satz vor, die Abweichungen, welche sich sämtlich auf dem

³ Vgl. *Börsenblatt f. d. deutschen Buchhandel*, 1911, No. 53, S. 2760.

ersten Bogen vorfinden, beruhen auf Presskorrekturen. Im Gegensatz zu den vorhergehenden Bänden ist daher hier der korrektere Druck der spätere.

7, 14 (W Bd. 50, 7, 62): gewänn er A, gewänn' er NA¹B. 7, 29 (W 7, 77): steht er A, steht er! A¹B. 10, 12 (W 9, 140): vertheidigen A, vertheid'gen NA¹B. 11, 1 (W 10, 159): sollt er NAB, sollt'er A¹. 11, 28 (W 11, 184): Kratzfusz AB, Kratzfusz NA¹. 14, 6 (W 13, 247): Seht hier AB, Seht, hier NA¹. 14, 10 (W 13, 251) Vernehmet trauriger A, Vernehmet, trauriger NA¹B. 14, 20 (W 13, 261): war . . . gelegt AB, ward . . . gelegt NA¹. 15, 10 (14, 277): es euer AB, es, euer NA.

EILFTER BAND.—Auch hier liegt kein neuer Satz vor, sondern nur Presskorrektur: obschon Hatfield einen Unterschied sehen will zwischen den von ihm bemerkten Lesarten und den "kleinen Varianten" die Scuffert (W 19, S 345) anführt, so sind dieselben doch alle derselben Art. Da nun diese Varianten auf drei Bogen verteilt sind—eventuell finden sich noch mehr—so sind acht Kombinationen der betreffenden Bogen möglich: abc, abc¹, ab¹c, ab¹c¹, a¹b¹c¹, a¹b¹c, a¹bc¹, a¹bc. In den sechs mir augenblicklich vorliegenden Exemplaren finden sich vier dieser Gruppen vertreten. Im folgenden Verzeichnis der bis jetzt bekannt gewordenen Varianten bezeichnet also A die unkorrigierte, A¹ die korrigierte Lesart. Letztere stimmt überall mit der Vorlage S¹ überein, abgesehen von der Stelle 106, 10, wo diese schon den Druckfehler enthält, den der Cottasche Korrektor beseitigt:

26, 11 (W Bd. 19, 25, 23): Gesellschafterin A, Gesellschafterinn S¹A¹. 43, 21 (W 43, 1): Pfarrerinn A, Pfarrerinn S¹A¹. 47, 26 (W 46, 27): treffliche A, treffliche S¹A¹. 98, 6 (W 96, 3): andern A, anderen S¹A¹. 98, 9 (W 96, 3): 24. Januar A, 20. Januar S¹A¹. 106, 4 (W 103, 24): nur A, Nur S¹A¹. 106, 10 (W 104, 3): dem Uebermüthigen S¹A, den Uebermüthigen S¹A¹. 107, 20 (W 105, 14): was vor Augen A, was für Augen S¹A¹.

ZWÖLFTER BAND.—Nur die Musikbeilage scheint zweimal gedruckt zu sein: in zwei Exemplaren, die hauptsächlich aus den Bänden der A-Reihe bestehen, trägt die Beilage keine Seitenzahl; auf der Rückseite finden sich die bei-

den Druckfehler *pazieza* und *Franbia*. Dagegen trägt die Beilage in zwei Exemplaren, die vorwiegend aus Bänden der A¹-Reihe bestehen, keine Seitenzahl. Auch liest man hier richtig *pazienza* und *Francia*. Höchstwahrscheinlich wird in anderen Exemplaren das Umgekehrte der Fall sein.

Schliesslich sei noch bemerkt, dass viele Exemplare nicht durchweg aus Bänden der A- bez. A¹-Reihe bestehen, sondern gemischt sind. Das liegt auch ganz in der Natur der Sache: der Verleger liess nämlich keine neue Auflage drucken, sondern ergänzte nur seinen Bedarf an den früher gedruckten und bereits teilweise abgesetzten Bänden. Die Nachschüsse liess er dann zu den früher gedruckten Exemplaren tun, denen sie ja durchaus ähnlich sahen. Als dann schliesslich die vollständigen Exemplare zusammengestellt und verkauft wurden, geschah es ja leicht, dass A und A¹ vermischt wurden. Die A¹-Bände finden sich nicht so häufig zusammen als die A-Bände: so besteht z. B. ein Exemplar aus den A-Bänden 1–3, Band 4 gehört zur Gattung A², Band 5, 6, 7, 9 zur Gattung A¹. Ähnlich bestand das von Goethe als Vorlage zu B benutzte Exemplar aus Band 1 u. 4 der Gattung A², Band 2 u. 3 gehörten zum Originaldruck A, Band 5, 6, 7, 9 zum Nachdruck A¹. Bei den übrigen Bänden, wie wir schon gesehen, liegt nur einmaliger Satz vor. Dagegen enthielt das Exemplar, nach welchem Goethe im Jahre 1809 die Druckfehler verzeichnete,⁴ Band 3 der Gattung A¹, und Band 6 der Gattung A—ein deutlicher Beweis dass Goethe nichts von einer "Zweiten Auflage" wusste.

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THE SONNET "DANTE ALIGHIERI SON . . ."

In 1901 Manicardi and Massèra, in their *Introduzione al testo critico del Canzoniere di Giovanni Boccacci*,¹ showed that the traditional attribution to Boccaccio of the fine sonnet beginning

⁴ *Tagebücher*, Bd. 4, S. 374.

¹ L. Manicardi and A. F. Massèra, *Introduzione al testo critico del Canzoniere di Giovanni Boccacci*, Castelfiorentino, 1901, p. 13, n. 2, and p. 23.

"Dante Alighieri son, Minerva oscura,"

was quite unwarranted. Their statement, very brief, and insignificantly placed, has not checked the tradition: the sonnet is ascribed without question to Boccaccio in Gigli's *Antologia delle opere minori volgari di Giovanni Boccaccio* (1907), in Carducci's *Primavera e fiore della lirica italiana* (1903), in D'Ancona and Bacci's *Manuale della letteratura italiana* (1904), in the admirable *Oxford Book of Italian Verse* (1910), and in some other recent books. Furthermore, the current version of the sonnet contains spurious elements which render it inferior to the original version. A new treatment of the matter seems therefore to be in order.

The sonnet is not known to exist in manuscript.²

It was first printed on the *recto* of the last leaf of the Venice 1477 edition of the *Divine Comedy*, as follows:—

D anti alighieri son minerua oscura
dintelligentia e darte nel cui ingegno
lelegantia materua agionse alsegno
che si tien che miracol de natura
L alta mia fantasia prompta e sicura
passo iltartareo e poi il celeste regno
el nobil mio volume feci degno
di temporale e spiritual lectura
F iorenza magna terra hebbi per madre
anzi matregna: et io piatoso figlio
gratia di lingue scelerate e ladre
R auenna fu mio albergho nel mio exiglio
et ella ha il corpo: lalma ha il sommo padre
presso acui invidia non vince consiglio³

Above it, on the page, is the end of the *Credo di Dante*, the only intervening sign being the AMEN which serves as *finis* to that piece; below it stands the word *Finis*; and below that the colophon, in sonnet form:—

F inita e lopra delinclito et diuo
dante alleghieri Fiorentin poeta
lacui anima sancta alberga lieta
nel ciel seren oue sempre il fia uiuo
D imola benuenuto mai fia priuo
Deterna fama che sua mansueta

² Manicardi and Massera, p. 23.

³ I quote from the copy in the Harvard University Library. The only previous reprint of this version of the sonnet, as far as I know, is the slightly inaccurate one by Colomb De Batines in his *Bibliografia dantesca*, vol. I, Prato, 1845, pp. 25-26.

lyra opcro comentando il poeta
per cui il texto a noi e intellectiuo
C hristofal Berardi pisasurense detti
opera e facto indegno correctore
per quanto intese di quella i subietti
D e spiera vendelin fu il stampatore
del mille quattrocento e settantasetti
correuau glianni del nostro signore

The FINIS below this colophon is the last printed word of the book. No indication of the authorship of the "Dante Alighieri son . . ." appears anywhere in the volume.

The sonnet next appears in the Venice 1555 edition of the *Divine Comedy*, edited by Lodovico Dolce. It is on the *verso* of the leaf numbered * iii, below a portrait of Dante, and is headed SONETTO DEL BOCCACCIO IN LODE DI DANTE. No reference to the authorship of the sonnet appears elsewhere in the book. The responsibility for the attribution rests therefore upon Dolce; but Dolce is notorious for literary untrustworthiness in general and for editorial trickery in particular,⁴ and his attribution has therefore not the slightest weight.

In view of the flatness and harshness of the versified colophon of the 1477 edition, its author, presumably Berardi, can hardly be considered as a possible author of the "Dante Alighieri son . . ." The sonnet therefore remains anonymous. The praise of Dante for *elegantia* and the clear differentiation *degno / di temporale e spiritual lectura* seem to me indicative of Renaissance authorship, and the characterization *magna terra* seems to me non-Florentine.

The *agionse* is intransitive. The second *che* is for *ch'è*.

Dolce modernized the spelling and the punctuation of the sonnet, and made six deliberate changes in wording, four of them certainly for the worse. For the second *che* he substituted the banal *gran*; for *magna terra* he substituted *gloriosa*, which is most inappropriate in view of the instance of Florentine behavior here in question; for *et io* he substituted *a me*; for the ironic *gratia* he substituted the weak *colpa*; and for

⁴ See E. A. Cicogna, *Memoria intorno la vita e gli scritti di Messer Lodovico Dolce*, in *Memorie dell' I. R. Istituto Veneto*, XI (1862), pp. 93-108, especially p. 96 and pp. 107-108; and G. Carducci and S. Ferrari, *Le rime di Francesco Petrarca*, Florence, 1899, pp. xx-xxi.

corpo : *l'alma ha il* he substituted *corpo, e l' alma il*, destroying the antithesis. He omitted the *a* of the last line. The current version of the sonnet, being derived from that of Dolce, contains his substitutions.

Boccaccio's *Canzoniere*, then, must lose the poem by which it has been most widely known. It retains, however, a number of sonnets of great beauty, among them the last three of those translated by Rossetti.⁵ The last of these in particular, "Intorne ad una fonte . . .," is as delightful a bit of lyric art as the *Trecento* can show.

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SPELLING IN THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE

In a paper on *The Proverbs of Alfred* read before the London Philological Society in 1897,¹ Professor Skeat called attention to certain peculiarities of spelling that he had observed in the re-discovered Trinity College Cambridge ms. of *The Proverbs*, and in the earlier text of *Lazamon*, the *Old Kentish Sermons*, *Genesis and Exodus*, portions of *The Domesday Book*, *King Horn*, and *Havelok*. These peculiarities he ascribed to a tendency natural to a French copyist "to express sounds by French symbols, according to his own pronunciation"; and he suggested that "in all our thirteenth-century pieces we should always be on the watch for such possibilities." In the appendix to his *Notes on English Etymology*, in his Clarendon Press edition of *Havelok*, pp. xiii-xvi, and in his Clarendon Press edition of *The Proverbs of Alfred*, pp. xii-xx, he has dealt further with the peculiarities in these particular pieces.—Additions of like peculiarities in other MSS. will serve to record the correspondences that exist in the other MSS., as well as to test Professor Skeat's theories.

Both MSS. of *The Owl* and the *Nightingale* contain Old French poems by Chardry. The Jesus

College ms. includes a version of *The Proverbs*.² I have shown (cf. my edition of *The Owl*, Belles Lettres Series, 1907, pp. x l. 4, etc., xviii-xix) that in each ms. the French poems were probably copied by the scribe of *The Owl*.

In his remarks³ on *The Proverbs* Professor Skeat calls attention to the confusion or poor formation of the characters *z*, *þ*, *wen*, &, in the MSS., and assigns this to the scribes' lack of familiarity with these characters. I have pointed out (cf. my *Owl*, pp. xiii (1), xiv, and references on those pages to numerous notes, especially Notes 57, p. 153, and 1195, p. 174, and references therein) that just this confusion in the common archetype of the two MSS. of *The Owl* or in an original of that common archetype (cf. my edition, pp. xiii, par. 3-xvi, par. 4), has led to incorrect use of *z*, *þ*, *wen*, *y*, &, in the two MSS.—But further correspondences with Professor Skeat's lists are found in the MSS. of *The Owl*.

The following notes concerning spelling in the MSS. are based on my personal examination of the MSS. and on photographs and collations indicated on page 2 of my edition of *The Owl*. The grouping of the notes is according to Professor Skeat's grouping of the sounds especially concerned, in the appendix of his *Notes on English Etymology*, pp. 471 ff., in his edition of *Havelok*, pp. ix-xvi, and in his edition of *The Proverbs of Alfred*, pp. xii-xx. C denotes the Cotton ms. of *The Owl*; J, the Jesus College ms. Where no indication of MS. is given, the form is common to both MSS. As each passage is considered, reference should be made to my Glossary, my Notes, and the list of MSS. variations at the foot of my Texts.

(1) Confusion as to initial *h* (cf. Sweet, *Hist. Eng. Sounds*, §§ 724, 726): C *e* for *he* 1475; *is* for *his* 515, C 403 571 1483; C *it* for *hit* 118 1090; C *attom*, J *atom* 1527; C *god ede* 582; C *swikel ede* 838; C *hwitestu* for *wilestu* 1356; C *houle* for *ule* 1662 1785; C *hule* for *ule* 41, etc., seventeen times; C *hure* for *ure* 185; C *hswucche* 1324; C *his* for *is* 1498 1761; C *houd siþe*, J *houþ syþe* 1586; *hunke* 1733; J *her* for *er* 1225; J *hore* for *ore* 1750; C *hartu* 1177; C *attest* 255.

(2) *s* for *sh*, *sch* (Sweet, *H. E. S.*, §§ 603,

⁵ Nos. xvii, lxvii, and xii in the Baldelli and Moutier editions of the *Rime*.

¹ *Transactions*, 1895-1898, pp. 399-418.

² Skeat's edition for the Clarendon Press; Morris's *Old English Miscellany*, pp. 102-130, E. E. T. S. Pub., 69.

³ *Transactions*, p. 403; edition, pp. xiv-xv.

607): initial—C *sol* 1025; C *sewi* 151; *solde* 975, C 977, J 764; *wrþ sipe* 1099, J *wrþsipe* 1288; J *isend* 1336; J *at set* 44; J *sarp* 79; J *sende* 274; J *sit* 286; J *sal* 346, 1151–94–95–98–99, 1205–47–49; J *sale* 1206; J *suneþ* 1165; J *sulle* 1192, 1204; J *i srud* 1529: medial—C *fleses* 895, J *fleys* 1399 1408; J *vleyssse* 83; J *fleysses* 895; J *fleyes* 1410; J *fleyssse* 1387, 1411; J *fleyssses* 1388–90–92–97, 1414; J *neyssse* 1349–87, 1546; J *aysssest* 473; J *meysse* 84; J *pruysse* 1659: final—J *yris* 322; J *fys*, C *flhs*, J *fleys*, C *fleh*s 1007. Cf. loss of initial *s* before *ch* (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 607) in C *chadde* 1616, C *charpe* 1676, C *chelde* 1713, C *of chamed* 934 (cf. my Note, 1402).

(3) Confusion as to initial *þ*; see references in paragraph 3 of this paper.

(4) *w* for *hw* (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, §§ 725–6, 500) occurs only in C (exc. J *noware* C *nowar* 1168; J *wile* 1451; *awene* 1258): *wa* (*hwā*) 1782; *wan* (*hwanne*) 459, 591, etc., seven times; *wan* (*hwām*) 453, 716; *wane* (*hwanne*) 420, 451, etc., eleven times; *wanene* (*hwanan*) 1300; *wanne* (*hwanne*) 430, etc., five times; *war* (*hwār*) 526, etc., eight times; *ware* (*hwār*) 892, 1049; *awer* (*āghwār*) 1342; *ware* (*hwaeþer*) 151; *wareuore* (*hwār-*) 267, 268, 715; *warto* (*hwār-*) 464; *waþ* (*hwæt*) 635, 1075, 1298; *waþer* (*hwaeþer*) 1064; *wæþer* (pron.) 991; *wæþer* (conj.) 824, 1360; *wi* (*hwī*) 218, 268, etc.; *wider* (*hwider*) 724; *wile* (*hwīle*) 6, 199, 1020, 1141; *wile* (*hwīlum*) 202, 1016; *wo* (*hwā*) 113, 196, 528, 680; *won* (*hwanne*) 324; *wone* (*hwanne*) 327, 687, etc., five times; *wonne* (*hwanne*) 38; *wucche* (*hwylce*) 1319; *nowar* 1168; *un wate* 1148; *ei wat* 1056; *aiware* 216; *wei* (“*hwey*”) 1009. Cp. *hwitestu* under (1).—For comment on occurrence of *hw* in C only between 909–962 and 1195–1794, see my remarks on the two sets of spellings in each ms. (first noted by me, in 1900) in my edition pp. viii–ix, xvi, in my Notes 902, 962, 1184, and in *Anglia*, xxxiii, part ii, page 258. My error of 932 for 909 at page viii of my edition, and the consequent error in the last sentence of Note 932, are corrected in the reprint of my edition. —*wh* occurs only in the first spelling in C, and only in *whar* 64, *whi* 150, *whonene* 138, and *what* 60, 484. —On this group see Förster, *Engl. Stud.* xxxiii.

10 note 2; Luhmann, *Die Überlieferung von Lazamon's Brut*, p. 29.

(5) *u* dropped after initial *w* (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 601): *wrþ* 572, C 340, J 769–70, J 1158; *wrþe* 400, 846, 1173; *wrþ sipe* 1099 J 1288; C *wnder*, J *wndre* 852; C *wle* 406; C *wlle* 896; C *wlt* 499; C *wndri* 228; C *wnest* 589; C *wnienge* 614; C *wrchen* 408; C *wrs* 34; C *wrht*, J *wrþ* 548; J *fur wrþe* 573–5; J *vnwrþ* 770; J *winne* 1100; J *wrche* 722; J *wrs* 793; J *wrse* 303, 505; C *unwrþ* 339; *wrste* J 10, C 121; J *wrþful* 1481. Note omission of *e* in J *wre* 203; J *wreche* 1321; and also C *wse* 54 (rime-word *rise*), C *wte* 440 (rime-word *wite*).

(6) Avoidance of initial *y* sound (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 608, p. 163): C *ov* 114, 115, C *ow* 1683, 1686, 1688, 1697–8, C *eu* 1793, J *only eu*; C *ower* 1685–99, 1736, J *oure eur eure*. Note the interesting occurrence of *hunke* for *inc* and C *ze*, J *we* for *ze* or (?) *we* at 1733–4; but cp. J *eu* for *us* at 1747.—Against this group see Luhmann, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

(7) Glide-vowel inserted after *r*: C *careu* 1498; C *hareme areme* 1161–2; C *harem*, J *a tem* 1260; C *oreue* 1157; C *paref* 190; C *bareȝ*, J *bareh* 408; C *areȝ*, J *areh* 407; C *areȝþe*, J *arehþe* 404, 1716; J *pureh bureh* 765–6; C *eremi(n)g* 1111; C *moregeiinge*, J *moreweninge* 1718; J *amorewe* 432; J *sorewe* 431, 884; *narewe* 68, 377; *zarewe* 378; J *pureh* 447; J *iborewe* 883; cp. *mure(ȝ)(h)þe* 355, J 718, J 897, J 1402–48. Observe, however, the glide-vowel in (cf. Morsbach, *M. E. Gram.*, § 70, anm. 4) J *holeh* 1113; J *holeuh* 643; J *foleweþ* 307; J *folewi* 389; J *froueri* 535; C *aluered* 685; *abisemar* 148; *abise-mere* 1311; *steuene* C 727, 898, C 915–86, C 1655–82, C 1720; *lauedi* 959, 1569; *lauedies* 1338, 1519–63; J *leuedi* 1051.—Against this group see Luhmann, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

(8) Difficulty as to final guttural (O. E. *h*) (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 606): C *purh* 1401; C *purs* 823; C *purþ*, cf. my Notes 1256, 1405, 1428; J *pur* 1405; C *neþ* (? *ney*) for *neh* 1267; C *innop*, cf. my Note 1319.

(9) Difficulty as to *ht* (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, §§ 606, 727): C *nowt* (J *nouht*) 1391–5; C *now* or *non* for *noȝt* 1275; C *nout* 1426; C *nowt* 1470, 1620, 1740; C *noþ* 1011 (perhaps *noþ'* is

noþer); C *mist* 78 (rime-word *i digt*, cf. my Note), cp. C *mizst*, J *mist* 642 and my Note; C *mist*, J *myst* 1640; J *mist* 1113; J *maist* 353; J *towehte* 703. Cf. C orig. reading *miztest* for *nustest* and J *nustest* much like *mistest* (cf. MSS. Var. in my edition), 1300; C *nuzte*, J *mihte*, O. E. *nyton* 1751.

(10) Difficulty as to *ld*: C *chil* 1440, 1315 (J *chid*); C *golfinc* 1130; C *sele* for *selde* 943.

(12) Difficulty as to final *nd*: C *bi stant* 1438; C commonly *an* for *and*, cf. my Note, 1371. Cp. *long* for *lond* C 1031.

(13) Difficulty as to *ng*, *nk*: C *þing* 1694, C *þunþ* 1592, C *þungþ* 1473, C *þunch* 164, 951, C *þuncheþ* 1472—all for J *þinkþ*; J *gencheþ* < *gengeþ*; C *amon* 164; C *strenþe* 781, 1674; C *sprinþ* 1042; C *zunling* 1433. Cf. *long* for *lond* C 1031.

(14) *th* used for *t*: J *bigethe* 726; *theche* J 1334–47, 1449, C 1766 (cf. MSS. Var.): J *theþ* for *teþ* 1538.—Note *-t* > *-d* (cf. Skeat edit. *Proverbs*, § 12) after Anglo-Norman style: C *ad* 325 (cf. my Note); C *schald* 1572; *wod* 1190, C 1049; C *mod* 636; *guld* 1427; C *stard* 329; C *nard* 1138; *plaid* 1737; J *playd* 5.

(15) In unaccented syllables *ð* or *þ* > *-d* or *-t* (cf. Sweet, *H. E. S.*, § 754): *wit* 57, C 56, C 111, C 131, C 287, C 291, C 292, C 301, C 306, 863; C *wit ute* 183, 264, 863; in C especially in pl. and 3 sg. pr. of verbs, e. g., C *kumed* 683, 1246; C *singet* 196; C *fulied* 1239; C *sulied* 1240; *haued* C 119, C 167, J 1538; C *hawet* 113; C *schunet* 236; C *schuniet* 229; C *wened* 901; C *bi chermet* 279; C *bi gredet* 67; C *biledet* 68; C *segget* 98, 113, 127, 244, 290; C *hatiet* 230; C *totorued* 1119; C *quad* 117; C *god* 647; C *nabbed* 536; C *habbet* 651; C *to twichet* 1647. See my remarks in *Anglia* xxxiii, 264, 266.

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OLD SAXON KARM AND HRÔM: GENESIS 254, HELIAND 2459

The OS. *karm*, which was first pronounced by Braune (in his memorable *editio princeps* of the *Genesis*) a 'nonce word' in Germanic, has since

been properly connected¹ with the well-known OE. *cirm*, *cym* 'shout, clamor, cry' (verb *cirman*), by the side of which the form *cearm* is once found,² further with the M. Low Franc. verb *karmen*, *kermen*, Dutch *kermen* (see Franck, *Etym. Wb.*), N. Engl. archaic and dialectal *chirm*, verb and noun (in its latter function with the by-form *chram*, see *NED.*: *chirm*, *charm*, sb.³). But the meaning of *karm* in Gen. 254 *thō gihōrdun siæ fēgere karm | an allaro seliða gihwuen, sundiga liudi | firinuwerk fremmian* has not yet been settled. Braune and Heyne render it by 'Seufzen,' Behaghel by 'Jammern,' Holthausen by 'Klage'; Vetter translates: 'da hörten sie Sterbende ächzen,' Koegel: 'da hörten sie der Todgeweihten Jammern,' Symons: 'das Schreien oder Jammern der Todgeweihten,' Jellinek,³ followed by Piper: 'das wilde Toben der dem Tode Verfallenen.' None of these versions can be accepted as satisfactory. Even Jellinek, who very sensibly called attention to the parallel passage of the OE. *Genesis* 2406 ff., failed to make clear the interesting situation, possibly because he was one of those overzealous critics who—taking their cue from a recognized master—set out systematically to discover incongruities and obscurities in the newly found poem ("Wie verschwommen und unklar ist dagegen alles in dem as. Gedicht," l. c.). At any rate, although *fēgero karm* in l. 314 (so OE. Gen. 2546 *hlynn wearð on ccastrum, | cirm ār-lēasra cwealmes on ðre*, in the account of the destruction of Sodom and Gomorrah) clearly refers to the cries or lamentations of the doomed Sodomites, there is no connection in the previous passage (l. 254) between the noise made by the people and the fact of their being *fēgi*. They do not cry out because they are doomed to die; for they are entirely unaware of the impending fate. Holofernes, in the OE. *Judith*, is in a similar situation; he, together with his men, is *fēge—þeah ðæs se rīca ne wēnde*, 19 f., yet, in dramatic contrast with the approaching doom, they proceed to make an exhibition of uproarious revelry: *hlōh and hlydde, hlynede and dynede, | þæt mihten fīra*

¹ Cf. Sijmons, *Z. f. d. Ph.*, xxviii, 152; Holthausen, *Altsächsisches Elementarbuch*, § 297, n. 2.

² Wulfst. 186. 18 *se forhta cearm* (var. *cym*) and *þara folca wop*.

³ *Anz. f. d. A.*, xxi, 219.

bearn feorran gchýran, | hū se stǣmōða styrmde and gylede, | mōdig and medugāl . . . 23 ff. Thus, the Sodomites are found to carry on a tumultuous 'carnival' of wickedness, which is more fully described in the OE. Gen. 2406 ff.: *ic on þisse byrig bearhtm gehýre, | synnigra cyrn swiðe hlūdne, | ealogātra gylp, yfele spræce | werod under weallum habban*, and furthermore specified by contrasting it with the two other regular orders of sins ('opera,' 'cogitationes'): *ic wille fandigan nū . . . hwæt þā men dōn, | gif hīe swā swiðe synna fremmað | þearum and gefancum, swā hīe on þweorh sprecað . . . 2410 ff.*

The ultimate source of this peculiar conception is obviously the Bible verse, naively misunderstood and boldly elaborated, Gen. xviii, 20: *clamor* 'Sodomorum et Gomorrhæ multiplicatus est, et peccatum eorum aggravatum est nimis. (Also OE. Gen. 2410 ff. may be readily explained by Gen. xviii, 21.) There appears, however, in the OS. version another very noteworthy element which was presumably intended to furnish, in a measure, a psychological explanation of the boisterous behavior of the sinners; namely, their association with 'devils': *was thar fīundo gimang, uurēðaro wuihteo, thea an that wuam habdun | thea liudi fartēdid*, 256. (Similarly 154 f.: *habdun im sō uilu fīunda barn | wuammas gewūsid*.) They might well be called 'devil's disciples (or, servants)' and placed in the same class as the Mermedonians who in the OE. *Andreas* are credited with making *cirm micel*, l. 41 ff.: *þær was cirm micel | geond Mermedonia, mānfulra hlōð, | forðēnra gedræg, syþþan dēofles þegnas | geāscodon æðelinges sīð*; 138: *cirmdon caldheorte*. In other words, the sinners of Sodom show one of the characteristic traits of the devils. The evil spirits, e. g., who harass the saintly Gūðlāc, are represented as proceeding in this fashion: *þær cōm micel mænego þāra wērigra gāsta, and hīe eal þæt hūs mid heora cyrme gefyldon*, *Prose Life of Gūðlāc*, ed. Gonser, 5. 105; and *hīe wēron ondrysente on stefne* 5. 122 (= *vocibus horrisonis*, in

the original); and *hīe swā ungemetlice hrýmdon and fōran mid forhtlicum egesum and ungeþwærnessum, þæt hit þūhte, þæt hit eall betwcoh heofone and eorðan hlēoþrode þām egesticum stefnum* 5. 128 (= . . . *immensis vagitibus, clangisonis boatibus*, etc.)⁶ The same 'pandemonium' recurs in the poem of *Gūðlāc*, 866 ff., 233 ff. (e. g., 871 *wōðe hōfun, | hlūdne herecirm*, 877 *wōp āhōfun*, 880 *cirmdon*; 235 *cearfulra cirm, elcopedon monige | fēonda foresprecan, firenum gulpon*; cf. *ceargesta cirm*, 364). Another kind of a noisy occupation of devils was observed by Drihtelm when in his famous vision (Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, v, 12) he visited hell: *audio . . . sonitum immanissimi fletus ac miserrimi* [proceeding from human victims], *simul et cachinnum crepitantem* (= OE. Bed. 426. 29 *micel gehlād and ceahetunge*) *quasi uulgi indocti captis hostibus insultantis* [proceeding from a band of 'malign spirits'].⁷

Apart from this, the devils (in their misery of hell) are noted for the noise characterized by Milton as "other than the sound of dance or song, / Torment and loud lament, and furious rage," Par. L., viii, 243.⁸ Thus, the OE. poem of *The Fallen Angels* in the 'Christ and Satan' group is full of the wailings of the wretched host, see ll. 133 f., 280 f., 319 f., 333 f., 338 ff.; also Tempt. 52 = Cr. and Sat. 717: *hwilum hrēam āstāg*; Blickl. Hom. 87. 3 f., Gu. 1045 ff. In fact, this *hrēam* of the devils is considered one of the typical features of hell, as may be seen from Cynewulf's statements of contrast such as *swā helle hienþu swā heofones mēarþu . . . swā mid Dryhten drēam swā mid dēoflum hrēam*, Christ 591. Cf. Gen. 37 f., Gu. 607 f., Sal. and Sat. 464 ff.⁹

This noun *hrēam* 'clamor,' which appears more or less synonymous with *wōp* in a number of passages,¹⁰ has not been traced so far in the Old Saxon.

⁶ Similar is the experience of St. Antonius, see Roskoff, *Geschichte des Teufels*, I, 278.

⁷ Perhaps such shouting was meant by Chaucer in *The Nonne Preestes Tale*, B 4579: *they yelleden as feendes doon in helle*.

⁸ Aen. vi, 557 *hinc exaudiri genitus . . .*

⁹ Among the terrors of the day of judgment is mentioned *helwara hrēam*, Wulfst. 186. 7; cf. Crist 997: *ðær bið cirm ond cearu . . . gehrēow ond hlūd wōp . . .*

¹⁰ So Blickl. Hom. 61. 36 *wōp and hrēam*, 115. 15 *hrēam and wōp*; also *hrýman*: Ælfr., Hom. II, 454. 10 *hrýmdon þærrihte wēpende*, Blickl. Hom. 249. 1 (*Legend of St. Andrew*) *wēpende and hrýmende*.

⁴ Ælfrie as well as Ælfred (Cur. P. 427. 33) translate *clamor* by *hrēam*.

⁵ This remarkably concrete feature calls to mind the scene in which Adam, after the fall, seems to realize the presence (or, nearness) of hell: *nu maht thu sear this swarton hell | ginon grādaga, nu thu sia grimman maht | hinana gihōrean*, OS. Gen. 2, OE. Gen. 792.

But I submit whether it is not perhaps to be recognized in Hel. 2459 (2457 ff.): *endi he it an thea uirson hand, | undar fūndo solc fard gekiusid, | an Godes unuwillen endi an gramono hrōm | endi an fures farm.* It is quite possible, indeed, that *an gramono hrōm* means 'zum Frohlocken der Teufel' (Piper), but in view of such passages as Crist 591 ff., the identification of this *hrōm* and OE. *hrēam* seems to me worth considering. Certainly, the interpretation: 'his lot will be with the fiends; there is in store for him God's displeasure, wailing of fiends, torment of fire,' is entirely natural.

If this view be accepted, the noun *hrōm* 'cry' (with *ō* from Gmc. *au*) is, of course, to be separated from *hrōm*¹¹ 'gloria,' 'gloriatio' ('Ruhm'). It should be mentioned that the latter, together with its derivatives, is nearly always spelt in the Cottonian MS. with *uo*, so *hruom* 1562, 5040, 5111, *hruomig* 945, 4926, *hruomian* 5043, 5046, whereas in l. 2459 both MSS. show the *o*,—but, unfortunately enough, the form *hrōm* ('gloria') appears also in C. 1572.

In a number of Ags. dictionaries and glossaries a peculiar uncertainty or confusion is met with concerning the relation between *hrēam* (and the derived verb *hrȳman*) and *hrēman*, *hrēmig* (OS. *hr(u)omian*, *hr(u)omig*). There would be no semasiological difficulty in deriving the meaning of 'boast' from that of 'cry.' But, as a matter of fact, the two sets are strictly kept apart both in form and meaning.¹² The verb *hrȳman* (sometimes *hrīman*) 'cry out,' occurs, of course, in the form *hrēman* in Anglian texts (also Cur. Past. 429. 1, see Cosijn, *Altwests. Gram.*, I, § 97; Bülbring, § 183, n.), but the *ē* in *hrēman* 'gloriarī,' *hrēmig* 'exultans,' 'glorīabundus' is quite stable.¹³ The only exception cited in dictionaries is from Brun. 59, where the Parker MS. reads *hramige* with *e* above the line, i. e., as Zupitza remarks, "*e* über getilgtem *a*." Besides, the

OS. and OHG. forms with *ō*, *uo* are an inseparable bar to connecting *hrēam*¹⁴ and *hrēman* 'gloriarī.' We cannot escape the conclusion that there existed two entirely distinct sets: 1) OE. *hrēam* (OS. *hrōm*, Hel. 2459?), ME. *ream*, *ræm*, *rem* (see Stratmann-Bradley); OE. *hrȳman* (*hrēman*), ME. *remen*, NE. dial. *ream* (see *Engl. Dial. Dict.*). 2) OS. *hrōm*, *hruom*, OHG. *hruom* (OE. **hrōm* lost); OE. *hrēman*, OS. *hrōmian*, *hruomian*, OHG. *hruomian*; OE. *hrēmig*, OS. *hrōmag*, *hruomig*, OHG. *hruomac*, *ruomig*. It should be added that while OE. *hrēam* occurs in prose and poetry, and *hrȳman* in prose exclusively, OE. *hrēman* and *hrēmig* are never found outside of poetical texts. This might point to a certain archaic flavor of the latter group in OE. and furnish a possible explanation of the early disappearance of the noun *hrōm*.

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INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON FLAUBERT BEFORE 1851

Even in Flaubert's youth his writings¹ direct the reader's attention to the two sides of his nature: overflowing romanticism and the power of observation. Both of these are evident in *Novembre* (1842), though, as is to be expected from the date, the second trait is more apparent here than in the other works of the period, until the first *Education sentimentale* (1845). Many influences operated to develop these two characteristics—heredity, surroundings, readings, intimate friendships, personal experiences. These have been examined in detail by M. René Descharmes.² It is my purpose to consider only a particular case, which appears to be closely associated with the process by which Flaubert, the violent romantic, became the realist of a later day. This particular case is concerned with his readings

¹¹ Very likely Wadstein is right in rendering *hrōm* = *verba* (Aen. xi, 688), Oxf. Verg. Gl. (Wadstein, p. 114) by 'Ruhmredigkeit.'

¹² In *gehpum hrēmig*, Red. d. Seel. 9 (which is perhaps modeled after the well-known *blissum hrēmig*), the sense of 'exultant,' 'elated' seems to have passed into the general meaning of 'moved,' 'agitated.'

¹³ The spelling *sighramig* in the Kentish Hymn (Gr.-Wü. II, 226), l. 30, is irrelevant.

¹⁴ On the etymology of *hrēam* see Noreen, *Urgerm. Lautlehre*, p. 68; Francis A. Wood, *Color Names*, p. 116.

¹ *Œuvres de Jeunesse inédites*, I, II, III [appendice aux œuvres complètes de Gustave Flaubert]. L. Conard, Paris, 1910. All references are to this edition.

² *Flaubert, sa vie, son caractère et ses idées avant 1857*. Paris, 1909.

in English literature, traces of which abound in the letters and other writings of the period.

In 1839 (*Corr.*, I, p. 30) he writes that he is learning English in order to read Shakespeare and Byron. All the evidence, however, indicates that he made use of translations.³ Be that as it may, he carried out the important part of his purpose: he read Shakespeare and Byron.⁴ The letters show that the works of these authors were in his hands, or thoughts of them in his mind, at frequent intervals. Of Shakespeare this is especially true in 1845, 1846 (*Corr.*, I, pp. 170, 171, 187, 250, 257, 269, 459), though he read *Othello* in 1835, at the age of fourteen. Allusions to Byron begin in 1837 and occur oftenest in 1845 when he is on Childe Harold's traces in Switzerland, but it is only in 1847 that we find references which indicate that he is reading specific poems.

The correspondence and the *Œuvres de Jeunesse* together inform us that of specific works by Shakespeare he read *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Timon of Athens*, a play containing Falstaff, *As You Like It* (cp. the parallel of the seven stages of love, *Œ. de J.*, I, p. 521, with the seven ages of man, act II, scene 7), *King Lear* (cf. the scene between the king and his fool, *Loys XI*, *Œ. de J.*, I, pp. 305-311, with several scenes in *Lear*; e. g. act III, scene 6). For Byron the list consists of *Cain*, *Sardanapalus*, *Childe Harold*, *The Giaour*, *Darkness* (cf. the parallelism pointed out by Estève,⁵ with a passage from *Mémoires d'un fou*, *Œ.*

³ "La platitude de la traduction française" (*Œ. de J.*, I, p. 496) occurs in a reference to the hero's love for Byron; a quotation from *Romeo and Juliet* (*ibid.*, p. 241) is in French and suggests by the scene number a different arrangement from the English version; a reference to a Shakespearian passage (*Corr.*, I, p. 170) is either inexact or is based on a much altered text.

⁴ Scott is mentioned once in the letters (I, p. 20), Gibbon twice (I, p. 259; II, p. 65). From the fondness for the historical tale, evident in Flaubert's choice of subjects in *Œ. de J.*, I, and from his selection of the king's visit to Péronne as the groundwork of *Loys XI* (*Œ. de J.*, I, p. 276), an event that figures largely in *Quentin Durward*, an acquaintance with the Waverley novels is not unlikely. It is uncertain whether he knew Gibbon first hand. One reference—to the final chapter of the History—quotes in exactly the number of years the historian devoted to this task; the other might be a souvenir of *Childe Harold* (Canto III, st. 107). Sterne is referred to once (*Œ. de J.*, II, p. 147); Robertson once (*Corr.*, I, p. 49).

⁵ *Byron et le romantisme français*, p. 282.

de J., I, p. 498), *Manfred*. The letters of 1846, however, indicate consecutive and repeated readings of Shakespeare, and there are allusions—the reference when passing Abydos in 1850, for example—that suggest familiarity with other works of Byron.⁶

The Byronic traces in the youthful literary work of Flaubert have been pointed out by Estève and Descharmes. I should like to add the evident souvenir of *Manfred* in *Rêve d'Enfer* (*Œ. de J.*, I, p. 162.).

There is much of the *Faust* of Goethe here, too, but the conflict between the soul and the demon as outlined in the story of duke Arthur, as well as the description of his appearance and the external setting of the events, suggests stronger kinship with Byron than with Goethe.

The earliest mentions of the two English poets in the letters furnish no indication of the youthful reader's conception of them, except that in 1838 he praises Byron's hostile attitude toward society (*Œ. de J.*, I, p. 28), and in 1839 (I, p. 49) he finds more truth in Shakespeare than in history. His conception of Byron, both as man and as poet can, however, be ascertained from the *Œuvres de Jeunesse*. A *Portrait de Byron* (I, p. 25), written before 1836, shows us the man as pictured by his fifteen-year-old reader, and passages from *Mémoires d'un fou* and the *Étude sur Rabelais*, both written in 1838—a year that seems to mark the crisis of the purely romantic, purely personal side of Flaubert—give his view of the poet. The first of these passages is tracing the hero's development:

"Je me nourris donc de cette poésie âpre du Nord, qui retentit si bien comme les vagues de la mer dans les œuvres de Byron. Souvent j'en retenais à la première lecture des fragments entiers et je me les répétais à moi-même, comme une chanson qui vous a charmé et dont la mélodie vous poursuit toujours . . . Ce caractère de passion brûlante, joint à une si profonde ironie devait

⁶ One is surprised to find few or no traces of Byron's *Don Juan*. This character is mentioned several times, but merely as a type of the libertine, as is Lovelace. The *Nuit de Don Juan* mentioned by Maupassant in his study of Flaubert (ed. Quantin) is now accessible in the appendix to *Œ. de J.*, III. It is a sketch for a tale composed in 1851 (*Corr.*, II, p. 62). Nothing in it suggests the *Don Juan* of Byron.

agir fortement sur une nature ardente et vierge. Tous ces échos inconnus à la somptueuse dignité des littératures classiques avaient pour moi un parfum de nouveauté, un attrait qui m'attirait sans cesse vers cette poésie géante, qui vous donne le vertige et vous fait tomber dans le gouffre de l'infini." (*Œ. de J.*, I, p. 496.)

In the second passage the writer is following the evolution of literary art :

"Ailleurs, dans les sociétés vieillies . . . quand le doute a gagné tous les cœurs et que toutes les belles choses rêvées . . . sont tombées feuille à feuille . . . que fait le poète ? Il se recueille en lui-même ; il a de sublimes élans d'orgueil et des moments de poignant désespoir ; il chante toutes les agonies du cœur et tous les néants de la pensée. Alors, toutes les douleurs qui l'entourent . . . résonnent dans son âme que Dieu a faite vaste, sonore, immense, et en sortent par la voie du génie pour marquer éternellement dans l'histoire la place d'une société, d'une époque, pour écrire ses larmes, pour ciseler la mémoire de ses infortunes—de nos jours c'est Byron." (*Œ. de J.*, II, p. 147.)

The following year (1839) in a mention of Byron, close on the heels of the quotations just given, there is a new note :

"Sais tu, que la jeune génération des écoles est fièrement bête ! autrefois elle avait de l'esprit ; elle s'occupait de femmes, de coups d'épée, d'orgies ; maintenant elle se drape sur Byron, rêve de désespoir et se cadennasse le cœur à plaisir. C'est à qui aura le visage le plus pâle et dira le mieux je suis blasé, blasé." (*Corr.*, I, p. 48.)

The change of attitude toward Byron is more marked when in 1845 he contrasts Shakespeare's calm with Byron's sensibility, and a letter of 1846 throws in still clearer relief the fact that his artistic ideals are no longer in sympathy with Byron but lean strongly toward Shakespeare as he sees him :

"Car il y a deux classes de poètes ; les plus grands, les rares, les vrais maîtres résument l'humanité, sans se préoccuper ni d'eux mêmes, ni de leurs propres passions ; mettant au rebut leur personnalité pour s'absorber dans celle des autres, ils reproduisent l'univers qui se reflète dans leurs œuvres . . . ; il y en a d'autres qui n'ont qu'à créer pour être harmonieux, qu'à pleurer pour attendrir et qu'à s'occuper d'eux-mêmes pour rester éternels . . . Byron était de cette famille ; Shakespeare de l'autre, qu'est ce qui me dira en effet ce que Shakespeare a aimé, ce qu'il a trahi,

ce qu'il a senti ? C'est un colosse qui épouvante ; on a peine à croire que c'est un homme."

Speaking of types of poetic aspiration, he adds :

"d'autres fois on a la vanité de croire qu'il suffit, comme Montaigne et Byron, de dire ce que l'on pense et ce que l'on sent pour créer de belles choses." (*Corr.*, I, p. 269.)

In chapter XXVII of the *Éducation sentimentale* of 1845 (*Œ. de J.*, III), the whole of which is important for the development of Flaubert's mature theory of art, he himself brings out clearly what his literary conception of the romantic school had been and the process by which the change in it was wrought.

It is the inner history of Jules—that is, of the author himself—after his abortive first love, when with riper judgment he turns to consider the world about him, that is exposed in the following passages :

"Le monde étant devenu pour lui si large à contempler, il vit qu'il n'y avait, quant à l'art, rien en dehors de ses limites, ni réalité ni possibilité d'être. C'est pourquoi le fantastique qui semblait autrefois un si vaste royaume du continent poétique, ne lui en apparut plus que comme une province . . . D'abord il (the supernatural) éclate dans l'Inde . . . ; il s'humanise dans la Grèce, passe dans l'art romain . . . , devient terrible au moyen âge, grotesque à la Renaissance et se mêle enfin au vertige de la pensée dans les âmes de Faust et de Manfred . . . Redevenu calme, l'homme ne se comprend plus lui-même : son propre esprit lui fait peur et il s'épouvante de ses rêves, il se demande pourquoi il a créé des djinns, des vampires ; où est-ce qu'il voulait aller sur le dos des griffons, dans quelle fièvre de la chair il a mis des ailes au phallus et dans quelle heure d'angoisse il a rêvé l'enfer . . . Alors il s'éprit d'un immense amour pour ces quelques hommes au-dessus des plus grands, plus forts que les plus forts, chez lesquels l'infini s'est miré comme se mire le ciel dans la mer . . . Ils auraient pu conter leurs douleurs au monde et l'amuser du spectacle de leur cœur ; mais non ! ils accomplissaient leur tâche avec une obstination divine . . . Homère et Shakespeare ont compris dans leur cercle l'humanité et la nature. Tout l'homme ancien est dans le premier, l'homme moderne dans le second . . . Mais ce qui le charmait surtout chez ces pères de l'art c'est la réunion de la passion et de la combinaison ; les poètes les plus exclusifs, les plus personnels ont eu moins de chaleur, de vitalité et même de naïveté dans l'exposition du seul sentiment qui faisait leur grandeur que ceux-

là n'en ont montré dans les sentiments variés qu'ils ont reproduits . . . Il conclut de là que l'inspiration ne doit relever que d'elle seule, que les excitations extérieures trop souvent l'affaiblissent ou la dénaturent—qu'ainsi il faut être à jeun pour chanter la bouteille et nullement en colère pour peindre les fureurs d'Ajax." (*Œ. de J.*, III, pp. 263, 265, 266, 267, *passim*.)

Can a man state more clearly in the form of fiction what have been and what are his theories of literary art? Here while still appreciating their rôle in the evolution of art, he explains why he parted company with the fantastic, the supernatural, the grotesque—of which Manfred is cited as a type—that riots in *Smarh*, in *Rêve d'Enfer*, in *Quidquid Volueris*. Here he reveals the kind of sources to which he turned for inspiration when those of an early day no longer satisfied. Here he declares what trait it was of the men to whom he turned that did satisfy the need of his nature in its evolution. What is still more, he names here the poets in whose works he found that objectivity, that universality which alone now commanded his adherence and his deepest admiration. This is stated very precisely by another passage in this same chapter :

"Donc il s'adonna à l'étude d'ouvrages offrant des caractères différents du sien, une manière de sentir écarté de la sienne . . . Ce qu'il aimait à trouver c'était le développement d'une personnalité féconde, l'expansion d'un sentiment puissant . . . Or il se dit que cette façon toute subjective, si grandiose parfois, pourrait bien être fausse parce qu'elle est monotone, étroite, parce qu'elle est incomplète, et il rechercha aussitôt la variété des tons, la multiplicité des lignes et des formes, leur différence de détail, leur harmonie d'ensemble." (*Œ. de J.*, III, p. 256.)

How Byron's figure grew dimmer among Flaubert's literary divinities and how Shakespeare came to take a high place in the temple is manifest in these passages, but the reader wonders how it was that even in the author's extreme youth, when Byron and other writers of the type dominated his literary expression, the taste for Shakespeare also manifested itself. Two reasons present themselves. The first is that a great enthusiasm for the drama and for history, manifest from the first writings of the young Flaubert, both in his earliest letters and in various historical tales

now accessible in Conard's edition, predisposed him to a fondness for the English dramatist. The other and possibly more important is that at first he read Shakespeare as one of the great romantics. He must have found in *Othello* the passion, the glimpses of strange lands and unfamiliar life, the scenes of horror and death that fascinated him at that period ; *Hamlet* and *Romeo and Juliet* were among "les ouvrages les plus brûlants" read by the hero of *Mémoires d'un fou* (1838). Later, when his own nature began to assert itself more vigorously, he found himself hampered, constrained; by the personality of the poet himself ever present in Byron's poetry. Flaubert was by temperament too individual, too self-assertive to endure this. He began to meditate more deeply on the men from whose works he had drawn inspiration ; he began to see in Shakespeare that impassibility, that impersonality which became his own artistic ideal even before the genesis of *Mme. Bovary*. The decline of Byron and the rise of Shakespeare in his esteem do not form of course the whole cause why Flaubert the romantic became Flaubert the realist, but they do act as index fingers in the process, and are thus not without interest.

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TWO PARALLELS TO GREENE AND LODGE'S *LOOKING-GLASS*

A Looking-Glass for London and England, a play published in 1594 with the names of Thomas Lodge and Robert Greene on its title page, and mentioned by Henslowe in 1591, has occasioned much discussion as to its date of composition and the authorship of particular scenes. In the most recent edition of Greene's plays, that of Professor T. H. Dickinson in the Mermaid Series, the arguments of the late Churton Collins for dating the play as late as 1590 are scouted, but Mr. Dickinson follows the order of plays as given by Collins, placing the *Looking-Glass* before *Orlando Furioso*, which is certainly one of Greene's earliest and crudest dramas. Indeed, Professor Dickinson leans to the opinion expressed by Professor Gay-

ley that the *Looking-Glass* was presented on the stage "appreciably before March 29, 1588,"¹ when Greene's *Perimedes* was licensed, though he fails to accept Professor Gayley's interpretation of the words used in *Perimedes*. My own opinion is that the *Looking-Glass* must be dated after Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*, i. e., between 1589 and 1591. In this connection I wish to point out two seemingly unnoted parallels to passages in the comic scenes of the *Looking-Glass*, both of which parallels point to a late composition.

In Act IV, Scene 4,² "one clad in Devil's attire," in order to frighten Adam, the clown of the play, comes upon him and declares himself the spirit of a man slain in Adam's company shortly before. He then proposes to carry the clown on his back to hell. But Adam keeps his wits admirably, even offering his offices as a smith to shoe the spirit. Thus taking the devil off his guard, he is able to cudgel him soundly, and the devil runs off the stage shouting, "Thou killest me, thou killest me!"

Adam's comment, the final speech of the scene, is close akin in words and spirit to a speech of the Clown in the *Faustus*, Scene 4, where Wagner has threatened to call up two devils and fetch this clown away. The two speeches follow:

Looking-Glass

"Adam. Then may I count myself, I think, a tall man, that am able to kill a devil. Now who dare deal with me in the parish? or what wench in Nineveh will not love me, when they say, 'There goes he that beat the devil?'"

Dr. Faustus

(ed. Gollancz, Temple Dramatists, p. 17):

"Clown. Let your Balio and your Belcher come here, and I'll knock them, they were never so knocked since they were devils: say I should kill one of them, what would folks say? 'Do ye see yonder tall fellow in the round slop? he has killed the devil.' So I should be called Kill-devil all the parish over.

Enter two Devils; and the Clown runs up and down crying."

¹ *Representative English Comedies*, p. 406. Cf. Dickinson, p. li, n.

² Ed. Dickinson, p. 141. Cf. Collins, *Plays and Poems of Greene*, i, 193.

The *Looking-Glass* scene bears Greene's earmarks, and if there is any borrowing here, it is much more in accord with what we know of the two men to believe that Greene was the imitator rather than Marlowe.³ Indeed, as Collins suggests, Rasni of the *Looking-Glass* may well be modelled on Tamburlaine, and "it is difficult not to suppose" that Act V, Scene 2, is a reminiscence of the final scene in the *Faustus*.⁴

Now for the second parallel. The last time Adam appears, Act V, Scene 4, a fast has been proclaimed throughout Nineveh as a result of Jonah's preaching, and the King has sent out "searchers" to see that none break the fast. However, Adam declares, "I could prettily so-so away with praying; but for fasting, why, 'tis so contrary to my nature, that I would rather suffer a short hanging than a long fasting." Then he adds, "And yet, in faith, I need not find fault with the proclamation, for I have a buttery and a pantry and a kitchen about me." From the pockets of his slops, or wide breeches, he draws bread, beef, and a bottle of beer, with which he will "make shift to wear out this fasting."

At that moment two searchers enter, and Adam conceals the contraband articles. One searcher declares the fast to be observed faithfully by the whole city; the other one spies Adam. "Here sits one, methinks, at his prayers; let us see who it is." They recognize him, and he requests, "Trouble me not; 'thou shalt take no manner of food, but fast and pray.'" The First Searcher observes, "How devoutly he sits at his orisons!" But just then a suspicious odor is caught. Despite Adam's protest that he be not hindered of his prayer, they search him and find the food and drink. He is threatened with hanging, but bears this with equanimity on learning that there are five more days to fast. Yet he will not be hanged, he announces, with an empty stomach, and so he proceeds to eat up his meat. And the searchers take him away.

Now what seems to me to have been the prob-

³ Of course, another possibility is that Marlowe did not compose the *Faustus* scene, but the discussion of that question would take us far afield.

⁴ Collins, *op. cit.*, i, 139. It is proper to state that I discovered this remark of Collins after most of my paper was written. But it only strengthens my case.

able inspiration of this scene is an episode related in *The Famous Historie of Fryer Bacon*, the acknowledged source of another of Greene's dramas, the *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay*. But this particular incident is not used by Greene in that play. It is entitled, *How Fryer Bacon deceived his Man, that would fast for his conscience sake*, and reads as follows⁵:

"Fryer Bacon had one onely man to attend on him and he too was none of the wisest, for he kept him in charity, more then for any service he had of him. This man of his (named Miles) never could indure to fast as other religious persons did, for alwayes hee had in one corner, or another, flesh which hee would eate when his maister eat bread only, or else did fast and abstaine from all things. Fryer Bacon seeing this, thought at one time or other to be even with him, which he did one Fryday in this manner. Miles on the Thursday night had provided a great blacke-pudding for his Frydayes fast: this pudding put he in his pocket (thinking belike to heate it so, for his maister had no fire on those dayes) on the next day, who was so demure as Miles, hee looked as though hee would not have eat any thing: when his maister offerd him some bread, hee refused it, saying his sinnes deserved a greater penance then one dayes fast in a whole weeke: his maister commended him for it, and bid him take heed that he did not dissemble: for if he did, it would at last be knowne; then were I worse then a Turke said Miles: so went he forth as if he would have gone to pray privately, but it was for nothing but to prey upon his blacke pudding; that pulled he out (for it was halfe roasted with the heate) and fell to it lustily; but he was deceived, for having put one end in his mouth, he could neither get it out againe nor bite it off, so that hee stamped out for helpe: his maister hearing him, came; and finding him in that manner, tooke hold of the other end of the pudding, and led him to the hall, and shewed him to all the schollers, saying: see here my good friends and fellow students what a devout man my servant Miles is, he loveth not to break a fast day, wnesse this pudding that his conscience will not let him swallow: I will have him to be an example for you all, then tyed hee him to a window by the end of the pudding, where poore Miles stood like a beare tyed by the nose to a stake, and indured many floutes and mockes: at night his maister released him from his penance; Miles was glad of it, and did vow never to breake more fast dayes whilst that he lived."

⁵ The text followed is that of the reprint of the "Historie" in Thoms's *Early English Prose Romances*, Revised edition, Early Novelists Series, pp. 291-2.

The resemblances between these two accounts seem to me more than conventional. The specific allusions to the clown's devoutness and his pretended prayers in each case; his place of concealment, referred to by one writer as a kitchen, by the other as a place of heat; the similarity of characters and situations, though the localization and the *dénouement* of necessity differ—all these will be noted. But the strongest argument that Greene knew this story when he wrote his scene is that he used the same book as the source of another play.

No one now doubts that the *Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay* was composed soon after the appearance on the stage of *Dr. Faustus* and under the influence of that popular tragedy. Professor Dickinson expresses agreement with Collins that "the presumption in favor of *Faustus* having preceded Greene's play is so overwhelmingly strong that we cannot suppose that Marlowe borrowed from Greene."⁶ That Greene composed the two scenes in *The Looking-Glass* not far from the time that he wrote *Friar Bacon* is the conclusion I would draw from the parallels cited.

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La Mule sanz Frain. An Arthurian Romance by Paiens de Maisieres, edited with Introduction, Notes and Glossary by RAYMOND THOMPSON HILL. Yale University Dissertation. Baltimore, J. H. Furst Co., 1911. 69 pp.

The episodic poem of the *Mule sans Frein*, which Mr. W. P. Ker has recently described as "one of the best of the shorter [Arthurian] stories,"¹ is a tale whose main object is to express a boundless admiration for the prowess of My Lord Gawain. The seneschal Kai is the first to attempt the quest of the missing bridle, but his failure is almost too abject to

⁶ Dickinson, p. xxxviii.

¹ *The Cambridge History of English Literature* I, p. 380.

have the full force intended. Gawain, moved by courtesy to the damsel, affronts successfully all the perils of the quest, exhibiting thruout an incredible indifference to danger. As a crowning hardihood, with his head upon the block and the ax about to fall, Gawain utters a careless jest about the shortness of his neck.

The author, Paiens de Mézières, is otherwise unknown. I may remark that there are some indications of clerical connection on his part: he points out the *senefiance* of some incidents (370, 1015), he puns on the name of St. Pantélion (666), and quotes a biblical phrase almost *verbatim* (1032-3): *illuminare his qui in tenebris sedent* (Luke I, 79). It is perhaps significant in the same direction that the full reward promised Kai by the damsel (107), if it is claimed at all by Gawain (there are hints at 1083-4), is not only not dwelt upon by the poet, but is finally left in uncertainty.

All students of the "matter of Britain" will welcome Mr. Hill's new edition of the text, which rests upon his own copy of the Berne manuscript; he has studied separately the language of the author and that of the copyist, and adds a complete glossary. As to the home of the author, Mézières in the Ardennes seems to Mr. Hill to lie too far to the north; he inclines to a Maisières "situated near the western boundary of the department of Aube." The problem is interesting and important, and deserves a careful examination. The presumption is, of course, that the place meant would be the most important town of that name. Is Mézières (Ardennes) certainly excluded?

While the linguistic evidence is scanty, we have three peculiar rimes; namely, *puet: vuet* *VOLET 491; *forest: recet* 360; *dame: jame* (Fr. *jambe*) 151. As to the first of these rimes,² we find with the aid of Haas, *Zur Geschichte des L vor folgenden consonanten*, 1889, that the extrusion of *l* in *vuelt*, *suilt*, *duels*, *muelt*, *uelt*, is not proper to Picardy (*vieut*), nor to Francian (*veut*), nor to the Orléanais or southern Champagne (*viant*); it is found in the Walloon region, and to some

extent in Lorraine and Franche Comté. The contemporary *Poème morale*, from the region of Liège, has the rime *puet: vuet* (str. 78, 336, 436) as has also the later *Richart le Bel* (1461, 2847; 4133) which Foerster ascribes to the department of the Ardennes. As to rimes of the second type, they also are frequent in *Richart le Bel*, and in the closely related *Blancandin*; the latter poem in fact has this identical rime and spelling, *forest: recest* 5987 (see Foerster's *Introd.* p. xii); so in *Richart*, *voit: conoist*, *fait: plaist*, etc. As to the collateral form *jame*, G. Paris long ago declared that it is not Francian (*Romania* XIII, 445). Its appearance in Chrestien de Troyes, Rustebuef and E. Deschamps (VIII, 114) would at first sight seem to localize it in Champagne, but the *Atlas linguistique* reveals the fact that the pronunciation *jam* (and *jem*) is most frequent in the extreme north (Pas-de-Calais, Somme); there are also localities in Aisne and Marne which have preserved *jame* for *jambe* (see for example, the text from the neighborhood of Sainte-Ménéhould reprinted by Herzog, *Neuf-französische Dialekttexte*, p. 12: *si vos jammes s'an allont, la m'moire è toujou bonne*.)

Mr. Hill relies somewhat upon the supposed non-reduction of *-iée* to *-ie*, but this is by no means proven by the rime at 307. The Francian features of the language are to be explained as an effort to use the idiom of the courts, a custom which appears as early as the end of the twelfth century, according to P. Meyer, *Roman de l'Escoufle*, *Introd.* p. xlv. Not as an argument but as a matter of interest I note that *Blancandin*, written in the Ardennes region, is a hero copied after Gawain; also that the *vallée envenimée* traversed by the knights in their quest reminds one strongly of the desert of Ardennes as described in *Partonopeus de Blois*, 5831 ff.

As is well known, the texts as written by the copyist of the Berne manuscript, who was apparently a Champenois,³ are not very trustworthy; when all is said, not a few passages

² The rime *muet: suet* 441 does not count here, for *muet* is Lat. *MOLIT*, not *MOVET*, and the glossary should be corrected. Cp. *melt* in *Diu Krône*, 12965.

³ Tarbé, *Patois de Champagne*, I, p. lxxiii, states that the county of Rethel (S. W. of Mézières) was once a dependency of the counts of Champagne. Has the fact any importance in this connection?

must remain more or less unsatisfactory. I make the following suggestions toward the improvement of the text.

2 *puis*, read *plus*. The confusion is frequent because the abbreviation for Lat. *post* and Fr. *plus* differed chiefly in the presence of *l* in the latter.—7 *E chose*, and no comma.—78 *n'aurai* instead of the usual *n'avrai* is ultra-conservative, while on the other hand *r'auroie* (82) is an innovation that few will approve (why not then *r'estoient* 26, *r'atorner* 387?)—178 the line is too long; omit *il*.—232 remove the period.—300, 656 The hiatus is not indicated nor is mention made of these cases in the section on versification.—335 *que li*, or *qu'il li*, seems called for.—362 Ms. *vet*, but *vont* is required.—438 *G. ne vost mie laissier*. The line is evidently corrupt. Perhaps:

Gauvains ne voit mie d'uiissier,
Ne huis ne porte n'i avoit.

483 Correct to *veignanz* and *lanz*.—509 The author's rime was very probably *fus*: *Marciaus MARCELLUS*.—518 *aprestez* is no doubt an error for *arestez*.—524 The correction to *hardiz* is possible, even tho this construction is usually restricted to reflexive verbs. Parallels in Provençal are given by Stimming, *Bertran de Born*, p. 230—532 *esmaies*. The note is uncalled for, as this is not a subjunctive.—559 *enz en*.—573 *mon bon oste* is possibly an error of the ms. for *mou(t) bon oste*.—584 *renderai*, defended by Mr. Hill, is very doubtful in view of *rendrai* 533, *prendrai* 571.—599 *L'endemain*.—623 *Lesse col venir a plenté*. Here *Lesse* is either *Lai ce*, or else it stands for *Lessel* = *Laisse le*; *venir* to me has less point than *veoir* or *veïr*, the latter quite admissible from the point of view of dialect. In *Diu Krône* there is unfortunately nothing corresponding to Gawain's jest.—649 This line need not be divided from the preceding.—688-9 present an interesting problem:

Certes qui o lui se combat
D'escremir li convient savoir.

One would expect either *savoir escremir*, as Oxford *Folie Tristan* 516, or else *savoir d'escremie*, as *Erec* 933, *Yvain* 5621; with the

latter construction we may compare *Dolopathos*, p. 235: *Qui ambler vult autrui avoir, De barat li covient savoir*. I am inclined to believe the original reading was:

Certes cui o lui se combat
D'escremie covient savoir,

where *cui* is attracted into the oblique case by being made the object of the principal clause; cp. *plaisent cui ne s'en appresse*, Rose 19508, and other examples cited by Tobler, *Beiträge*, I, p. 202 top.—702 for *Cil li a* read *Si li a*, and cp. the opposite confusion in the Berne *Folie Tristan* 326, as corrected by Tobler.—711 The lion

li revient comme tempeste
Si lo refiert parmi la teste
De sa coe. . . .

So in *Diu Krône* 13262: *Und sluoc in vorn mit dem zagel*. A dragon might properly fight with his tail, but would a lion? Did the archetype have *poe* instead of *coe*? The second lion, a few lines below, strikes with his claws as we should expect.—765 The knight's words end with this line; what follows belongs to Gawain:

Des qu'autrement estre ne puet,
Ja, ce dit, nel contredira.

800 *foudre*. Godefroy's explanation adopted by Mr. Hill is hardly admissible: read *fautre* as the rime requires, and for a possible explanation of *tot sanz fautre* see the passage quoted in *Modern Philology* I, p. 395.—820 The *quil a* of the ms. is to be taken as *qu'il l'a*, *detrrier* being transitive.—826 *Et lo vassal, a lui lou serre*. *Lou* in apposition with *lo vassal*, says Mr. Hill, but it would be hard to parallel so awkward a sentence. Has an initial abbreviation been solved incorrectly? Probably we should read

Par lo nasal a lui lo serre.

Cp. *Le roi a pris par le nasal* (: *cheval*) *Richart le Bel* 4933, and numerous other parallels.—836 The idiom *monter a pris*, which occurs here, is similar to the expressions *avoir a pris*, *prendre a pris*, O. Sp. *haber a maraviglia* (ML III, §404). I take this opportunity to suggest

a correction in the first line of the charming lyric printed by Mr. Hill, *Modern Language Notes* XXVI, 39: instead of *Apris ai qu'en chantant plour*, read

A pris ai qu'en chantant plour

that is, 'I consider it a virtue that,' etc. Cp. *Jouffrois* 1827: *Car n'ai pas cest siegle a pris*, 'for I have no high opinion of this world.' So no doubt *Perceval*, Baist's text 3296, should be similarly corrected:

De tot ce se mervoile trop
Li vaslez, qui ne l'ot a pris,
E li prodom li dist: "Amis. . . .

The young man is surprised but was not greatly interested. *Avoir à mépris* is met with as late as *La Fontaine* (Haase §123)*.—890 *an .II.* as printed is ambiguous; it is, of course, *andeus*, and not *en deus*.—930 *El lit* should have been restored.—1020-9 The passage is not well punctuated; the meaning is, 'the beasts were so to be feared that, when the people peradventure issued forth for some piece of work, nothing remained but that, at whatever cost, it was necessary (we were compelled) to untie them, and they would tear everybody to pieces.'—1069 The difficulty might be met by reading *La damoisele quant ooit*, but Mr. Hill's reading may be correct, cp. *Richart le Bel* 5837 where *oit* AUDIT is likewise assured by the rime.

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The Stage Cyclopaedia: A Bibliography of Plays
Compiled by Reginald Clarence. Published
by "The Stage," Covent Garden, London,
1909. 499 double-column pages.

This is a work of such peculiar interest and significance to the student of the theatre

*In iii, 4 of the same poem *s'en troblie* is no doubt a misprint for *s'entroblië*. In the second lyric v, 6 the period should be replaced by a comma, the two lines 5, 6 forming a protasis.

and the drama that it is cause for surprise that it has been so rarely or so inadequately mentioned. Aside from a brief but scholarly review by Dr. Jos. E. Gillet in the *Bulletin Bibliographique et Pédagogique du Musée Belge* for December 15, 1910, it has not received the attention it deserves.

This valuable addition to the dramatic student's work-shop is "an Alphabetical List of Plays and other Stage Pieces of which any record can be found since the commencement of the English Stage, together with Descriptions, Author's Names, Dates and Places of Production, and other Useful Information, comprising in all nearly 50,000 Plays, and extending over a period of upwards of 500 years." It should be mentioned, however, that unless Classical sources, titles of plays from which translations or adaptations have been made, under-titles, etc., are counted, this estimate of 50,000 plays is rather high, as the main titles average about sixty to the page. Even so, when we recall that Kirkman's list of plays compiled during the period of the Commonwealth contained only 690 titles, and Barker's list printed in 1814 included the names of 65,000 pieces, we may get an idea of the immense scope of *The Stage Cyclopaedia*. It comprises no less than forty varieties of stage entertainments, ranging from the interlude, burlesque, extravaganza, cantata, etc., to the full opera, comedy, and tragedy, and records many times more separate titles than all of the compilations taken together from Kirkman to Barker, including those of Rogers and Ley (1656), Archer (1656), Phillips (1675), Langbaine (1691), Gildon (1699), Mears (1714), Giles Jacobs (1723), Whincop (or, rather, Mottley? 1747), Egerton (1788), and the editors of the *Biographia Dramatica*,—Baker, Reed, and Jones. On the other hand, the great mass of stage plays in England come in the Nineteenth Century, and it is not fair to Barker and his pioneer forebears to make such a comparison: they cannot be held responsible for omitting what, in their time, did not exist. But from Mr. Clarence's Preface we are led to believe that, after 1814, he and his co-workers for the past twenty years

have had to rely entirely upon their own individual efforts in compiling this tremendous bulk of titles,—credit of course, being given to the 600,000 play-bills in the British Museum. As a matter of fact, some of the most valuable bibliographies of plays fall within the period since 1814. But the editor of the *Stage Cyclopaedia* wholly ignores Oulton's excellent three-volume *History of the Theatres of London* (1818), the numerous work of Halliwell-Phillips, Hazlitt, Fleay, Greg, and Davenport-Adams, not to mention various university publications and minor bibliographies. It is not conceivable that Mr. Clarence knew nothing of these, though from some of the strange slips and omissions in his book it is clear that in some instances at least they were not consulted.

Of the errors,—and errors in a work of such magnitude are inevitable, towards which we must be charitable to a great degree,—there are two kinds, those of omission and those of commission. Taking titles at random, I soon discovered mistakes of varying degrees of gravity. Doubtless such slips as Mrs. Alfred Behn for Mrs. Aphra (or, Aphara) Behn, Charlotte Clarke for Charke (Colley Cibber's daughter), Thompson for Thomson (James), Molteux for Motteux, Scarrow for Scarron, Wincop for Whincop, Etherage for Etheredge, *Sir Solomon* for *Sir Salomon* (by John Caryl and not L. Caryl), etc., are due to careless proof-reading. It is to be regretted also that an up-to-date knowledge of many of the titles included in the *Stage Cyclopaedia* was not possessed by the editor. Mrs. Behn's farce *The Art of Management* (1735), is called a drama, and is recorded as having been acted. Indeed, there is one source that says it was acted, but the fact is very doubtful; for Fleetwood (manager of Drury Lane Theatre), against whom the satire was levelled, not only influenced the Lord Chamberlain to have the little piece prohibited, but bought up all the copies, as he supposed, when they were printed, and burned them. At least two copies escaped, however. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Maid's Tragedy* is stated to have been originally called *The Bridal*; under the latter title it is correctly given as an adaptation by Knowles,

and produced by Macready in 1837. *The Second Maiden's Tragedy* (1611) is down as "entered Stationer's Co. Apr. 9, 1653." It should have been added that it was printed for the first time in 1824 (with numerous errors), and again in 1829 by Tieck in the *Shakespeare Vorschule*. Since the appearance of the *Stage Cyclopaedia*, *The Second Maydens Tragedy* has been correctly printed as the latest addition to the Malone Society Reprints. Again, *The Golden Rump* is recorded as "Anon. not printed, not acted. Suppressed 1773." The date of the suppression was 1737, as every one knows, and though it was neither printed nor acted, an outline fable of this satire appeared in *Common Sense* in 1737. A fragment of this political satire was found among Sir R. Walpole's papers and passed into the possession of his youngest son Horatio (Horace) Walpole of epistolary fame. It was currently understood at the time that Fielding was the author of *The Golden Rump*, and the sketch in *Common Sense*—of which Fielding was the chief editor—bears numerous earmarks of the great satirist.

Three of Mrs. Inchbald's plays are entirely omitted,—*The Ancient Law* (not acted; probably founded on Massinger's *Old Law*, 1781), *The Massacre* (from the French), never acted, suppressed, printed 1792, and *A Case of Conscience* (1801), printed in Appendix to Vol. II of Mrs. Inchbald's *Memoirs*. The fact that *The Fall of Mortimer* (a continuation of Ben Jonson's fragment, *Mortimer's Fall*) was acted at the Haymarket in the summer of 1751 does not appear; neither does George Coleman, the Younger's *Night Gown and Slippers* (printed as *Broad Grins*), a suppressed Lenten entertainment, 1797, nor Sheridan's youthful *Ixion*, nor the play entitled *Charles I*, produced at the Goodman's Fields Theatre, 1728-9. Of course the editor could not be blamed for not printing the title of the 1828-9 Surrey Theatre pantomime, AIMATODESTHEATRONAN-ATOLIKOMACHE! But surely he should not have made the mistake of saying that *The School for Women Criticised* is a translation of *l'Ecole des femmes* instead of *La Critique*, or that Lincoln's Inn Fields Theatre was built

first in 1672 (cf. Pepy's *Diary* for Nov. 20, 1660), nor forget the opera *Rosina* (Covent Garden, 1828), nor fail to inform us that Verdi's opera *Louisa Miller* was an adaptation of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*, nor completely overlook *The Bride of Abydos*, founded on Byron's poem of that name, first produced at Drury Lane, February 5, 1818, and revived at the Surrey, February 12, 1829.

Under *Gustavus Vasa* there are four entries. That for Henry Brooke (1739) is correct. The one by W. Diamond is described as "a play founded on *Hero of the North*." On the title-page of the printed play it is called "an historical opera," and is so spoken of by the critics. Mr. Clarence gives the date of its production as Nov. 29, 1810, at Covent Garden, and 1805 as the date of printing. Under the original title (*Hero of the North*) it was acted at Drury Lane on February 19, 1803, in which year it was printed and immediately went through four editions. The other two entries referred to at the beginning of this paragraph are, I believe, quite wrong. I am unacquainted with any play entitled *Gustavus Vasa* in any language by T. Kotzelvie, or likewise any by T. Piron (1733). In the last named year, Alexis Piron wrote *Gustave, une tragedie en cinque actes*, founded on the history of Gustavus I of Sweden. This was printed at Paris in French. There were four editions of this tragedy, the last being in 1813, besides a Dutch translation and one in Italian, but none in English. In addition to these, there was a four-act drama in Swedish (Stockholm, 1858), and a petite drama in French (London, 1865) on the same subject.

T. Dibdin has been especially slighted by the editor of the *Cyclopaedia*, having no fewer than three of his plays overlooked,—*Charles XII* and *Peter the Great*, *The Sixes*, or, *The Devil's in the Dice*, and *Humphrey Clinker* (from Smollet's novel). Minor errors of omission, however, are not of so much importance as errors in dates of productions and revivals. Some of these have been noted already. The Younger Coleman's *Surrender of Calais* is another instance. This is given as having been first performed at Drury Lane,

May 30, 1814, whereas it was produced at the Haymarket, July 30, 1791. In the case of *Percy*, the *Cyclopaedia* gives July 6, 1780, as the date when it was first brought out at the Haymarket. On March 5, 1778, Hannah Moore wrote to Mrs. Gwatkin: "I am very much pleased to find that *Percy* meets with your appropriation. It has been extremely successful, . . . more so than any *tragedy* has been for many years. . . . The author's nights, sale of the copy, etc., amounted to near six hundred pounds; . . . and . . . Mr. Garrick has been so good as to lay it out" in the 5 %'s. (*Memoirs*, 3rd. ed., I, 140.)

The foregoing are only a portion of the omissions and errors found hap-hazard in *The Stage Cyclopaedia*, but they are, I fancy, characteristic of what any student will find if he is interested. It should be constantly borne in mind, however, that there are between 30,000 and 50,000 titles in this compilation, and that the ratio formed between any list of collected mistakes and the whole number of plays recorded would probably appear as a very small fraction,—save in case of omissions. Thinking to arrive at more definite results as to the question of errors and omissions than could be reached by the unmethodical way of the reviewer, I conceived the idea of fixing my examination on a single year, and as we have practically complete data in this matter for the years 1829-1832 I concentrated my attention on those years. The result was amazing. In 1829 there were 145 pieces licensed for representation in London. Of these, the *Stage Cyclopaedia* omits 34 plays in English, 53 in French, and 1 in Italian. Among those recorded there are six errors of detail. The record is a little better for the next three years. But why there should have been any omissions whatever for these particular years is inconceivable on any ground save a lack of knowledge of the existence of the document containing the information. In 1832 a Select Committee was appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the state of dramatic literature. To that Committee George Colman, the Younger, then Examiner of Plays, presented a list of all the pieces which had

been submitted to him between January 1, 1829, and June 11, 1832. This exhibit was made a part of the Report, which, we must presume, is known to all special students of the drama and the stage. (See *Parl. Papers*, 1831-32, Vol. xxxv, ms. p. 413). But one may well imagine that twenty years devoted to cataloguing names of plays, etc., might cause one to almost overlook the fact that there ever was a Parliament!

This all goes to show that work of this character is quite impossible for any one hand, however expert. But this is not said in disparagement of *The Stage Cyclopaedia*, for it is far and away the most useful work of its kind that has ever been produced, and for this reason Mr. Clarence deserves our everlasting gratitude.

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Tales from the Old French, translated by ISABEL BUTLER. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1910. 12mo., 265 pp.

Miss Butler, who has also translated the *Roland*, offers here good running versions of thirteen Old French *lais*, *fabliaux* and *contes dévots*. Under the first heading are included the *Lai du Cor*, the *Melion* and the *Lai de l'Oiselet*, which is generally classed as a *fabliau*; also, from Marie de France, *Chaitivel*, *Eliduc* and *Les Dous Amanz*. The *fabliaux* chosen are all from the Montaiglon-Raynaud collection: *The Divided Blanket*, *Of the Churl who won Paradise*, and *The Gray Palfrey*. Schultz-Gora's *Chevalier au Barisel* adds its length to the "contes dévots et didactiques," and as shorter samples are given (from Méon and Barbazan et Méon), *The Angel* and *the Hermit*, *the Order of Chivalry* and *The Jousting of Our Lady* (*Du Chevalier Qui Ooit la Messe . . .*).

The range of these is partly limited by the fact that a certain type of the *fabliau* is untranslatable; yet perhaps more brevity and variety could have been attained; and the choice, say, of *Chievrefoil*

instead of the rather limp *Chaitivel* would have been advantageous. Marie has been abundantly dealt with by translators. Besides Miss Rickert's "Seven Lays" (mentioned by Miss Butler), we have Arthur O'Shaughnessy's versions and a less-known rendering of three others in the third volume of "Arthurian Romances," published by Nutt. *Bisclavret* is given there, and that fact, together with her own inclusion of the nearly allied *Melion*, probably prevented Miss Butler from translating the more famous were-wolf story. She is aware that five of her collections have been translated before; to which may be added the version (inferior to Miss Butler's) of *The Jousting of Our Lady* furnished in the peculiar missal-form of the New Mediæval Library.¹

In the actual wording, Miss Butler seems to have aimed at the standard set by Andrew Lang in his classic rendering of *Aucassin et Nicolette*—to give rather the atmosphere of an Old English counterpart, the flavor of Sir Thomas Malory. In the main, naturally barring the joyous *naïveté* that Lang found ready to hand, she has succeeded in this endeavor, imparting a consistency and a flow of style which are quite admirable. For accuracy in adapting either of the old idioms, Miss Butler's translation, while not impeccable, is superior to most such efforts. She shows more than a Wardour Street dexterity in fitting her Old English cloak to the occasional angularity of her models. Two of her favorite methods are, first, a certain fusion of construction, resulting in three nouns—"care and heed and study"; and, second, a fusion of sentence-structure, either by wholesale inversion or, less frequently and less justifiably, by suppressing a period.

There is a generous use of the old terms: *vair* and *viol*, *paynimry*, *churl*, 'for that,' etc.; and what is more difficult, the translator gives the constant illusion of age in the very reticulation of the sentence, in such things as the appropriate rendering of syntactical doublets, antitheses and proverbs. The pronoun confusion of the Old French was very great. Miss Butler has been put to it skilfully to indicate and differentiate the speaker. Occasionally there is a lapse into

¹ "Of the Tumbler of Our Lady and Other Miracles," New York, Duffield and Co., 1908.

a maze of 'he' and 'his' where the parties of each part are entangled with thorough legality.

But in order fully to appreciate Miss Butler's tact and, in due proportion, fidelity, it is necessary to make a word-for-word comparison between her text and the original. It may be added that I have found this the best way to take pleasure in her text. In submitting it to this process, while reading four of her selections, I have found three or four errors, with perhaps twice that number of scarcely preferable renderings. This does not seem excessive for a volume of easy and excellent swing, whose primary aim is not literalness. It should find its function in arousing the interest of beginners.

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Goethes Werke in sechs Bänden. Im Auftrage der Goethe-Gesellschaft ausgewählt und herausgegeben von ERICH SCHMIDT. Leipzig, Insel Verlag, 1909.

To those teachers of German in America who endeavor to give their students a fairly definite conception of Goethe's work and personality as a whole this edition of his works must be as welcome as to a certain class of German readers. Whatever may be the advantage of the more fully annotated American editions of single works, or however great may be the opportunity of access, in many college libraries, to the complete German editions, the value to the students of having in their possession such a set of Goethe as that here furnished is inestimable. The price of the collection, which contains over three thousand pages apart from introductions and notes, is 6 marks, and it can be put in the hands of the student for \$2.00. This was, at least, the price of the first issue, bound not very substantially in pasteboard. A second issue has since appeared, bound in cloth, and costing about \$3.00, making the price of each volume 50cts. For the benefit of those who give special courses dealing with Goethe and may not have seen the edition I will give a brief description of its contents.

Its general purpose is evidently to extend

the knowledge of Goethe's life work throughout wider classes of the people. It is popular in the best sense of the word. The remarkable cheapness of the collection, which is of course a great factor in the accomplishment of the object in view, was made possible by a liberal contribution of the Goethe Society. The introductions and notes to be found in the appendix of each volume are necessarily concise, though very much to the point. An especially welcome feature is a vocabulary of unusual words, old forms, foreign words, etc. at the end of every volume. Of these the editor says that they have been made purposely rather too full than too meager. My experience with the edition in the class room is that these vocabularies nearly always give help where it is needed. In addition to this the first volume contains an introduction called "Lebenslauf," an essay of about thirty pages. This volume opens then with 212 pages of lyrics selected from every phase of the poet's production, beginning with *Zueignung* and ending with *Sprüche*. Perhaps here, if anywhere, the reader will be inclined to regret the necessary brevity of the notes, especially in the case of the rather difficult *Ilmenau*. A queer mistake slipped into the note on this poem, where the words in verse 52: "—ein flüchtiger Fürst wie im Ardenner-Wald," are referred to the "*Two Gentlemen of Verona*" instead of "*As You Like It*." Next in this volume follows *Faust*, both first and second parts. From the first part the *Walpurgisnachtstraum* is omitted. The appendix of this volume contains, for example, 33 very full pages, not counting the table of contents. The second volume brings *Götz von Berlichingen*, *Clavigo*, *Künstlers Erdewallen*, *Des Künstlers Vergötterung*, *Die Geschwister*, *Egmont*, *Iphigenie*, *Tasso*, and at the end *Paläophron* and *Neoterpe* and *Aus dem "Maskenzug 1818."* Volume 3 opens with *Werther*, upon which follows *Die Wahlverwandtschaften*. Next come four tales, one from *Unterhaltungen deutscher Ausgewanderten*, two from *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, and finally *Novelle*. This volume closes with *Hermann und Dorothea*. The entire fourth volume is given to *Wilhelm Meisters Lehrjahre*, the *Wanderjahre* being represented only by the selections in the

preceding volume. The 5th volume contains *Dichtung und Wahrheit*. Of this the editor says: Ich habe besonders in den fünf letzten Büchern streichen und kürzen müssen, natürlich ohne Goethes Wortlaut irgend zu verändern. Yet the student who has read this edition of the autobiography will not have missed very much of the essential development of the poet. There are about 550 pages, which, taking into consideration the size of the page, make over three times as much as the usual American editions. Personally I have found the use of this volume in my class to be in every way profitable. The editor says that he lays particular stress on the sixth volume of his edition. And justly so if we bear in mind that the purpose of the collection is to further the appreciation of the poet's work and personality as a whole. The first 340 pages of this volume contain *Biographisches*, in which we find among other things: *Briefe aus der Schweiz, Aus der Italienischen Reise, Kampagne in Frankreich*. The remaining 150 pages are divided between selections *Zur Literatur, Zur Kunst, Zur Naturwissenschaft*, and *Sprüche* in prose. Most readers will probably regret the comparatively small number of these last.

This edition seems to me to meet a definite need of the college class that is studying Goethe. The student on taking the books into his hand will find many of his old friends, such as *Hermann und Dorothea, Egmont*, many poems, perhaps *Iphigenie* or *Tasso*. He can naturally be led on to read more and more, to see relations and connections more clearly until finally as the result of his efforts some conception of the poet as a whole will dawn on him. It is hardly necessary to mention the most obvious advantage to the teacher of having in the hands of his class so much material from which he can draw at will to illustrate various phases of the author's life and work. These books will probably not be found feasible except in classes that devote a session to Goethe, but for such a use they are well worth consideration.

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Studies in New Mexican Spanish. Part I: Phonology. By AURELIO M. ESPINOSA. Chicago: [Univ. of Chicago Diss.], 1909. 8vo., 116 pp.¹

The author of this doctor's dissertation shows a firm grasp of the linguistic sources of his study and has made an important contribution to our knowledge of American Spanish. Furthermore, in connection with each phenomenon of the New Mexican dialect we are given the extent of its occurrence in Spain and other Spanish-speaking countries.

While the vast majority of New Mexican traits occur in other Spanish dialects, there are several features that characterize the dialect in question or are found only in a restricted area elsewhere. Intervocalic *m* and *n* may fall leaving a nasal vowel, *lana* > *lā̃*, *hermano* > *ermā* (§§ 28, 29). Initial *m* and *n* may fall leaving the following vowel nasal: *mi papa* > *ĩpapa*, *más que tú* > *ā̃sketú* (§ 30). Intervocalic *ll* disappears entirely, especially in the San Luis Valley: *caballo* > *cabao*, *calla* > *cá* (§ 158). *S*, out earlier *z*, may become aspirate *h*: *vicios* > *vihĩs* (§ 154). The group *sd* develops into a pure voiced or voiceless sibilant: *los dos* > *lɔ̃zɔ̃s*, *desde* > *dɛ̃zɛ̃*, *dɛ̃zɛ̃* (§ 104). The group *eps* > *aus* in the region of Santa Fe: *excepción* > *esaución* (§ 176).

The chapter on "Phonetic Changes in words of English origin" (pp. 95-104), has a distinct interest. The number of words in common use that are borrowed directly from English is about two hundred. Such words as *fuliar* 'to fool,' *blofero* 'bluffer,' *jolón* 'hold on,' *bɛ̃sbɔ̃l* 'baseball,' *broquis* 'broke,' *ploga* 'plug,' *šante* 'shanty,' *sarap* 'shut up' etc., amply attest a popular origin, and the phonetic changes in these words form a valuable chapter in folk-speech. The palatalization of *ka* and *ga* (§ 219) is striking, but the examples show this change only before *á* + nasal: *Kansas* > *Quianses*, *candy* > *quiandɛ̃*, *gang* > *guianguẽ*, whereas *caboose* > *cabús* (§ 233). Again it is not clear why final *-er* > *a* in *quarter* > *cuarã*, *dollar* > *dɔ̃lɔ̃*, *washer* > *gwãša* (§ 234), while the same *-er* becomes *e* in *cracker* > *craquẽ*, *Winchester* > *guĩnchɛ̃stɛ̃* (§ 263). Possibly the varying local pronuncia-

¹ Extrait de la *Revue de Dialectologie*, I (1909).

tion may explain *transom* > *transe* in contrast to *Lincoln* > *Lincp* (§ 262). The statement that parasitic *s* is found "especially after tonic vowels" (§ 260) does not seem entirely accurate in view of the larger number of examples where this *s* is added after the posttonic vowel, v. g. *broke* > *broquis*, *George* > *Chorchis*, *Enrique* > *Anriques*, *Mary* > *Merçs*. The *s* in *Ginçs* (Jimmy), and *Charçs* (Charlie), may rather show influence of English *James* and *Charles*, respectively; and it seems likely that *Maque* represents Eng. *Mack* instead of *Max* (§ 258). The more or less irregular vowel development of several New Mexican Spanish words, not recorded in this chapter, might be explained on the ground of English influence, thus: *acupar*—occupy, *balumen*—volume, *alcohol*—alcohol, *moselina*—muslin, *otomovil*—automobile. In connection with the chapter on English influence, the author might have mentioned Juan Ignacio Armas, *Orígenes del Lenguage Criollo*, 2^a ed., Habana, 1882. On pages 86-89 Armas gives a list of about sixty English words that have gone into Cuban Spanish. This list, taken with the New Mexican words, would form the basis of an interesting comparative study.

In some cases the author refers to important dialect phenomena without elucidating or furnishing material. No examples are cited for the fall of initial *y* < *ll* (p. 75, n. 3), or for the fall of intervocalic *n* (§ 28). We are told that epenthetic *e* occurs in New Mexico in very rare cases "which are not worth while considering." A list of the "only some ten words of New Mexican Indian source" (p. 10) would have been most welcome.

The following comments are suggested by various statements in the treatise. The fall of intervocalic *g* is posited as a regular law whereas the examples show the fall only before the vowels *a*, *o*, *u* (§ 181). Furthermore, we find the preservation of *g* in *comigo*, *contigo*, *agonía*, *jigado*, etc., which deserve more detailed explanation in § 114. The fact that *g* falls at times, interchanges with *b* or *v* at others (§§ 118, 137), and in some cases is used to break hiatus (§ 97), adds weight to the view that New Mexican Spanish had, or still has, a spirant *g*. The epenthetic *r* in *pelagarto* (§ 197) may show influence of *lagartillo*, *lagartijo*. The "sporadic" development

mentioned in § 237 seems normal in view of the actual Eng. pronunciation: *Christmas* < *Crismes*, *risés* < *recess*. The symbol *ó* hardly represents the phonetic value of *a* in English *harrow* which becomes *jairá*, nor *ou* the value of *o* in English *how much* which becomes *jamachi*. The fall of tonic *a* in *est' entero* (< *está entero*) is so unusual as to cause doubt in regard to the transcription, especially as this is the only example in proof that "tonic *a* falls before any vowel" (§ 87). The statement on page 79, note 1, should be corrected in the light of Ferran Ferraz's *Nabuatlismos de Costa Rica*, pp. xiii-xiv; and to list of works on New Mexican Spanish (p. 5) might be added Charles F. Lummis "New-Mexican Folk Songs" (*The Land of Poco Tiempo*, pp. 217-250).

The Introduction contains an outline of the colonization history of the territory and the sources of the dialect. In content and method this chapter does not measure up to the rest of the book. The enumeration of the dialects of Spain in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (§ 1), is cited as proof that all these dialects entered into the make-up of New Mexican Spanish (§ 5). Cabeza de Vaca (1536) and Coronado (1540) are both credited with being the first Spaniard to visit New Mexico. The unsupported statement that "it is highly probable that Cabeza de Vaca visited New Mexico in 1536" is surprising in view of the contrary opinion held by such modern critics as Bourne, Lowery, Bandelier, Hodge, and Winship. Indeed, throughout the historical summary, Espinosa has relied too much on the short histories of Price and Haines, and the unauthenticated statements of Bancroft.

The book contains several valuable accessories: a map of New Mexican Spanish territory, bibliography, transcription of dialect texts, and a complete word index. That the author is a New Mexican, gives him a knowledge of the dialect that adds distinctly to the value of the work. It is to be hoped that the second part, on Morphology, will appear soon, as also the promised *Cancionero popular nuevo mexicano*.

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CORRESPONDENCE

SHENSTONE ON RICHARDSON'S *Pamela**To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.*

SIRS:—In reading a volume of the poet Shenstone's letters,¹ recently, I came upon what appears to be a significant reference to the first one of our great modern English novels, Richardson's *Pamela*. The first two letters of the volume are addressed to one of the poet's life-long, intimate friends, Richard Jago, and both are from the year 1739. But the second letter bears the superscription or title "To the same, in the Manner of Pamela," and is intended, after a brief introduction, to reproduce a conversation between Shenstone and his housekeeper, Mrs. Arnold, in imitation of one of Richardson's dialogues between Mrs. Jewkes and Mr. B. The first part of the letter is as follows:

"Well! and so I sat me down in my room, and was reading *Pamela*—one might furnish this book with several pretty decorations, thought I to myself; and then I began to design cuts for it, in particular places. For instance, one, where Pamela is forced to fall upon her knees in the arbour: a second, where she is in bed, and Mrs. Jewkes holds one hand, and Mr. B. the other: a third, where Pamela sits sewing in the summer-house, &c. So I just sketched them out, and sent my little hints, such as they were, to Mr. R—n. As soon as I had sealed my letter, in comes Mrs. Arnold—. 'Well, Mrs. Arnold, says I, this Mr. Jago never comes—what can one do? I'm as dull as a beetle for want of company.' 'Sir, says she, the hen—' 'What makes you out of breath? says I, Mrs. Arnold,' etc.

Ever since the appearance of Mrs. Barbauld's *Biographical Account of Richardson*,² students of Richardson have been committed to 1740 as the year in which his first novel was published. Indeed, the following from Richardson's own account of the origin of *Pamela* as first printed by Mrs. Barbauld might seem to fix the exact date beyond question:

"While I was writing the two volumes my worthy hearted wife and the young lady who is with us, when I had read them some part of the story, which I had begun without their knowing it, used to come into my little closet every night with: 'Have you any more of *Pamela*, Mr. Richardson? We are come to hear a little more of *Pamela*, etc.' This encouraged me to prosecute it, which I did so diligently, through all my other business, that by a memorandum on my copy I

began it November 10, 1739, and finished it January 10, 1740."³

It is of course possible that Mrs. Barbauld made some mistake in copying the manuscript, for "she is not," as Miss Thomson says, "invariably correct." It is however rather improbable that she did not reproduce the manuscript in this instance exactly. Nevertheless, it is to be regretted that Miss Thomson, who apparently had access to the original, did not at least collate Mrs. Barbauld's reprint of such letters as she quoted with the author's own manuscript.⁴

It is of course not impossible that Richardson himself was in error as to the exact date of the completion of *Pamela*. The account of the origin of his first novel was apparently written several years after the publication of the book, but he had the "memorandum on the copy" to assist him in fixing the date.

In spite of the good work of Austin Dobson⁵ and Miss Thomson, there still seems to be considerable obscurity about the exact date of the publication of *Pamela*. It is, for instance, difficult to understand how a book as popular as *Pamela* was could be in circulation for about two months before it attracted the notice of the reviewers. It is recorded in the "Register of Books" of *The Gentleman's Magazine* for November, 1740, as number 18 in the list: "*Pamela; or Virtue rewarded*. Printed for C. Rivington in 2 Vols. 12mo. Price 6 s." But the December (1740) issue of the magazine contains no reference to it, and in the January (1741) number the editor inserts a note at the end of the "Register of Books" saying that

"Several encomiums on a series of *Familiar Letters* publish'd but last month, entitled *Pamela, or Virtue rewarded*, came too late for this magazine, and we believe there will be little occasion for inserting them in our next; because a second edition will then come out to supply the demands in the country, it being judged in town as great a sign of want of curiosity not to have read *Pamela*, as not to have seen the French and Italian dancers."⁶

A second edition is then recorded in the register of *The Gentleman's Magazine* for February (1741) as number 46: "*Pamela; or, Virtue rewarded*. The 2^d Edition, with an Addition of some Extracts of Letters upon the Subject. Printed for C. Rivington. pr. 6 s." The

³ See *Samuel Richardson, A Biographical and Critical Study*. By Clara Linklater Thomson. London, 1900, pp. 22–23.

⁴ There is to be sure nothing in Miss Thomson's excellent book to show that she did not examine the originals in every case where it was possible.

⁵ *Samuel Richardson*. Eng. Men of Letters. London, 1902.

⁶ Cf. Dobson, pp. 30–31, where an exact reprint of the note is given.

¹ Vol. III of *Works in Verse and Prose*, London, Dodsley, 1777.

² Prefixed to her edition of *Richardson's Correspondence*, London, 1804.

third edition is recorded in March and the fourth in May, but the novel was apparently incomplete in all these early editions. For we find a record in the "Register of Books" for December, 1741 (No. 31) to this effect: "Pamela. vol. 3 and 4 by the author of the two first. pr. 6 s. *Rivington*."

Another question that suggests itself in this connection is: If Richardson actually finished the novel on January 10, 1740, why did he keep it for ten months before publishing it? It would hardly have required so much time to get the two volumes thru the press. One easy way out of the difficulty created by Shenstone's letter is, of course, to assume that the editor of his works (his good friend Dodsley) dated the letter wrong. The first four letters of the collection are in each case dated "1739," and the first two of these four, as noted above, are addressed to Mr. Jago and seem to belong together. Moreover, this is the only one of the 1739 letters which bears at the end the definite dating (of the author himself, we must think): "Leasowes, July 22."

The possible assumption that Shenstone might have read the story in manuscript would not mend matters, as there are no cogent reasons for supposing that the poet and the novelist were ever intimately associated as friends,—even if we granted that Richardson was mistaken in his own dates of composition (Nov. 10, 1739 to Jan. 10, 1740). Other references to Richardson (there are not many) in the letters throw no light on the question of the date of publication of *Pamela*. Writing to his friend Graves in 1743⁷ he says: "Pamela would have made one good volume; and I wonder the author, who has some *nice* natural strokes, should not have sense enough to see that." Once or twice he casually mentions *Clarissa* and *Grandison*, and we know from a letter to Percy written in the last year but one of his life that Shenstone was an ardent admirer of Richardson's. Speaking of a "pompous edition of Thomson's works"⁸ he asks Percy: "And does not his monument put you in mind of what the Publick owes to Mr. Richardson? For my own part, I never look into his works but with greater Admiration of his Genius—and then, if we regard the extensive good they were so well calculated to promote, there are few characters to whom the Nation may be said to owe greater Honours."

So far as I am aware, Shenstone's letter has not been noticed by any of Richardson's biographers and critics, tho the reference to *Pamela*, explicit as it is, if it does not prove that the novel was in circulation as early as July, 1739, makes it incumbent upon the student of Richardson to show beyond a doubt that the letter is incorrectly dated.

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A CO-INCIDENCE EXPLAINED.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—In May 1909, I published in *Modern Language Notes* a paper on "Some Debts of Samuel Daniel to Du Bellay." The substance of this paper had appeared in an essay by Professor Kastner in the *Modern Language Review* of April, 1908, "The Elizabethan Sonneteers and the French Poets." What has the look of cool plagiarism was, however, in fact, an innocent co-incidence. My paper comprised part of a "report" made, in the course of the academic year 1907-1908, for Professor C. H. Page's course on French influence in the English Renaissance; a "report" which was read in that course before Professor Kastner's article was accessible here. Owing to press of work, I did not prepare the paper for publication until the following spring, when I sent it to *Modern Language Notes*. I myself, in making researches along other lines, discovered that Professor Kastner had anticipated me, and at once communicated with him. My explanation of the circumstances satisfied him, and I call attention to the co-incidence now only to spare possible students of this corner of a large subject any confusion in the matter.

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THE *Nibelungenlied* AND *Sir Beves of Hampton*

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—A striking and curious parallel with the *Nibelungenlied* has, in so far as I know, been passed over unnoticed by those editing or commenting on the Old French and Middle English versions of *Sir Beves of Hampton*. The likeness is between the *Beves* "Episode in Cologne" and the story of the wedding of Gunther and Brunhild.

The *Nibelungenlied*¹ describes the wedding with fervor; afterwards, it tells how attendant maids and men escort the bridal couple to their rest; how Brunhild proffers her first request to her lord, and on being refused, takes rude vengeance. She seizes her girdle, ties with it his feet and hands, and hangs him up to a nail on the wall. "Jâ het er ir krefte vil nâch gewûnnên den tût."

¹ Bartsch, *Das Nibelungenlied*, 636-8. Leipzig, 1886.

It is a scene of almost burlesque humour but of obvious appeal to a middle class audience to whom the comic misfortunes of the great were ever delectable. It is, moreover, an integral part of the story,—a fact which makes for its original use here,—for Brunhild's victory over her husband necessitated Gunther's second plea to Sigurd, whose help when it was given, proved of such fatal consequence. In this it differs naturally from *Sir Beves* where the use of the incident is purely episodic. In the twelfth century French version² the Saracen Princess Josian is left at Cologne by her true lover, Beves, and is forcibly wooed by Earl Miles.

Ore vus dirrai de Miles l'adverser,
ke fist Josian mal gre le sun esposer.
Mal gre le sun la mena a muster,
mal gre le sun la fist la nuit cocher,
devant le list se sist, se prent a deschaucer,
forement se hast de Josian vergunder.
Josian le veist si commence a suspirer,
ele prent sa seynture de sey de oltre mer,
une lacete en fist solum son saver,
outre le col Miles si la prent a giter.

E li quens Miles de une part se sist,
e la pucele de altre part sailist,
a sey le tret e le col li rumpist.

This outline, for it is practically no more, is followed by the fourteenth century Middle English version, though with some additions that are oddly in character with the Nibelungen poet. The English tale³ describes more fully the young escorts who come

Wið pyment and wið spisorie,
Wið al ðe gamen ðat hii hedde.

Josian, a seemingly gentler Brunhild, makes her first request, begging that the company be sent away; Earl Miles agrees, naively remarking,

"Me schon i mot me self of drawe,
Ase y neuere get ne dede."

While he bends to his task, Josian "on a towaile" made a "knotte riding"

Aboute his nekke ghe hit ðrew
And on ðe raile tre ghe drew:
Be ðe nekke ghe hað him tigt
& let him so ride al ðe nig.

That the outcome is different, Earl Miles perishing, and Josian being hurried to the stake when

² Suchier, *Boeve de Hamtome*. Bibliotheca Normannica, VII, 77, vers 2099-2126.

³ Kölbing, *Sir Beves of Hamtoun*. Early Eng. Text Soc. Ex. Ser. 46, 48, 65.

the deed is discovered, does not affect the significance of the earlier parallel. The story is, of course, as a recent critic, Mr. Jordan⁴ points out, of that old and well-liked group in which a maiden kills an unloved husband on her wedding night, but the parallels he gives are as far afield as the Rosamond story, in which the motive is different, the killing of a different kind and not done by the heroine, and in which there is nothing of even unconsciously humorous suggestion. In view of such divergence, a likeness as clearly defined as this between the German and the French versions becomes more notable, especially when one remembers Mr. Jordan's statement: "So scheint—es uns möglich, die Episode als Interpolation einer beliebten Erzählung anzusehen, wenn wir auch eine direkte Quelle nicht nachweisen können."

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BRIEF MENTION

In view of the discontinuance of *Cultura Española*, the announcement of the new monthly journal, *Archivo de Investigaciones Históricas*,¹ is of timely interest. The editor is D. Juan M. Sánchez; and the first number, which has just appeared, gives much space to questions of Spanish literature: D^a. Blanca de los Ríos de Lampérez, *El "Don Juan" de Tirso de Molina*; D. Julio Puyol, *Cantar de gesta de Don Sancho II de Castilla*; D. Juan M. Sánchez, *Reproducción en fac-símile de un Pregón de Tasas y Jornales, impreso en Zaragoza en 1553*. Each number will consist of ninety to one hundred pages.

Professor A. A. Moore, late of Princeton, and Professor G. T. Northup of the same university, announce that they are preparing an edition of the Old Spanish prose *Tristan* from the manuscript preserved in the Vatican library.

¹ L. Jordan, "Über Boeve de Haustone," *Zeitschrift für Romanische Philologie*, Beiheft XIV, 27 and 69. See also C. Boje, "Über den Altfranzösischen Roman von Boeve de Hantone," *id.*, XIX, 115. Here again the motives of the incident being given as "Die Befreiung der Geliebten (A) am Altar, (B) am Scheiterhaufen," neglect its most striking characteristics.

² Madrid: Victoriano Suárez. Subscription, 24 pesetas in Spain; 30 pesetas in foreign countries.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 6.

THE DEBATE OF HEART AND EYE

In a recent number of *Anglia*¹ there appears under the editorship of Miss Eleanor Hammond a hitherto inaccessible version of the Debate between the Heart and the Eye. The poem possesses no particular literary merit, but it is not without its interest to students of mediæval literature as being perhaps the only English treatment of this familiar theme. Miss Hammond in her introduction mentions the French *Débat du Cœur et de l'Œil* as the source of the English poem and refers to several other more or less closely related embodiments of the same idea. The history of the origin and development of this dispute, as it may be inferred from the evidence at hand, offers several points of special interest and is in many ways typical of the debate in general.

The basis of the controversy between Eye and Heart is clearly the general idea, frequently referred to by classical authors² and ultimately derived, perhaps, from a passage in Plato,³ that love is created in the soul of man through the medium of the eye. Among the mediæval courtly poets this conception became, as is well known, a part of the system of courtly love. With them, however, the conceit generally assumed a special form, exact classical parallels for which are very infrequent.⁴ Love is said to enter or strike through the eye and to capture or wound the heart. This motive, which appears early in the Provençal lyric, was elaborated by Chrestien de

Troyes, and to his influence is due, at least in part, its popularity.⁵ From the love poetry of northern and southern France the conceit appears to have passed to Italy, Germany, Spain, and England, where it became almost a commonplace in courtly verse.

As stated by the troubadours and trouvères the function of heart and eye in the creation of love naturally provoked the question of their relative responsibility for the pains of the lover, and Chrestien, in a characteristic passage⁶ distinct from that referred to above, makes his heroine discuss the problem with herself. She at first accuses her eyes of treason for having admitted the image of the loved one to her heart; but, since one does not love with one's eyes, she confesses that they are not to blame. Who then is? Herself, that is her heart, without whose wish the eyes see nothing. The problem thus suggested furnished excellent material for a formal debate. It was necessary only to complete the personification of the heart and the eye and to make them carry on the dispute themselves, a step which, in view of the popularity of similar debates, was natural and easy.

In the *Disputatio inter Cor et Oculum*,⁷ however, which appears to be the earliest formal debate between Eye and Heart, the issue is not their relative responsibility for love but for sin; and it is a fair question whether the theological problem did not precede and suggest the amatory.

After a brief expository introduction, the Heart begins the dispute by accusing the Eye of being the source of evil, the "tinder and the spur" of sin. The Eye denies the charge, affirming that it is the Heart's faithful servant and but follows

¹*Anglia*, xxxiv, 235 ff.

²See H. L. Lang, "The Eyes as Generators of Love," *Modern Language Notes*, 1908, pp. 126-7.

³*Phaedrus*, 251 B. Cf. Rohde, *Der Griechische Roman*, 2te. Aufl. (1900), pp. 158 ff.; also Anna Lüderitz, *Die Liebestheorie der Provenzalen bei den minnesingern*, pp. 102-3.

⁴Compare, however, the strikingly similar idea in the following passage from Achilles Tatius, quoted by Joseph de Perrott in *The Nation* (New York), May 4, 1911, p. 444: *Κάλλος γὰρ δεύτερον τιτρώσκει βέλους, καὶ διὰ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν εἰς τὴν ψυχὴν καταρρέει. Ὁφθαλμὸς γὰρ ὁδὸς ἐρωτικῷ τραύματι.* (Achillis Tatii de Leucippes et Clitophonis amoribus liber primus.)

⁵*Cligès*, ed. Foerster, vv. 695 ff.; *Yvain*, ed. Foerster, vv. 1368 ff. See L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, p. 31.

⁶*Cligès*, vv. 475 ff.

⁷Published by Thomas Wright, *The Latin Poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes*, pp. 93 ff. I have used the more correct text given by Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, vol. I, p. 366. See also R. Peiper, *Herrigs Archiv*, VII, 424 ff.

its commands. The evil which enters at the Eye does not corrupt the Heart unless the Heart consents. Then Reason comes and renders judgment. Both are guilty but not in the same degree; for the Heart is the cause of sin, the Eye but the occasion.

Some connection between this academic *jeu d'esprit* and the courtly problem discussed in the *Cligès* will hardly be denied. Were the trouvères or the theologians the debtors? The *Disputatio* is ascribed on the authority of the chronicler Salimbene and several manuscripts to Philippe de Grève, Chancellor of the University of Paris and prolific author of Latin *nugae* of the kind.⁸ Philippe died in the year 1237, and if the debate is his, it is not likely to have been written earlier than the passage in Chrestien. Furthermore, as I have suggested, the question of responsibility grows naturally out of the general theory of the function of heart and eye in the development of love. It would seem likely, therefore, that Philippe derived a suggestion from Chrestien or some other secular poet. A significant circumstance with regard to the *Disputatio* is its clear connection with the *Visio Fulberti*,⁹ the best known Latin version of the Debate between the Body and the Soul. The elements of the problem in both poems are identical. The Soul accuses the Body of having brought about its destruction by sin; the Body replies that it was the mere passive instrument. The two poems contain parallels in phraseology which are so close as to make the relation between them indubitable.

Visio: "Ambo, dico, possumus adeo culpari:
Et debemus utique, sed non culpa pari:
Tibi culpa gravior debet imputari."

Disputatio: "Utrumque reum reputat,
Sed non pari periculo,
Nam cordi causam imputat,
Occasionem oculo."

Visio: "Quae statim carnem sequitur ut bos ductus
ad victimam."

Disputatio: "Nonne quod vides sequeris,
Ut bos ductus ad victimam?"

⁸ See Paul Meyer, *Documents Manuscripts*, etc., pp. 7 ff. For a full bibliography of Philippe see Chevalier, *Bibliographie*, p. 3634.

⁹ Ed. Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 95 ff.

Now the issue between the Body and the Soul was as old as Democritus, and no religious theme was more familiar to the Middle Ages. Is it not natural that Philippe or another should have seen the issue here to be essentially the same as that which underlay the discussion in the *Cligès*, and should have framed a debate on the well known model of the *Visio*, giving to the amatory material a theological turn in order to make it conform more closely to the theme of his original?

The process by which the heart and eye material came to take the form of a literary debate is characteristic. By the end of the twelfth century the debate had become established as a definite and popular type, and this type afforded a convenient mould for a wide variety of ideas already current in other forms. Thus the mediæval allegory of the contest of the Daughters of God was in one thirteenth century version developed into a regular debate between Justice and Mercy;¹⁰ the fable of the Ant and the Fly was expanded into a contentious dialogue;¹¹ the amatory question of the relative merits of clerks and soldiers as lovers was made the theme of a contention between two maidens, representative of the two points of view.¹² In like manner the issue between Heart and Eye, already familiar as a subject of discussion, was embodied, under the influence of the type, in the form of an allegorical dispute.

The numerous manuscripts of the *Disputatio inter Cor et Oculum* prove the work to have been widely known. A French version exists,¹³ also ascribed to Philippe de Grève and is probably his. This poem is a pretty close rendering of the Latin, with something less of scholastic subtlety and a touch of the romantic coloring which so often appears in the debates in their passage from the Latin to the vernacular. Thus the Heart reinforces its charge of treason with a very pregnant instance:—

¹⁰ See my note on the 'Scheirer Rhythmus,' *Modern Language Notes*, 1909, pp. 74 ff.

¹¹ Bonvesin da Riva's "Disputatio Muscae cum Formica," *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1851, pp. 9 ff.

¹² See the various versions of the Phyllis and Flora debate, described by W. A. Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 34 ff.

¹³ The text is given by Paul Meyer, *Henri d'Andeli et le Chancelier Philippe, Romania*, vol. I, pp. 202 ff.

"Tu es pire que Guenelon,¹⁴
 Tu es mon privé traïtor,
 Car quant je suis en garnison
 Mes enemis mès en ma tor."

The only other example of the theological debate between Heart and Eye with which I am familiar is to be found in a curious passage in Bonevesin da Riva's Debate between the Body and the Soul.¹⁵ When the Soul has addressed the Body for the last time, the Body reports its words to the members, warning them one after another to refrain from sin. The members accuse the Heart, as the source and occasion of all sin; the Heart throws the blame upon the Eye, and the latter replies with the familiar argument that it is but the instrument of the Heart. This dispute is not, like the French poem just described, a paraphrase of the *Disputatio*, but it evidently belongs to the same tradition.¹⁶ The Debate between the Body and the Members is combined with that of the Body and the Soul in a Provençal poem described by Batiouchkof,¹⁷ who assumes for it a common origin with Bonevesin's poem. In the Provençal debate, however, the Heart and Eye motive does not appear. Its incorporation by the Italian into such a dialogue was natural enough. For the Heart and Eye theme, as worked out by Philippe, was closely associated with the Debate of the Body and the Soul; and it had besides a certain affinity with the well known fable of the Belly and the Members, upon which the latter part of the Provençal poem is obviously modeled.

In returning now to the use of the Heart and Eye motive in its proper and presumably original sphere of courtly love, it is necessary to distinguish between the use of the idea as a lyric con-

ceit¹⁸ and actual debates, in which the Heart and Eye carry on the dispute. The two embodiments of the question are, of course, closely related,¹⁹ and both may be in a general way referred to the passage in Chrestien discussed above. The debates, however, while deriving their material ultimately from the same sources as the lyrics, not improbably owe their special form to the influence of the *Disputatio*. An important passage in Huon de Meri's *Torneiement de l'Antéchrist*²⁰ (written

¹⁸ For numerous examples see *Modern Language Notes*, 1907, p. 199, p. 232; 1908, pp. 126-7; L. F. Mott, *The System of Courtly Love*, pp. 85, 102, 104, etc.; Anna Lüderitz, *loc. cit.*, and W. A. Neilson, *op. cit.*, pp. 26, 59, 79, etc. In one form or another the idea appears again and again in the Elizabethan lyric, a fact which seems not to have been mentioned in the discussion growing out of Shakespeare's song "Tell me where is fancy bred," *M. L. N.*, *loc. cit.* Most frequently, perhaps, it is simply an expression of the original idea that Love assails the heart through the eyes. Cf. Wyatt in *Tottle's Miscellany*, ed. Arbor, p. 65:

"Throw mine eyes the stroke from hers did slide,
 Directly down into mine hart it ranne."

In many passages, however, especially in the poems included in Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody*, the eyes are accused of treachery for admitting the image of the beloved to the heart. Cf. "A. W." in the *Poetical Rhapsody*, ed. Bullen, vol. II, p. 47:

"Unhappie Eies, the causers of my paine,
 That to my foe betrayed my strongest hold,
 Wherein, he like a tyrant now doth raigne,
 And boasts of winning that which treason solde."

¹⁹ It is sometimes impossible to distinguish between the lyric use and the debate use of the theme. Thus in one of the canzone of Guido Guinicelli the problem naturally takes dialogue form:

"Dice lo core agli occhi: Per voi moro.
 Gli occhi dicono al cor: tu n'hai disfatti."
 —Nannucci's *Manuale*, ed. 1847, p. 42.

And Sonnet LXXXIV of Petrarch, supposed by Carducci and others to have been suggested by this passage, is in the form of a dialogue throughout.

"Il poeta: Occhi piangete; accompagnate il core
 Che di vostro fallir morte sostiene.
 Gli occhi: Così sempre facciamo, ne conviene
 Lamentar più l'altrui, che 'l nostro errore.
 Il poeta: Già prima ebbe per voi l'entrata Amore;
 Laonde ancor com' in suo albergo vene," etc.

From this poem to the Elizabethan passages quoted above it is an easy step.

²⁰ Ed. Wimmer, *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, vol. LXXXVI (1888), vv. 2708 ff.

¹⁴ This phrase occurs in the *Oligès*, v. 1706, not, however, with reference to the treason of the eye.

¹⁵ *Monatsberichte der Berliner Akademie*, 1851, pp. 132-142.

¹⁶ The following verbal parallels may be quoted:

Bonevesin: "Dal corde sorze la fontana de li bon fagi
 e de li rei."

Disputatio: "De corde mala prodeunt."

Bonevesin: "L'ogio e quel ke comenza."

Disputatio: "Te peccati principium."

Bonevesin: "Tu m'he represo a torto."

Disputatio: "Iniuste de me quereris."

¹⁷ *Romania*, xx, 535 ff.

in 1235 or a little later) clearly illustrates the double influence. In the course of the battle between the allegorical hosts of good and evil, Venus aims a shaft at Chastity. It misses its mark, but enters the author's eye and wounds his heart. He is succored by Esperance and others, and brings his case before "the court which renders justice to all lovers," in order to determine whether his Heart, the Goddess, or his Eyes are to blame for his mischance. The judge exonerates Venus who was aiming at another, and accuses the Eyes. The latter excuse themselves on the ground that they do nothing without the Heart's command. At this point Reason appears and decides the case against the Heart.

In this passage we have the Heart and Eye problem for the first time introduced as a part of the allegory of the Court of Love. The dispute is represented as actual, not merely speculative, and the Eyes reply in their own persons. That Huon had in mind the similar discussion by his master Chrestien cannot be doubted; for he refers to him a little earlier for a full account of the wounding of the Heart through the Eye.²¹ What is equally clear, though it seems not to have been pointed out, is that in every respect except the application of the dispute to love, Huon's immediate model was the Latin debate of Philippe de Grève. This treason, says the judge, should be laid upon the eyes,

"Qu'il regurent a porte overte
Sans contredit ton aversier
El chastel, dont il sont portier."

In the *Disputatio* the Heart says to the Eye:

"Tu domus meae janitor
Hosti non claudis ostium;
Admittis adversarium.
Nonne fenestra diceris
Qua mors intrat ad animam?"

And finally the decision of Reason is rendered in language clearly suggested by the Latin poem:

"A cest mot vi venir reson:
L'ainée file sapience
La definitive sentence

²¹ Max Grebel in his dissertation on the sources of the *Torneiement*, *Le Torneiement Antéchrist*, etc., Leipzig, 1883, p. 87, cites *Yvain* 1369, but the reference is obviously to the *Cligès*.

Rent et ront la despoitison
Et dist: 'Li cuers fu l'achoisson
Du mal qu'il a. Plus en doit estre
Blaméz que nus, qui la fenestre
Lessa overte comme fous
Par ou li descendi li cous
Du fer, dont il garra a tart."

"Ratio litem amputat
Definitivo calculo
Utrumque reum reputat,
Sed non pari periculo,
Nam cordi causam imputat,
Occasionem oculo." ²²

It is interesting to observe that the conception of the eyes as porters of the castle of the soul, which becomes a common feature in the Court of Love allegories, was already present in the *Disputatio*.

The French *Debat du Cuer et de l'Oeil*,²³ while belonging to the allegorical type represented by Huon de Meri, differs from the passage in the *Torneiement* in that the dispute with its causes and results constitutes the main theme of the poem, while the Heart and not a third party makes the accusation against the Eyes. The author, who is out hunting one May morning, comes unexpectedly upon a fair company of ladies and is stricken with love longing. He lies down to sleep and hears, on two different occasions a dispute between his Heart and his Eye. To the charge of having been the cause of this unwonted pain, the Eye replies that it loves only by the counsel of the Heart. The two at length agree to submit the matter to Ardent Desire, the marshal of Love. A trial by combat follows before the Court of Love, but Pity intervenes, and compels them to bring their cause before Venus. The goddess hears a third and quite superfluous repetition of the arguments, and adjourns the case until she can get the opinions of all lovers, bidding the contestants meanwhile perform all the services of Love.

The elements common to this poem and Huon's *Torneiement* are certainly striking, but it is im-

²² There is nothing corresponding to this passage in the French paraphrase of the *Disputatio*; hence Huon must have used the original.

²³ Thomas Wright, *op. cit.*, pp. 310 ff. Miss Hammond, *loc. cit.*, calls attention to a displacement of several stanzas in the ms. used by Wright. Another French text, in which the stanzas are correctly arranged, is printed in the *Jardin de Plaisance*.

possible in the absence of detailed evidence to establish a direct relation between them. In the subordination of the actual dispute to the allegorical narrative both Huon and the author of the *Débat* are following a practice which is almost universal with the writers of vernacular debates. These poets care but little for the scholastic problem at issue, and with them the discussion loses most or all of its dialectical subtlety. Thus Huon fails to preserve the distinction between cause and occasion so carefully made by Philippe; and in the *Débat du Cœur et de l'Œil* the answers of the Eye are generally beside the point, while the accusations of the Heart partake of the nature of "complaints." The introduction and conclusion, on the other hand, are made much of. The reference of the dispute to a judge or tribunal²⁴ affords an opportunity for elaborate allegory which is not often neglected. Trial by battle, which frequently follows, allows the poet to devote his best energies to the description of a tournament. The quarrel has been transferred from the school room to the open air; the disputation has become a "debate" in the sense of physical conflict.

The English Debate of Heart and Eye printed by Miss Hammond offers few points of special interest. It is, as its editor has pointed out, a fairly close rendering of the French *Débat*. The original octosyllabic stanza (ababbebe) has been expanded into a ten syllable form with the same rhyme scheme (Cf. Chaucer's *Monk's Tale*), and thanks to the joint efforts of the author, the translator, and the scribe, the poem is something worse than pedestrian. It was evidently thought worthy of reproduction, however, as it exists in an early print of Wynken de Worde.²⁵ Both the English Debate and its French original belong to the fifteenth century.

I am not aware of the existence of any later versions of this dispute in English. There are,

²⁴ The Court of Love allegory appears in combination with the debate in at least one Latin poem, the *Altercatio Phillidis et Florae*, ed. Hauréau, *Notices et Extraits*, vol. VI, pp. 278 ff.; but this piece, in spite of the accident of its language, belongs to the literature of romance. In a later vernacular version entitled *Melior et Idoine*, ed. Meyer, *Romania*, xv, 333, the dispute ends in a judicial combat.

²⁵ The first stanza is quoted by Warton, *History of English Poetry*, 1840 ed., vol. II, p. 388. See also Wright, *op. cit.*, Intro. xxiii.

however, a number of Elizabethan lyric dialogues which may be said to have at least a psychological connection with the debates discussed. In Davison's *Poetical Rhapsody* there are two dialogues between the Lover and his Heart,²⁶ a "Proso-popoeia," in which the Lover's Heart addresses the Breast of his second Lady,²⁷ and a Dialogue between the Lover's Flaming Heart and his Ladie's Frozen Breast.²⁸ These pieces, if not derivatives from the Heart and Eye debate, are certainly, like the Dialogue between the Soul and the Body contained in the same collection,²⁹ late echoes of the mediæval debate in general. The tradition of the literary dispute may be said to have persisted into the Elizabethan period in full vigor. It appears in such familiar works as Robert Green's *Quip for an Upstart Courtier*, with its verse original,³⁰ was frequently employed in dramatic entertainments, crops out again and again in the regular drama, and forms one of the staples of the broadside literature of the day.

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ETYMOLOGICAL NOTES

1. NE. *bluster* 'blow boisterously; be loud, noisy, or swaggering,' *subst.* 'the noise of a storm or of violent wind, blast, gust; tumultuous noise; noisy but empty talk or menace' may be referred to Germ. *blüst-* 'swell, blow.' Next akin are EastFries. *blüster* 'Wind, frische Brise,' *blüstern* 'mit Geräusch wehen, stürmen, brausen' (Koolman, *Wb. der ostfries. Spr.* I, 193), Du. dial. *bluisterig* 'windig' (Draaijer, *Deventersch Dial.* 5), *bluisterg* 'gusty' (Molema, *Wb. der groning Mundart* 39), NWestFries. *bluist(e)rich* 'üppig, blühend; lustig, aufgeweckt; glänzend; windig, geräuschvoll, wild, ungestüm' (Friesch Wdb. I, 201).

²⁶ Ed. Bullen, vol. II, pp. 8 and 21. The latter is by Thomas Watson.

²⁷ Vol. I, p. 126.

²⁸ Vol. II, p. 96. The author is "A. W."

³⁰ *The Debate between Pride and Lowliness*, by Francis Thynne, edited by J. Payne Collier, Shakespeare Society, 1841.

These are closely related in form and meaning to NE. *blister* (OE. **blȳstre*) 'Blase,' EarlyDu. *bluyster* 'pustula, pustula in panis crusto assurgens,' *bluysteren* 'adurere, retorrere' (Kilian I, 74), Hess. *blustern* 'Blasen treiben; Brot oder Kuchen *blustert*, wenn der Teig in einen zu heissen Ofen kommt u. deshalb alsbald in grossen Blasen auffährt' (Vilmar, *Id. von Kurhessen* 45).

The IE. root is *bhleu-*: Gk. *φλέω* 'overflow; babble,' *φλύω* 'swell over, overflow, bubble or boil over; babble,' *φλυκτίς* 'blister,' *φλυδάω* 'have an excess of moisture, become soft or flabby,' ON. *blautr* 'wet, moist, soft, weak' etc. (cf. author, *IE. ar: axi: axu* 53).

2. NE. *evil* represents ME. *evel* and *yvel* in Northern, Midland, and Southern dialects. It is probable, therefore, that we have two different words: OE. *yfel* 'wicked, evil,' Goth. *ubils* 'übel,' etc., and OE. **efele* 'bold, bad,' with which compare MHG. (md.) *evel* 'stolz vermesen,' *vor-evil*, *-ebil*, *vir-ebel*, byforms of MHG. *vrevel*, *vrebel*, *vrael* 'rückhaltlos kühn, gefährlich übermütig, gewaltsam das Recht verletzend,' MLG. *vrevel* 'kühn, frech, böse,' OHG. *fravali*, *frevili* etc., derivatives of ON. *afl* 'Kraft, Stärke, Hülfe,' OE. *afol* 'might, strength,' and related to Goth. *abrs* 'stark, heftig,' IE. base *op-* in Lat. *ops* 'might, strength; welth; help,' etc. (cf. Kluge, Et. Wb. s. v. *Frevel*; Weigand, Wb.⁵ I, 584; Walde, Et. Wb. 434). Compare the following.

3. OS. *frōbra*, *frōfra* 'Trost,' OHG. *fluobra* 'consolatio,' *fluobiren* 'consolari' (with *l* by dissimilation), OE. *frōfor* 'consolation, help, joy,' *frōfrian*, *frēfran* 'comfort, console' contain Germ. **fr-ōbr-* from *fra* + *ōbr-*, with which compare OHG. *frabarī* 'audacia' from **frabar*, Germ. *fr-abra-*: Goth. *abrs-* 'stark, heftig,' ON. *ýfr* (**ōbia-*) 'gewaltig, heftig,' Lat. *ops* 'power, strength, help,' etc. Cp. no. 2.

4. Tyrol. *loabelen* 'zögernd, langsam tun,' *loabeler* 'matter, langsamer Mensch,' *loabelet* 'matt, kraftlos' (Schöpf, *Tirolisches Id.* 359) represent MHG. **leib-*, Germ. **laib-*, with which compare OS. *lēf* 'schwach, gebrechlich,' OE. *lēf* 'infirm, diseased, ill; damage, harm,' *gelēfed* 'weak, old,' *lēfung* 'paralysis,' Germ. **lēb-* pre-Germ. **lēibh-*. With these I connect ChSl. *li-bivū* 'gracilis,' Lith. *laibas* 'schlank' (*IE. ar:*

axi: axu 40) and also MHG. *līp* 'Leib,' primarily 'flank, side, Weiche' (*MLN.* xxiv, 49).

NE. *loaf* 'idle away one's time, lounge, dawdle' agrees in meaning with Tyrol. *loabelen* 'zögernd, langsam tun.' But we should expect NE. **loave* instead of *loaf*.

5. ON. *likame*, OE. *licuma* 'body,' OFries. *likma*, OHG. *lihhamo*, *lihmo* 'Körper' represent a Germ. stem **lik(a)man-* 'Gleichnis, Ebenbild, Gestalt,' corresponding exactly to Lith. *lygmu* 'Ebenbild.' The byforms, OE. *lichoma*, OS. *likhamo*, OFries. *likkoma*, *lichama*, etc., are due to confusion with actual compounds of Germ. *haman-*, as OE. *flāsc-hama* 'body'; and OHG. *lihhinamo*, *lihuamo* may be regarded as a blend of Germ. *likman-* and *likan-* in Goth. *man-leika* 'Bild,' ON. *like* 'Ähnlichkeit; Äusseres, äusserere Schönheit; Gestalt; Leiche.'

6. OHG. *rēh* 'Reh,' Germ. *raiha-*, ON. *rá*, OE. *rāh-*, NE. *roe*, MDu., Du. *ree*, etc. are from pre-Germ. **roiko-* 'striped, streaked.' Compare Skt. *rēkhā* 'Riss, Strich, Linie, Streifen, Reihe,' OHG. *rihe* 'Reihe,' etc., and, for meaning, Skt. *pṛcniṣ* 'gesprenkelt, bunt, scheckig,' Gk. *προκάς*, *πρόξ* 'a kind of deer or roe.'

The above group together with the words in no. 7 may be referred to the root *rei-* in Skt. *rī-ti-ṣ* 'Lauf; Strom; Strich,' *rīṇāti* 'lässt laufen,' *vi-rīṇāti* 'zertrennt, durchhaut,' ON. *rein* 'Streifen Land,' OHG. *rein* 'Rain,' Lith. *raīnas* 'graubunt gestreift.'

7. ON. *reik* 'Scheitellinie, welche die Haare teilt' (Möbius 342), Norw. *reik* 'striebe, linie; især: blis, striebe i panden paa dyr; skille-linie haaret paa mennesker, en linie imellem panden og issepunktet, hvorfra haaret skiller sig til siderne; en skille-fure imellem to afdelinger i en ager' (Aasen, *Norsk Ordbog* 591), 'striebe paa et dyrs side, afbarket striebe paa træ' (Ross, *NO.* 595), Swed. dial. *raik*, *rek* 'Scheitellinie' (Rietz 521) are related to Lith. *rėžis* 'Einschnitt, Ritze, Schramme, Streifen durch blosser Raine abgetheilten Aekers, wo die Felder gemeinsam liegen,' *rėžys* 'Riss, Strich auf der Erde,' *rėžiu*, freq. *raizau* 'schneide, ritze, reisse.' Compare no. 6.

8. OE. *spala*, *gespelia* 'substitute, representativ,' *spelian* 'act as representativ of, take one's place,' NE. *spell* 'take the place of, take turns with,' *spell* 'a turn of work or duty in place of

another, an interval of relief by another person ; an interval of time within definite limits, a short period, interval' have no connection in meaning with OE. *spilian*, OHG. *spilōn* 'spielen,' and the two groups of words do not agree phonetically. The meaning 'interval ; short period' probably comes from 'space.' In that case the words may be derived from the IE. root *sphē-* 'stretch' in Lat. *spatium* 'space, time' etc.

9. Goth. *spillōn* 'verkündigen, erzählen,' OE. *spellian* 'announce, tell,' OHG. *spellōn* 'erzählen ; reden, schwatzen,' MDu. *spellen* 'explanare, declarare ad minima usque elementa ; articulatum enucleare' (Kilian) evidently go back to the primary meaning 'separate, spread abroad,' 'zertheilen, auseinandersetzen, auslegen.' They may be referred to pre-Germ. *spel-nā-*, *-no-*, IE. root *sphel-* 'split, scatter': Skt. *sphālayati* 'schlägt auf ; zerreisst,' *phālati* 'springt entzwei, berstet,' *sphutāti* 'springt auf, spaltet sich,' OHG. *spaltan* 'spalten.' MLG. *spilden* 'verschwenden ; verschütten,' OE. *spildan* 'destroy' etc.

For meaning cp. Skt. *dālati* 'berstet, springt auf,' *dālayati* 'macht bersten, spaltet,' Lith. *dalyti* 'teilen,' Ir. *fo-dālim* 'discerno, sejungo,' ON. *tal* 'Zahl, Aufzählung, Rede,' *telia* 'zählen, erzählen,' etc. ; MHG. *schiden* 'scheiden ; deuten, auslegen,' *geschide* 'gescheit.'

10. NE. *toddle* 'walk feebly, walk with short, tottering steps' is given in the *Cent. Dict.* as "a var. of *tottle*, perhaps influenced by some association with *waddle*." All this may be true, for synonymous words often do influence each other. But in its formation *toddle* can certainly lay claim to a considerable age, for it is also found in other Germ. dialects. Compare Westf. *toddeln* 'schleppend gehen,' Bav., Tyrol. *zotteln* 'langsam, träge gehen,' frequentatives of Bav. *zotten* 'langsam gehen,' EFries. *todden* 'ziehen, schleppen, tragen,' MHG. *zoten* 'langsam gehen.' These are from the same Germ. base as NHG. *zaudern*, LG. (Pruss.) *toddern* 'zögern, langsam handeln,' OE. *tiedre* 'weak, frail, fleeting, transitory,' etc., from the primary meaning 'pull, tug, drag along, zögern.'

Here also belong OHG. *zota* 'Zotte' (compare NHG. *zupfen* : *Zopf*), Tyrol. *zottlet* 'nachlässigen Anzugs,' *zottler* 'Mann von zottigem Aussehen,' Westf. *toddelig* 'schlotternd, schlotterig ange-

zogen,' Bav. *zottern* 'niederhängen wie Haare,' etc. (cf. author, *MLN.* xvi, 18 ; *IE.* *ax : azi : aru* 71).

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THE BALLAD OF THE DEN OF LIONS

The ballad of *The Den of Lions* had not been noted as current in America until Professor Shearin published a Kentucky version of it in the April number of this journal. The ballad was an especial favorite with Professor Child on account of its diverting absurdity. He had received two Scottish versions derived from recitation,—one taken down in Old Deer about 1873 by Mrs. A. F. Murison (Murison ms., Harvard College Library, fols. 14-16), the other contributed by Mr. William Macmath (Macmath ms., p. 53). He had also noted the occurrence of the ballad in one of Bishop Percy's broadsides,¹ in Buchan's MSS.,² in the Kinloch MSS.,³ and in Christie's *Traditional Ballad Airs*.⁴ It is likewise found in one of Morren's Edinburgh garlands, where it is entitled "The Bostonshire Lady."⁵

Professor Belden, in *The Sewanee Review* for April, prints a Catnach broadside text and refers to a version still current in Somerset.⁶ The story of the glove and the lions (as Romance scholars know, and as Professor Child was well aware) occurs in Spain as early as the sixteenth century.⁷ How much older it is, *quien sabe?*

¹ Vol. i, no. 69 (Harvard College Library).

² I, 432 (British Museum, Add. ms. 29408). There is a transcript of this manuscript, as well as of the Macmath ms., in the Harvard College Library. In another large manuscript in Buchan's hand, known as "Buchan's Original Ms." (Harvard), the piece does not occur.

³ vi, 43 (Harvard College Library).

⁴ ii, 127 (Edinburgh, 1881).

⁵ "Three Excellent New Songs. The Bostonshire Lady. The Parson's Fat Wedder. The Hopeless Lovers. Edinburgh: printed by J. Morren" (Harvard College Library, 25252. 19, no. 21).

⁶ Sharp and Marson, *Folk Songs from Somerset*, 3d Series, 1906, pp. 4-5 (no. 56). The editors cite Ashton, *Real Sailor Songs*, p. 54.

⁷ See Wolf and Hofmann, *Primavera y Flor*, No. 134, ii, 45-48.

The Percy broadside (without date or place) is of the eighteenth century. The title runs, "The Distressed Lady; Or, A Trial of True Love. In Five Parts." This version is very long, extending to fifty-five stanzas. The lady lives "near Saint James's" and the den of lions is in the Tower. The lieutenant's valor is set in bolder relief by the statement that he had lost a leg in the wars. The Murison version keeps London, but drops the Tower; those of Macmath and Christie drop Saint James's, but keep the Tower. Buchan's text localizes the incident at Dalkeith, Morren's refers it to "Bostonshire."

The accidents of oral transmission are beautifully illustrated by the third stanza of the Kentucky version printed by Professor Shearin :—

One he was a bold lieutenant,
A man of honor and of high degree;
The other was a brave sea-captain,
Belonging to a ship called Karna Call.

Karna Call is a queer name for a ship. The Percy broadside reads, however :—

One bought a captain's commission,
Under the brave Colonel Carr,
The other was a first lieutenant
In the Tyger man of war.

Macmath's and Christie's texts preserve "Colonel Car"; Kinloch's has "Colonel Carr." Buchan's text reads "Underneath a colonel's care." The Murison MS. has :—"The one o' them was a noble captain, An' in below a Colonel's care." The Morren text makes both suitors naval officers :—

The oldest brother he was a captain,
on board with the honour'd Capt Ker;
The youngest brother he was a lieutenant,
on board the Tyger-Man-of-War.

I subjoin the Murison version, as it is vastly amusing and somewhat fuller than that from Kentucky.

THE FAIREST LADY IN LONDON CITY

- 1 The fairest lady in London City,
Her portion was twelve thousands pounds;
And many a one went that lady awoin',
But a' their offers she did disdain.
- 2 She has sworn it oe'r an' o'er
That no man should her husband be,
Except he was a man o' honour
An' could both fecht upon lan' and sea.

- 3 Two sons of a squire, two loving brothers,
Went to woo that lady fair,
For to woo her, an' to pursue her,
An' for to gain her was a' their care.
- 4 The one o' them was a noble captain
An' in below a Colonel's care;
The other was a bold lieutenant
Aboard a frigate, a man-o'-war.
- 5 Oot it speaks that gallant lady:
"I canna be but ae man's bride;
But ye'll come back to-morrow mornin'
An' soon the matter I will decide."
- 6 That lovin' brothers walked home together,
Thinkin' on their dreadful doom,—
Which of them was to gain her favour
An' which of them was to gain her frown.
- 7 Early, early the next mornin',
Early by the break o' day,
Her coach an' six was soon made ready
To bear that gallant lady away.
- 8 Until she came to a den o' lions,
Which struck the lady in a swoon,
An' for the space o' half an hour
It's she lay speechless on the groun'.
- 9 When she had her speech recovered,
She threw her fan into the den,
Says, "Which of you to gain a lady
Can bring that fan to me again?"
- 10 It's oot it speaks the noble captain,
"It's all your offers I do disown.
You've many dangers laid therewith,
An' I'll never venture my life for none."
- 11 "I was never called a coward,
Never upon land nor sea;
But for to fecht wi' brutes an' teegers,
It is a thing I will never dee."
- 12 But oot it speaks the bold lieutenant,
And a brisk young boy was he,
Says, "Lady, here is the man o' honour
That will bring your fan, or else he'll dee."⁸
- 13 It's when he entered the den o' lions,
They looked at him both fierce and grim;
But he was none i' the least adaunted,
But looked to them as fierce again.
- 14 He walkèd doon thro' the den o' lions,
An' two o' them he made his prey;
And when they saw that his blood was royal,
Doon amongst his feet they lay.

⁸ Variant: That's careless whether he'll live or dee.

- 15 He loot him doon, an' took up her fan,
With great composure, but no dismay;
An' the lady in her coach lay trem'lin',
Lest to the lions he'd become a prey.
- 16 But when she saw that he was returnin',
An' that no harm unto him was done,
With open arms she embraced him,
Says, "Take the prize ye hae dearly won."
- 17 It's oot it speaks the faint-hearted captain,
Like one that was deranged in mind,
Says, "I'll wander hopeless in some desert,
Since in this world I'll no comfort find."
- 18 When the king he got word o' that,
That two of his lions had been slain,
He was none o' the least offended,
But made him a captain for the same.

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THE MYSTERY PLAYS AND THE NORTHERN PASSION

Students of the Early English drama will be interested to know that a direct source for four of the Towneley plays exists in a Middle English poem, which must have been composed in the first half of the fourteenth century. The poem in question is the *Northern Passion*, as Horstmann¹ terms it, which relates the story of the Passion from the Conspiracy of the Jews and the supper at Simon the Leper's, to the Resurrection, and the bribing of the guards who watched the tomb, —from first to last about 3500 lines. The parallels with the Towneley text are of two kinds. In the first place, there is at certain points a general similarity of outline, the play following more or less exactly the order of events suggested by the *Passion*. This correspondence is in itself hardly

close enough to be significant; but, in the second place, we find also the more striking occurrence of verbal borrowing, extending even to rime. The parallels are found in the four plays which deal with the Crucifixion and the events immediately preceding and following it, namely, numbers xx, xxii, xxiii, and xxvi. Inasmuch as the whole matter must be worked over in fuller detail than is here possible, I shall not attempt to give an exhaustive list of parallels. A comparison of the Towneley text with the passages printed below will, however, suffice to show the presence of verbal borrowing with rime. I have not thought it necessary to reprint the Towneley text itself, as it is easily accessible, but I have displayed in italics the more striking agreements in phrase, and have referred in the margin to the corresponding Towneley lines according to the numbering in the E. E. T. S. edition.² The first and last passages are quoted from ms. Cotton Tiberius E vii, dated by Horstmann³ (in the last half of fourteenth century) with which, in general, the Towneley text agrees more closely. Where this ms. was rendered illegible by the Cottonian fire I supply in brackets readings from Harleian 4196 (first half of fifteenth century),⁴ which Horstmann thinks is a direct copy from Cot. Tib. E vii. In the second passage, however, I have chosen instead Cambridge University ms. Gg. 1. 1 (first half of fourteenth century), to which in this play the Towneley lines exhibit special resemblances.

I

The passage which follows is to be compared with Towneley xx, lines 250-281:

- 262 Doune scho fell and wesche *his fete* (fol. 165v.)
258 *With þe teres þat scho grete*;
259 *And seþin scho dried þam with hir hare*,
254-5 *And for hir sins scho murned save.*⁵

¹*Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, pp. lxvi and lxxxi. Portions of the *Passion* have already been printed from Harleian 4196: Horstmann published the part dealing with the Entombment and the Resurrection in Herrig's *Archiv* LVII, 78-83; and R. Morris, the part containing the "The Story of the Holy Rood" in *Legends of the Holy Rood*, E. E. T. S., 46, pp. 62-86. The passages quoted below have never before been printed. The term *Northern Passion* is used merely for convenience, not as indicating the region where the poem arose.

² Edited by George England and A. W. Pollard, vol. LXXI.

³*Altenglische Legenden*, Neue Folge, p. lxxix.

⁴ Cf. W. H. Hulme: *M. F. Harrowing of Hell*, E. E. T. S., Ext. Ser. C, p. xxvi.

⁵ Although this is not the place to discuss the sources of the *Passion*, it may be pointed out in passing that there is here verbal reminiscence of the *Cursor Mundi*, E. E. T. S. 62, lines 14008-14011 of the Göttingen ms.:

256 *Ane oynement with hir scho broght* (fol. 166^r.)

254, 257 *þat was of precyus things wroght,*
And þarwith scho enoynted him,
(Als men may find bifor þis tyme
In þe last godspell saue ane, to luke,
þat set es bifore in þis buke;
Bot proces clerly to declare,
Here I sall git muster mare.)

261-2 *Als scho enoynt him heued and fete*

260 And honord him *hir bales to bete,*
þe oynement went about full wide
In þe hows on ilka syde.

Iudas, als we haue herd here,
when þai sat at þaire sopere
Al samen in simondes leprows [hall],
And Mari to ihesu fete gan f[all]
with hir vnement [precyows]

264 (*þe odore went o[uer al þe hous]*),
þan Iudas thocht, als [it es kend],
þat þis vnement w[as euill despende];

270 *And said þat it sul[d haue bene salde],*

271 *Thre hundreth pen[is to haue talde].*
He [was cumberd in couatyse],
And þarfore sa[id he on þis wise];
ffor al þat þai h[ad forto spend]
was halely gif [en in to his hend],
And in his bagges about he bare (fol. 166^v).
All þaire tresore les and mare.

And of all þat come to þam twelue

274-5 *þe tende euer toke he till him selue;*
In litel purses euer he stale
þe tende of þaire tresore vitale,
þat brogt he euer vnto his wife.
þus [cursedly] he led his life.
[And if þe] oynement les and mare
[Had bene saed, als he] said are,
[for thre hundreth] plates fully,

279 *þan suld him self haue had threty,—*

278 *þat of thre hundreth es þe tende—*

277 *þat thocht he wele with him suld wende.*

274 *ffor þe tend to him self he toke*
Of all [þaire siluer (so) sais þe boke].

And, for þe tende cumes to nomare
Of thre hundreth, als I said are,
Bot to thretty, als es said biforn,
So mekill thocht him he had lorn,
þat suld [haue] cumen into his walde.

280 þarfor[e his mais]ter so he salde,
And asked nowþer more ne les
Bot þat þe tend of thre hundreth es;

274 þat es threty, *trewly to tell.*
when þis was done he wald noght dwel.⁶

þar-wid scho fel in suilk a grete,
þat wid þe teris scho wesse his fete;
On þaim scho wepe hir sinnes sare,
And sipen scho drei þaim wid hir hare.

Be it noted, however, that in the lines that follow, the Townely play is nearer the *Northern Passion* than it is the *Cursor Mundi*.

⁶ Ms. Cotton Tiberius E VII.

II

The passage which follows is to be compared with Towneley xx, 314-329:

His disciples he tok him ner (fol. 123^r.)

And axid him with veir chere,

314 "Sire, wer woltu holde þi feste?"⁷

We wol go criein most and leste."

Ihesu Answerd son anon,

316 And cliped to him *petir and iohan*;

316 "Goth," he seid, "ye sschulle mete

318 A man faitor in þe strete,"⁸

320 *þe hous þat he goth to with grith,*

321 *Ye sschulle him folwe and go with.*

322 *þe lord of þe hous ve sschul⁹ finde*

323 *A simple man of seli kinde,*

324 *To him ye sschul spek and seie*

325 *Ich com nou sone in youre weie:*

329 *I wol me feste in his halle*

328 *And mine disciples alle.*¹⁰

þat is come, þe time is ner

Among mi frendes to make soper.¹¹

III

The following passage is to be compared with Towneley xxii, 358-374:

vnto simon gan þai say, (fol. 179^r.)

"Maister," þai said, "þou es wele met,

And wele has þou þi trauail sett.

369 *A man es here omanges vs led*

371 *þat veri es and all for bled;*

Him self beres þe same tre

þat he on sall hanged be;

357-8 *And þis grete birþin þat he beres*

357 To gang with all mekill him deres.

And if þou will now for oure sake

374 Of þis man *þe rode tre take*

374-5 *And bere it furth whare it sall be,*

Mekill wald we thank þe."¹²

⁷ Harleian, 4196 f. 68^v :

"Whare wiltou we puruay a place
In forto hald þe fest of pasch?"

⁸ Again there is verbal reminiscence of *Cursor Mundi*, (Cotton ms.), 15187-15190:

"Gas til-ward þe tun," he said.

"A man þar you sal mete,

A watrin vescel in his hand,

O-gains yow þat strett . . ."

although the parallel does not extend to the lines which are closest to the Towneley play.

⁹ Ms. ssuchl.

¹⁰ Cot. Tib. E VII, fol. 166^v. "Rest me and mi munge all."

¹¹ Camb. Univ. ms. Gg. 1. 1.

¹² Ms. Cotton Tiberius E VII.

The repeated instances of identity of rime can be accounted for only by supposing that the author of these plays was working with the *Northern Passion* either actually beside him, or definitely in mind.

Moreover, the importance of this text for the drama is not confined to the Towneley plays. Though in the York cycle the verbal borrowings are not so frequent or so extended, yet the influence of the *Passion* in determining the sequence of events is unmistakable. York plays which show undoubted likeness either in verbal reminiscence or in similarity of outline are xxvi, xxvii, xxviii, xxix, xxxii, xxxiii, xxxiv, xxxv, xxxvi, and xxxviii.¹³ That the York playwright occasionally made use of a vernacular source has already been demonstrated by Mr. Craigie,¹⁴ who has pointed out parallels in the Middle-English *Gospel of Nicodemus*. With the additional facts here presented, the dependence of the playwright upon vernacular texts, suggested by Mr. Craigie, is confirmed and extended. In fact, the *Northern Passion* + the *Gospel of Nicodemus* would appear to supply the basis for whole plays, the sources being used to supplement each other. Whatever uses the liturgical drama may have served in developing the dramatic tradition, it seems clear that in these plays, at least, the author depended directly upon vernacular texts. In other words, the English playwright appears to have followed the line of least resistance: in constructing these scriptural plays he turned naturally enough to English paraphrases of the scriptural stories already in meter—obviously a much easier method than one which involved translation.

There are many questions of detail which still remain to be considered: a careful comparison of all the manuscripts of the *Passion* is necessary in order to determine in what form it was used by

¹³ The reader may test the influence of the *Passion* on the York plays by comparing the portion already printed by Horstmann in *Herrigs Archiv*, LVII, pp. 78-83. Cf. especially ll. 39-40 with York xxxvi, 279-81; ll. 75-78 with York xxxvi, 292-297; ll. 195-6 with York xxxviii, 140-141; Towneley xxvi, 167-168; ll. 407-8 with York xxxviii, 359-60; Towneley xxvi, 502-503; ll. 439-40 with York xxxviii, 404-6; Towneley xxvi, 535-7; ll. 453-4 with York xxxviii, 408-9; Towneley xxvi, 545-8. ll. 459-60 with York xxxviii, 432; Towneley xxvi, 556.

¹⁴ *An English Miscellany* (Oxford, 1901), pp. 52-61.

the playwright. Furthermore, the whole matter of the relation of the cycles must be reconsidered in the light of these new facts. Obviously, such larger questions cannot be discussed until the study of all the manuscripts is finished. I am now engaged in editing the complete text of the *Northern Passion* from nine manuscripts; my present purpose is, therefore, merely to call attention briefly to the direct relation in which it stands to the English mystery plays, postponing until the publication of the text, the critical problems which it may involve.¹⁵

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AN ECHO OF SCHILLER'S *RÄUBER* IN ENGLAND

Recent investigation has shown that Schiller's *Räuber* called forth very few imitations in England. In spite of four translations between 1790-1800, one of which passed through four editions, there appeared very few native tragedies which, either in plot or diction, followed directly in its track. Thomas Rea¹ mentions only two plays which owe their origin to Schiller's drama, Holman's *Red Cross Knights*, 1799, and Gandy's "Lorenzo," 1823. The reason for this poverty of imitation is not far to seek. The striking characteristics of the *Robbers*, revolutionary sentiment and extravagant diction rendered it popular with liberal readers, but at the same time subjected it to the veto of the dramatic censor. It could reach the English stage only in a mutilated form. This is what happened to it at the hands of Holman, who diluted the sentiments and substituted a melodramatic for a tragic catastrophe.

To these plays mentioned by Rea may be added a third, Richard Cumberland's *Don Pedro*, which, though not a professed imitation, bears a resemblance close enough to stamp it as an offspring of the *Robbers*. An outline of the plot will show

¹⁵ Professor Carleton Brown pointed out to me the possibility of a direct relation between the *Passion* and the mystery plays, and the above parallels have been worked out at his suggestion.

¹ Schiller's *Dramas and Poems in England*, 1906.

that Cumberland seized upon certain external characteristics of Schiller's play, which appealed to him because of their dramatic effectiveness, and upon these as a framework constructed a romantic drama which preserves little of the vigor and strength of the original.

Don Pedro, called El Diablo, the son of a Spanish nobleman, has been discarded by his family on account of his liberal principles and savage character. He joins a band of robbers, and by his superior vices is raised to the dignity of being their leader. Henrique, his brother, is the very antithesis of Don Pedro and the embodiment of all that is good and amiable. He falls by chance into the hands of the robbers, is stabbed, and left for dead by his brother. Pedro now disguises himself in Henrique's clothes and gains admission to the house of his uncle, who, believing him to be Henrique, is about to bestow upon him the hand of his daughter Celestina; but Celestina has a dream in which she is apprised of the villainy of Pedro and his supposed murder of Henrique. But the father will not be convinced by any such flimsy evidence. An inquiry concerning the supposed murder of Henrique is instigated by the inquisitor. Nicholas, a messenger to whom Henrique had given a letter recommending that his brother should take flight before his infamy should be revealed, is condemned. The evidence is supplied by Pedro, who represents that he, as Henrique, had written the letter and that Nicholas had robbed him. But the real Henrique has followed after his messenger, and relates to the inquisitor the true state of affairs. Nicholas is set free, Henrique is joined to Celestina and Don Pedro, crowded to the wall, commits suicide.

Cumberland is indebted to Schiller not so much for the details of the plot, as for the idea of the banditti, the hostility between the two brothers and, above all, for the general characteristics of Don Pedro, bearer of the title rôle. In his person the author combined the worst characteristics of both Karl and Franz Moor, resulting in an enormity so unnatural and grotesque that the human element is scarcely recognizable. He is, like Karl Moor, a free, unrestrained spirit, has Karl's disregard for established custom and social order and finally falls a prey of his own pernicious appetites and desires. There is, however, in his

character, no suggestion of the human and pathetic side of Karl's nature, his intense love for Emilia and his father, his ultimate regret for the waywardness of his life and his fatalistic conviction that he was the victim of inevitable circumstances. For these redeeming qualities are substituted Franz's cunning and cruelty, unscrupulousness, and atheism. The fusion of the two brothers Karl and Franz into one character made it necessary to create a new figure, Henrique, who is the virtuous and injured lover of the conventional type. Schiller's style is reflected in Cumberland's diction by the employment of extravagant language calculated to express violent emotion. It is, however, a feeble echo of his model and has the effect of bombast and inflation. We are conscious that behind the words there is no convincing personality, and behind the personality no burning experience in the author's life.

Don Pedro was produced for the first time at the Haymarket Theatre July 26, 1796, and met with little success. It was announced for a second representation with a "mixture of applause and approval." After four performances it was taken off and never revived. That Cumberland himself was not very well satisfied with his effort may be inferred from the fact that he scarcely mentions it in his *Memoirs*.

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THE DATE OF CHAUCER'S MARRIAGE GROUP

It is a matter of considerable interest to determine at what period of Chaucer's development the "Marriage Group" of *Canterbury Tales* (which, according to Professor Kittredge's definition, consists of Groups D, E, and F, containing the *Wife of Bath's Prolog* and *Tale*, the *Friar's Tale*, *Summoner's Tale*, *Clerk's Tale*, *Merchant's Tale*, *Squire's Tale*, and *Franklin's Tale*, with the intervening links, etc.), was composed. Fortunately we have some reliable chronological data. In his *Envoy to Bukton* Chaucer says to his friend:

The Wyf of Bathe I pray you that ye rede
Of this matere that we have on honde,

the "matere" being Bukton's approaching marriage. Now since this poem was written in the latter part of 1396, as shown by Skeat (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, 85), the allusion gives us a *terminus ad quem* for the completion of the Wife's prolog, (see also Tatlock, *Development and Chronology*, pp. 210, 211). Moreover, the remarkable parallels of thought and phraseology between the *Wife of Bath's Prolog* and the *Merchant's Tale* have very properly been taken as evidence that these two works were written within a rather short interval of time (Tatlock, pp. 201, 202). Other chronological data have been obtained from our knowledge of what books Chaucer was reading at the time he was working on the Marriage Group. It is a well known fact that the *Wife of Bath's Prolog* is very deeply indebted to St. Jerome's work *adversus Jovinianum* (see *Essays on Chaucer*, Chaucer Soc., pp. 298 ff.). When we inquire what other works of Chaucer show the influence of this work of St. Jerome's, we find that in the *Merchant's Tale* (E 1294 ff.) Theophrastus, who is embodied in St. Jerome's treatise, is quoted by name, that the Summoner (D 1929) alludes to Jovinian, and that Dorigen's lament in the *Franklin's Tale* (F 1355-1456) is made up from St. Jerome, Book I, chapters 41-46. This common use of the same material gives us ground for the inference that these three works were composed at no great interval after the *Wife of Bath's Prolog*. But Chaucer's use of St. Jerome furnishes us with another clew. In the *A prolog* to the *Legend of Good Women*, ll. 281 ff., the God of Love cites Jerome against Jovinian, and sums up the chapters, mentioned above, which furnish the material for Dorigen's lament in the *Franklin's Tale*.¹ Now, if I may be allowed to beg the question of the priority of the two prologs to the *Legend of Good Women*, there is very good ground for assigning to the *A prolog* a date not long after June 7, 1394.² If we accept this date for the *A prolog* we have good evidence, so far as it goes, for dating the Marriage Group near 1394 or 1395.

Within a few months, however, Mr. Lowes has

furnished us with some additional evidence. He has shown³ that the *Merchant's Tale*, the *Wife of Bath's Prolog*, and, probably, the *Franklin's Tale* are indebted to Dechamps' *Miroir de Mariage*, and that the *A prolog* to the *Legend of Good Women* shows the influence of the same work. This, of course, lends additional force to the inference that the Marriage Group was, roughly speaking, contemporary with the *A prolog*. Finally, Mr. Lowes points out that Chaucer had about this time an excellent opportunity for securing a copy of the *Miroir*, thru the agency of Sir Lewis Clifford, who renewed his acquaintance with Dechamps during the peace negotiations carried on at Lollinghem early in 1393. In summing up his conclusions as to the chronological bearings of this new evidence Mr. Lowes emphasises "the clearer light which is thrown, by Chaucer's use of the *Miroir*, upon the close and intimate interrelations of the Marriage Group as a whole. For whatever the order within the group, the common relation of its members to the *Miroir de Mariage* affords conclusive evidence of what has long been regarded as probable on other grounds—the fact, namely, that the various tales which deal specifically with marriage belong to the same general period. And that period, there is good reason to believe, began in 1393."⁴

I wish now to call attention to a point that has never, I believe, been utilised in discussing the chronology of the *Canterbury Tales*. Chaucer's *Envoy to Scogan* was very probably written in the autumn of 1393 (*Oxford Chaucer*, I, 556, 557). In this poem Chaucer, after putting into Scogan's mouth the words :

Lo ! olde Grisel list to ryme and pleye !

replies as follows :

Nay, Scogan, sey not so, for I mexcuse,
God help me so ! in no rym, doutelees,
Ne thinke I never of slepe wak my muse,
That rusteth in my shethe stille in pees.
Whyl I was yong, I putte hir forth in prees,
But al shal passe that men prose or ryme ;
Tak every man his turn, as for his tyme.

One might be inclined to deny to this utterance of Chaucer's, occurring as it does in verse of so

¹ For this material in regard to Chaucer's use of St. Jerome, see Skeat, index and notes to *Oxford Chaucer*, and Koeppl, *Anglia*, XIII, 174 ff., *Archiv*, LXXXIV, 414, 415.

² Lowes, *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xx, 780-801, Tatlock, p. 122.

³ *Modern Philology*, VIII, 165-186, 305-334.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, VIII, 332, 333.

light a vein, all significance whatever. Yet, when we consider the matter more closely, it is difficult to show any solid ground for discrediting Chaucer's statement, that his muse was "rusting in his sheath" at the time he rallied Scogan on his blasphemies against Love. All that we can say against it is that it is obviously expressed with humorous exaggeration, but it may nevertheless be based upon sober fact. For there is, *a priori*, nothing improbable in Chaucer's statement. In the last decade of his life, Chaucer was occupied only with the *Canterbury Tales* and occasional short poems. Now, from all that we know of his methods of work we may be sure that Chaucer did not write the *Canterbury Tales* as Trollope is said to have written his novels, at the regular rate of so many pages a day. The work took shape in his mind little by little, and, as Miss Hammond has very suggestively said,⁵ each set of pilgrims, with their corresponding tales, was the result of a separate impulse to the poet's imagination. Among these various *motifs* that Chaucer made use of for carrying on his work were, to follow Miss Hammond again,⁶ the romantic-religious group represented by the Knight, Prioress, etc.; the "quarrel group" of Miller and Reeve, etc.; and the Marriage Group. When his imagination was kindled by the dramatic possibilities of some new device, Chaucer worked at the *Canterbury Tales* with great energy; when he had exhausted these possibilities he laid the work aside until he could come at another device. It seems reasonable, therefore, to take Chaucer's utterance in the *Envoy to Scogan* as marking one of these periods in which he was not actively at work on the *Canterbury Tales*, but lying fallow.

If this view be accepted, the allusion has an obvious bearing upon the date of the Marriage Group. It corroborates in a striking way Mr. Lowes's theory that the composition of this section of the *Canterbury Tales* began at the end of 1393 or very early in 1394. For, in consideration of the evidence we already have that Chaucer was enthusiastically at work on the Marriage Group in 1394 or 1395, a period of inactivity in the autumn of 1393 must surely indicate that when Chaucer wrote his *Envoy to Scogan* he had

not yet received this important inspiration. We may therefore with increased confidence assign to the Marriage Group the date 1393-1396.

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ZU EINIGEN STELLEN IN GOETHE'S EGMONT

Zweiter Aufzug, Egmont's Wohnung. "Noch hab' ich meines Wachstums Gipfel nicht erreicht; und steh' ich droben einst, so will ich fest, nicht ängstlich stehn. Soll ich fallen, so mag ein Donnerschlag, ein Sturmwind, *ja ein selbst verfehelter Schritt* mich abwärts in die Tiefe stürzen; da lieg ich" u. s. w.

Beim ersten Augenschein wird man gewiss die gesperrt gedruckten Worte im Sinne "durch eignes Verschulden verfehlt" auffassen, wie es ja die Übersetzer und Commentatoren, soweit sie die Stelle berücksichtigen, auch durchweg tun. Bei näherem Zusehn zeigt es sich aber, dass der Nachdruck auf 'Schritt' liegen kann, mit Nebenton auf 'selbst'; wodurch 'selbst' nicht mehr 'verfehlt' modifizierte, sondern den ganzen Satzteil—ganz als wenn es hiesse, "ja selbst ein verfehelter Schritt." Das ist nun allerdings eine gewaltsame, um nicht zu sagen unmögliche Wortstellung, und es wäre sicherlich aussichtslos, nach Parallelen einer solchen Sprachwillkür suchen zu wollen. Andererseits ist ein Schritt, den man selbst (und kein anderer) verfehlt, als böse Tautologie noch anstössiger—was bisher übersehen worden ist.

Man bedenke, dass, allem Anschein nach, die ersten drei Akte des Dramas schon 1775 vorlagen, also zum Urtexte gehören, mit dem Goethe nach seinem Briefe an Frau von Stein vom 20. März 1782 so unzufrieden war. Dennoch will er "nur" das allzuaufgeknöpfte, studentenhafte der Manier zu tilgen suchen, das der Würde des Gegenstands widerspricht." Möglicherweise entging dabei der etwas kraftgenialische Satz in diesem sonst durchaus würdigen Passus seiner Aufmerk-

⁵ Chaucer, p. 256.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 256 ff.

¹ Von mir, jedoch im Sinne der Stelle hervorgehoben.

samkeit, auch bei der endlichen Revision und Vollendung des Stückes.

Es ist weiterhin zu berücksichtigen, dass die Stelle durchweg rhythmisch ist. Wenn alle Worte im Satz beibehalten werden sollen, und dabei auch der Rhythmus, so ist nicht zu ersehen, wo anders 'selbst' stehen könnte. Já, selbst ein verfehlter Schritt' ginge rhythmisch vielleicht an; der Schwerton auf 'ein' taugt aber darum nicht, weil nicht ein Donnerschlag ein Sturmwind, ein Schritt gemeint sind. 'Selbst' ist aber nötig im Satze, um das an und für sich Unbedeutende des Fehltritts gegenüber den mächtigen Naturäusserungen des Donnerschlags, des Sturmwindes zu markieren, die begreiflicherweise den Sturz des Mächtigen nach sich ziehen können.

Klaucke (*Egmont*, p. 54) erläutert: "Die Gefahr kann von aussen kommen: 'Ein Donnerschlag, ein Sturmwind' kann ihn niederschmettern; er kann auch durch eigne Schuld, durch 'einen selbst verfehlten Schritt' zu Grunde gehen" . . . Das widerspricht aber total dem Fatalismus Egmonts, der doch nirgends deutlicher zum Vorschein tritt, als gerade hier. Nein, er denkt gar nicht daran, je durch eignes Fehlen einen Irrtum zu begehen, der nicht aufs engste mit seinem Schicksal zusammenhinge, und daher gewissermassen auch vorausbedingt ist. Ausserdem liegt kein zwingender Grund vor, bloss die ersten zwei Umstände des Donnerschlags und des Sturmwindes als rein äusserlich, den Fehltritt aber als durch eigne Schuld bedingt anzunehmen. Alle drei sind ihm durch's Schicksal ("soll ich fallen" u. s. w.) im Voraus bestimmt.

Übrigens, wie unsäglich prosaisch: Ein 'selbst-verfehlter' Schritt sollte den dämonischen Egmont stürzen! Es wäre der Schritt vom Erhabenen zum Lächerlichen.

Dieselbe Scene, Oranien.

Egmont. Ist des Königs Gunst ein so schmaler Grund?

Oranien. So schmal nicht, aber schlüpfrig.

Egmont. Bei Gott! man thut ihm Unrecht. Ich mag nicht leiden, dass man ungleich von ihm denkt! Er ist Karls Sohn und keiner Niedrigkeit fähig.

Oranien. Die Könige thun nichts Niedriges.

Egmont. Man sollte ihn kennen lernen.

Buchheim bemerkt zu der hervorgehobenen Stelle "the import of this saying is, that the actions of kings are never interpreted as mean, because people always attribute to them higher motives." Winkler, "he means that kings never do anything wrong or contemptible, because they do everything through their agents."

Wir sind aber durch den Zusammenhang weder zu der einen noch der anderen von diesen Auffassungen befugt. Oraniens Worte sind natürlich ironisch gemeint. Egmont sagt mit aller erwünschten Klarheit "man thut ihm Unrecht" u. s. w. Und, dass er Oraniens Antwort als direkt auf den König (und nicht auf andere) gemünzt auffasst, beweist seine nächste Replik: "Man sollte ihn kennen lernen." D. h. seine Motive nicht anzweifeln.

Dritter Aufzug, Klärchens Wohnung.

Klärchen. Bist du gut mit ihr? (der Regentin).

Egmont. Es sieht einmal so aus. Wir sind einander freundlich und dienstlich.

Klärchen. Und im Herzen?

Egmont. Will ich ihr wohl. Jedes hat seine eignen Absichten. Das thut nichts zur Sache. Sie ist eine treffliche Frau, kennt ihre Leute und sähe tief genug, wenn sie auch nicht argwöhnisch wäre. Ich mache ihr viel zu schaffen, weil sie hinter meinem Betragen immer Geheimnisse sucht und ich keine habe.

Klärchen. So gar keine?

Egmont. Eh nun! einen kleinen Hinterhalt. Jeder Wein setzt Weinstein in den Fässern an mit der Zeit.

Der letzte Satz ist durchaus nicht klar im Zusammenhang. Wie soll der sich in den Fässern ansetzende Weinstein das Verhältnis Egmonts zur Regentin beleuchten? Etwa:—Jeder noch so klare Wein—die sonst völlig uneigennützige Haltung beider—scheidet einen trüben Bodensatz aus, nämlich die Nebenabsichten eines jeden, der sich mit der Zeit erhärtet; d. h. man erkennt an und respektiert allmählich gegenseitig die zur Regel und Natur gewordenen individuellen Forderungen, den 'kleinen Hinterhalt' eines jeden —?

Die Frage sei jedoch hiermit weitergegeben.

Vierter Aufzug, Strasse.

Zimmermeister. Und wie haben dir seine (Albas)
Soldaten gefallen? u. s. w.

Jetter. Pfui! Es schnürt einem das Herz ein,
wenn man so einen Haufen die Strasse hinab
marschieren sieht. Kerzengerad, mit unver-
wandtem Blick, ein Tritt so viel ihrer sind.
u. s. w.

Das ist nun natürlich ein amüsanter Ana-
chronismus, da, wie bekannt, der militärische
Gleichschritt erst seit der Mitte des 18ten Jahr-
hunderts (hauptsächlich in Preussen) (wieder)
eingeführt wurde.—Übrigens, man glaubt aus der
Stelle den Widerwillen des Frankfurters Goethe
gegen die preussischen Grenadiere, die er bei
seinem Besuch in Berlin genugsam Gelegenheit
hatte kennen zu lernen, herauszuhören. Im Ge-
folge Karl Augusts wohnte er den Manövern zu
Potsdam und Aken bei und spricht in Briefen an
Frau von Stein (Mai 1778) seine Verwunderung
aus über das ihm fremde kriegerische Treiben in
der preussischen Residenz.—Da Goethe ab und zu
in den folgenden zwei Jahren an seinem Stück
arbeitete, so mag die Stelle von dieser Gelegen-
heit herrühren.

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DR. JOHNSON AND H. P. STURZ

So far as the writer has been able to ascertain
there is no English work upon Dr. Johnson's life,
friends and acquaintances which mentions the
interesting letter written by Helfreich Peter Sturz
in the year 1768 and published in the German
periodical *Das Deutsche Museum*, May, 1777, in
which Sturz describes his visit to Johnson at the
home of the Thrales. The letter has been re-
printed several times in German anthologies,¹ but
English writers have apparently overlooked it.

Sturz was a keen observer and "geistreicher"
critic of English literature during the latter part
of the eighteenth century. He accompanied the

king of Denmark on his visit to England in 1768,
and owing to his interest in literature, his ability
to speak the English language, and his genial
personality, he became the friend of such men
as Garrick, Colman, Macpherson, and Arthur
Murphy.²

The most interesting fact about the above-men-
tioned letter (dated London, August 18, 1768) is
the evidence it contains corroborating several of
the anecdotes related by Mrs. Piozzi. It was
undoubtedly Sturz to whom Mrs. Piozzi referred
in saying: "and I remember when the king of
Denmark was in England, one of his noblemen
was brought by Mr. Colman to see Dr. Johnson
at our country house." Sturz wrote: "Er (Dr.
Johnson) hatte Colman und mich schriftlich ein-
geladen und es wieder vergessen. Wir überfielen
ihn im eigentlichsten Verstand auf dem Landgute
des Herrn Thrailes, dessen Frau, eine artige Wal-
liserin, Griechisch zum Zeitvertriebe list und über-
setzt." It is easy to understand why the anecdote
which Mrs. Piozzi goes on to relate is not
narrated by the man who was the butt of the joke
contained in Mrs. Piozzi's story. Following close
upon this anecdote Mrs. Piozzi remarks: "This . .
was like the story which Mr. Murphy tells, and
Johnson always acknowledged: How Mr. Rose
of Hammersmith, contending for the preference
of Scotch writers over the English, after having
set up the authors like nine-pins, while the Doctor
kept bowling them down again; at last, to make
sure of victory, he named Ferguson upon Civil
Society, and praised the book for being written
in a new manner. "I do not (says Johnson)
perceive the value of this new manner, it is only
like Buckinger,³ who had no hands, and so wrote
with his feet." Sturz writes as follows: "*Sin-
gularity*, rief einer, ist oft ein Zeichen des Genies.
Dann, antwortete Johnson, gibt es nicht viel
grössere Genieen als Wilton in Chelsea. Seine
Art zu schreiben ist die singulärste von der Welt,
denn er schreibt seit dem letzten Kriege mit den
Füssen."

² See Hofstaetter's *Das Deutsche Museum*, Leipzig, 1908.
I have not been able to consult Sturz's published works.

³ I cannot account for Sturz's changing the name to
"Wilton." Buckinger was a celebrated character in his
way. See the note on Buckinger in Hill's edition of the
"Anecdotes."

¹ *Bibliothek d. d. Klassiker*, bd. vi; Kurz, *Handbuch d.
dt. Prosa*, bd. 1.

The next paragraph in Sturz's letter begins as follows: "Colman nannte den *Rehearsal* als ein ehemals bewundertes Meisterstück, das man nicht mehr zu lesen im Stande sey: *There was to little salt in too keep it sweet*, sagte Johnson." In Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes* this story is found upon the page immediately following that describing the nobleman's visit to Johnson, and is thus related: "and when some one mentioned the ridicule thrown on him (Dryden) in the 'Rehearsal,' as having hurt his general character as an author: 'On the contrary (says Mr. Johnson) the greatness of Dryden's reputation is now the only principle of vitality which keeps the duke of Buckingham's play from putrefaction.'" These remarks of Johnson are not found in Murphy's essay, but Boswell gives them in this form: "Talking of the comedy 'The Rehearsal,' he said, 'It has not wit enough to keep it sweet.' This was easy; he therefore caught himself, and pronounced a more round sentence: 'It has not vitality enough to preserve it from putrefaction.'" Sturz certainly never saw Boswell's account, and I doubt very strongly whether Boswell ever read Sturz's letter in the *Deutsches Museum*.⁴ Sturz's statement that it was Colman who mentioned the *Rehearsal* gives an added interest to the story.

In the paragraph just preceding that containing this episode, Boswell quotes Johnson's reply to a friend (apropos another matter), "Sir, had you been dipped in Pactolus, I should not have noticed you." Curiously enough Sturz, in speaking of Johnson's pension and its value to him, says "Izt hat Johnson den Paktolus in seinen Garten geleitet." Another interesting coincidence in phraseology is found in Sturz's words immediately preceding the remark by him which I have just quoted. "In dieser Zeit schrieb er (Johnson) demosthenische Reden für und wider die wichtigsten Fragen im Parlament unter'm Namen wirklichen Glieder, die man eine Zeitlang in den Provinzen für ächt hielt, und es ist nicht allgemein bekannt, dass unter diesen die berühmte Rede Pitt's ist,—und die nie aus Pitt's Munde kam." Murphy writes as follows: "An important debate being mentioned, Dr. Francis ob-

served that 'Mr. Pitt's speech on that occasion, was the best he had ever read.' He added, 'that he had employed eight years of his life in the study of Demosthenes, and finished a translation of that celebrated author—but he had met with nothing equal to the speech above mentioned.'" As soon as the warmth of praise subsided he (Dr. Johnson) opened with the words: "That speech I wrote in a garret in Exeter street."—To this discovery Dr. Francis made answer: "Then, Sir, you have exceeded Demosthenes himself; for to say that you have exceeded Francis's Demosthenes would be saying nothing." As Sturz was a friend of Murphy (Sturz stating in another letter that Murphy accompanied him on his visit to Garrick), it is probable that the above account of Johnson's parliamentary experiences Sturz got from Murphy, although Murphy's essay on Johnson did not appear until over twenty years after Sturz wrote his letter to the *Deutsches Museum*. As the earliest life of Dr. Johnson did not appear until 1784, and as Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes* came out in 1786 and Boswell's *Life* in 1791, it looks as though the earliest published anecdotes of Johnson appeared in Sturz's *Briefe eines Reisenden vom Jahre 1768*.

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The French Renaissance in England: An Account of the Literary Relations of England and France in the Sixteenth Century. By SIDNEY LEE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910, pp. xxiv + 494.

In his recent study of the French Renaissance in England, Mr. Sidney Lee enters once more the field of foreign influences upon Elizabethan literature, a field rather industriously gleaned of late in all directions. In addition to an extended list of monographs dealing with particular authors or literary types,—such as Mr. Lee's own earlier writings on the sonnet,—cumulative studies have already been made for each of the contributing foreign literatures. Best known of these are C. H. Herford's *Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*, and the ac-

⁴ Boswell could not have been with Sturz at this meeting because he visited the Thrales at Streatham for the first time on October 6, 1769.

counts of Italian, Spanish, and French influences issued a few years apart under the auspices of the Department of Comparative Literature of Columbia University. For the further development of such a field, three possibilities suggest themselves: the compilation of additional evidence, involving the establishment of new lines of indebtedness and an extension of the chronological area; a fuller interpretation of the detailed evidence already presented; or a careful, unprejudiced consideration of the combined effects of these foreign influences, in their relation to each other and to native English originality. The second, and particularly the third of these, requiring delicate appreciation, mature judgment, and wide scholarly experience, might have been expected to prove most attractive to Mr. Lee in his consideration of the general subject of Elizabethan foreign relations.

As a matter of fact, however, the plan of this work was definitely shaped before any attempt at a comprehensive study of the French influence of the period was before the public, Mr. Lee having in mind primarily a course of lectures which he later delivered before the University of Oxford in the summer of 1909. These lectures, "largely rewritten and expanded," became the volume under consideration. Hence we are not surprised to find a book built essentially on the first method indicated above, with a minimum of the critical interpretation to be expected of a scholar whose reputation is already established. To the third method he has apparently given small consideration, regarding himself frankly as a propagandist for the cause of French influence. His purpose, he announces, is to "convince discerning students of English literature of the sixteenth century that knowledge of the coeval literature of France is required to verify their estimates of the value and originality of wellnigh all the literary endeavour of Tudor England." This proposition, which Mr. Lee would have found few discerning students to contest, develops some pages later (p. 12) into his real thesis: "I am prepared to defend the position that French culture has a bearing on the development of Tudor culture, which neither the classics nor Italian art and literature nor German art and literature can on a broad survey be said to equal." In connection with this, emphasis must be placed upon the idea of "France the purveyor

of Renaissance culture," which he insists upon effectively throughout the entire treatment.

Mr. Lee's classification of his material is admirable, if somewhat elaborate, the general plan being indicated in the titles of his six books: *The Debt of Tudor Culture to France*; *French Influence on English Literature, 1500-1550*; *French Influence on Elizabethan Prose*; *On the Elizabethan Lyric*; *The Message of the Huguenots*; *French Influence on Elizabethan Drama*. The first of these is the conventional assembling of miscellaneous facts of relationship—political, social, and the like. The second, concerned with the beginnings of Renaissance activity in England and involving material not elsewhere brought together in this fashion, is a distinct contribution. The third offers the author's strongest presentation of the idea of "transmission of culture" already noted.

It is in the fourth book that Mr. Lee is most at home. Much of the material here is familiar to those who have followed his articles on Elizabethan sonneteering, but he has drawn heavily on the recent work of L. E. Kastner in *The Modern Language Review*—such of it at least as tends toward his own conclusions—and has developed at some length the very uncertain argument of lyric themes. Book V, though concerned with relationships rarely noticed, takes on a genuine significance in Mr. Lee's treatment, and might profitably have been extended farther. The sixth book is clear and interesting, but the careful reader is at a loss to justify its ninety-five pages.

Throughout the whole volume, indeed, there are indications of a lack of scale, a tendency to elaborate matters not really pertinent to Mr. Lee's specific subject. Hardly a French author is mentioned without a biographical sketch, even if there follows a confession that the account has little significance. Agrippa d'Aubigné, for instance, receives four pages of consideration (328-332), culminating thus: "The eagerness with which Elizabethan writers studied Huguenot literature and poetry of inferior temper suggests how great would have been their debt to Aubigné had he proved less shy of publicity." Details of French literary history are often presented that are related to Elizabethan England only by slight coin-

cidence or not at all.¹ This method reaches an extreme in Book VI, where the argument is largely that of unrelated parallel. The reader is constantly tempted to readjust Mr. Lee's title, making it read, *The Renaissance in France and England*, a form in which it would more accurately represent his method of treatment.

The entire work is prefaced by an extensive and convenient Chronological Table in parallel columns, and has as appendices a series of lyric parallels from the collections of Mr. Lee and Mr. Kastner, and a revision (from *Modern Philology*, Oct., 1905) of the author's paper on Chapman's *Amorous Zodiacke*. The Index is unusually complete. There is no collected Bibliography in the book, and the bibliographical citations in preface and foot-notes seem rather inadequate and unsystematic. Mr. Lee must have known and had before him a large number of the particular monographs scattered throughout his field. At any rate we should expect him to indicate at various points the investigators really responsible for the details of indebtedness involved, even if these matters are now commonplaces. Yet he makes no mention of such works as Friedmann's *Anne Boleyn*, Seeböhm's *The Oxford Reformers*, Weller's *J. Sylvester's Englische Uebersetzung der religiösen Epen des DuBartas*, or the various articles in the *Revue des Études Rabelaisiennes*,² and offers without comment Dunster's *Considerations on Milton's Early Reading* as accredited authority on the relations of DuBartas and Milton. Most of the books he cites are editions of the authors discussed, or general studies of the hand-book variety.

There are numerous indications that Mr. Lee's enthusiasm as a propagandist keeps getting the better of his critical judgment. If his purpose is as polemical as he conceives it, the logical struc-

ture of his argument may well be expected to manifest itself; or at least to be discernible and satisfying wherever one investigates more deeply. On the contrary, the reader is confronted at many a turn with reliance upon "tone," "vein," or "adumbration" to establish an indebtedness, while some of the generalizations seem considerably beyond the evidence offered in support of them. At times this criticism may be applied to matters of large scale, such as the effort to establish a wider indebtedness to the French *Pléiade* by tracing back to its members certain lyric themes, or the importance assigned to the fact that French playwrights preceded Shakespeare in drawing plots from vernacular versions of Plutarch. It will perhaps better serve our purpose to cite a few from the numerous minor instances of this apparent over-straining of conclusions, this tendency to read into the evidence presented what only the ardent advocate of a cause might be expected to find.

In the first book considerable attention is given to Anne Boleyn, who, visiting France with the English queen of Louis XII, "prolonged her stay in the French palace for seven years, and subsequently, as Henry VIII's second wife, infected the court with markedly French predilections." Indeed, says Mr. Lee, Anne "ranks high among English apostles of French culture" (p. 32). It is only after prolonged discussion that scholars have agreed to accept the idea of Anne's seven-year sojourn in France, and many are still of the opinion that she was only fourteen years of age at her return.³ Her French predilections are manifest chiefly in her kindly interest in Nicholas Bourbon, then only a young tutor in noble English families; and at best Henry's second queen does not seem a particularly worthy apostle of culture. A few pages farther (p. 39) Mr. Lee notes that "like her mother Anne Boleyn, Queen Elizabeth was devoted to French literature." In this instance, evidence consists of Elizabeth's girlhood translation of the *Miroir de l'âme pécheresse*, and the compliments of Ronsard.

More's *Utopia*, with due acknowledgment of its influence abroad, is put under obligation to France

¹ Cf. the account of Villon and Comines, pp. 14-15, of Marot, pp. 111-114, and of Ronsard, pp. 189-195; also the discussion of French printing in the Renaissance period, pp. 80-83, with its conclusion: "Very different and far less glorious is the early story of printing in England." The two historical chapters (i and ii) in Book V employ this method on the larger scale of the last book.

² General recognition is due to the pioneer work, however fragmentary, of E. J. B. Rathery, in his articles, "Des Relations sociales et intellectuelles entre la France et l'Angleterre," in *Revue contemporaine*, 1855.

³ Cf. Friedmann, *Anne Boleyn*, vol. II, appendix, note A.

in several ways. "Erasmus . . . caught from his Parisian experience a Gallic blitheness, some touch of which he communicated to Sir Thomas More" (p. 71). On the next page: "It was while More was engaged on diplomatic business at Antwerp, where French was the language of official circles, it was while he was talking in French with a Portuguese sailor . . . that More's alert imagination conceived his new ideal of society." But the Dutch scholar Erasmus—whom, by the way, Mr. Einstein claims as a representative of Italian culture in England⁴—made his first appearance in England in 1498, after about two years in Paris as a poverty-stricken scholar and tutor. Between then and 1516, the date of the *Utopia*, his sojourns in France were irregular and of short duration, fully as much of his time being spent with the English humanists. Mr. Lee finds it strikingly easy in several other places to identify *l'esprit gaulois*. The introduction of More's French conversation with the sailor suggests the extended significance given elsewhere (pp. 110-121) to the influence of the Italian poet Alamanni on Wyatt and Surrey, because the former knew him in Paris; and the references to the English use of volumes printed from French-made type (pp. 87, 143).

The account of French impulse in vernacular renderings of the scriptures is unsatisfying. Much is claimed for this in a general way; then the facts are marshalled (pp. 141-145). Tyndale was at work in England contemporaneously with Lefèvre d'Étaples in France, and Coverdale in England with Olivetan in France. Tyndale's *New Testament* was first printed at Cologne in 1525. Later his version of Jonah and the second edition of the *New Testament* were printed in Antwerp at the same press that had put out Lefèvre's finished rendering. On such basis Mr. Lee concludes: "The Antwerp printer, Martin l'Empeureur, forms a personal bond between the first complete French Bible of the French Renaissance and the first English Bible which Tyndale began and failed to finish . . . It is abundantly clear that the early English translators of the Bible were cognizant of the contemporary French efforts, and owed them an appreciable stimulus."

⁴ *Italian Renaissance in England*, p. 57.

Occasionally the inadequacy of evidence seems to strike the writer himself as he presents it, with the result that his final statement is perceptibly weakened. Witness these sentences from his contention for the *Ecclesiastical Polity* as a conspicuous example of the influence of Calvin and his group (pp. 150-151). "Richard Hooker . . . proved in his *Ecclesiastical Polity* that he closely studied the works of Calvin and of Calvin's friend Beza . . . To Calvin himself Hooker owed more than lies on the surface . . . At any rate, in regard alike to matter and method, Calvin's *Institution Chrétienne* is the French book which best deserves a place beside Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity*."

At other times the zeal of the propagandist moves Mr. Lee not only to see the French relationships in large and impressive outlines, but at the same time to exclude from his vision various other possibilities of influence. Critics have already pointed out this feature in his earlier studies of the sonnet, and have at times been able to supplant his parallels from other sources.⁵ In the case of the Elizabethan sonnets, constantly ringing the changes on conventionalized themes, and written when widely-circulated anthologies had extended the acquaintance of English poets to include even the most obscure of Italian sonneteers,⁶ it seems reasonable to ask that an assumption of indebtedness to France shall either be supported by close, detailed parallel or involve the careful consideration of all Italian material available. Mr. Lee accepts this point of view in theory; yet, despite all his insistence on the identity of lyric themes and motives merely, he practically ignores all Italian lyricists after Petrarch, on the assumption that a detail not definitely Petrarchan must next be sought in the work of the *Pléiade*. In the volume under consideration there is not the slightest mention of the work of Cariteo, Tebaldeo, or Serafino dell' Aquila; Bembo is ignored as a writer of sonnets, and the lyrics of Sannazaro

⁵ L. E. Kastner, "The Elizabethan Sonneteers and the French Poets," *Modern Lang. Review*, III, 272, shows the uncertainty of all but the closest parallels, by substituting DuBellay for Desportes as a source of certain sonnets in Daniel's *Delia*.

⁶ Mr. Lee himself, in his Introduction to the *Elizabethan Sonnets*, vol. I, p. xxxviii, presents interesting evidence of this fact from the English poets themselves.

and Ariosto are casually referred to twice. In the same way Mr. Kastner's articles in the *Modern Language Review* are frequently cited in so far as they indicate French sources; but the most convincing paper of the series, establishing the fact that Lodge's indebtedness for the *Phyllis* sonnets was about equally divided between Italy and France,¹ is drawn upon for only a foot-note (p. 261).

This general criticism may be illustrated by one of the larger contentions of Mr. Lee's discussion of the lyric—the tracing of the "Anacreontic vein" from the *Pléiade* to the Elizabethans. By this he means "the doctrine that the present is all that counts, the worship of love and youth, the faith in women and wine," expressed in the pseudo-Anacreontic poetry discovered in manuscript by Henri Étienne in 1552, and published in French translation in 1556 by Remy Belleau. The Greek Anthology had been known for some years; but it lacked the lightness and joy of this appropriation of the *Pléiade*. Neither did Petrarch display such naïve joyousness. The mood therefore is to be recognized as distinctively French. No consideration is given to the almost identical temper of certain Latin lyricists—Catullus in particular—who furnished the chief inspiration of Cariteo and his group at the very beginning of the sixteenth century,² and through them penetrated all of Renaissance Europe.

Apart from questions of method, a number of inaccuracies of statement have crept into the book, being justified in part by the assumption of a rather popular audience; an assumption which is indicated, by the way, in the author's

¹ "Thomas Lodge as an Imitator of the Italian Poets," *Mod. Lang. Review*, II, 155 ff. Mr. Kastner is not free from Mr. Lee's propensity; and unconsciously, in one of these papers (IV, 329) suggests the psychology of the process:—"In view of Drummond's debt to Desportes, I could not persuade myself that he owed nothing to Ronsard in particular. I have accordingly gone through again, and carefully compared his sonnets with those of the chief of the *Pléiade*, and although the Scotchman naturally proceeds with even more than his usual wariness, there can be no doubt that several of his sonnets present refashionings of certain sonnets of his famous predecessor." One should rarely fail by this method.

² Cf. J. Vianey, "L'Influence italienne chez les Précurseurs de la *Pléiade*," *Bulletin italien*, III, ii, 85 ff.

wide extension of the word "Humanism" to include "all the fields of artistic endeavour" (p. 4). On page 163 we read: "Nashe formally admits his discipleship to Rabelais . . . Gabriel Harvey deplores that Nashe cast his work in 'the fantastical mould of Rabelais, that monstrous wit' . . . In spite of tuition gained from other quarters, it is his reading in Rabelais which accounts for most of the peculiar eccentricities of Nashe's prose style, for most of his contumacy of phrase . . . His habit of inventing grandiose words is a gift of Rabelais." No one now questions the indebtedness of Nash to Rabelais, but it remains to discover a specific acknowledgment of that obligation. In each of the two quotations from Harvey which Mr. Lee has fused into one,³ Rabelais and Aretino are mentioned together as Nash's models, Aretino being named first. Nash offers his own explanation of his "huge words," declaring: "Of all stiles I most affect and strive to imitate Aretines."⁴

In his discussion of Montaigne, Mr. Lee notes the publication, in 1595, of the authorized text of the *Essaies*; then cites as an instance of rapid transference an entry in the *Stationers' Register* for October 20th of the same year. Yet he had already stated that the *Essaies* began appearing in 1580; and the entry in the *Register* reads merely, "*The Essaies* of MICHAELL Lord of Mountane."⁵ Bacon, we are told later (p. 171), admits that Montaigne taught him to be an essayist. This admission is ascribed to the opening essay, "Of Truth," and consists merely of a short quotation from the French author, with such formal acknowledgment of this as Bacon might have given any of his "authorities." Moreover, this essay did not appear at all until the last redaction of the *Essays* in 1625.

Word-forms are somewhat overworked for evidence; as in the case (p. 361) where the spelling of "masque" is used as proof that the dramatic type grew up in England under French stimulus. References in the *Oxford Dictionary* would seem rather to indicate that the spellings "mask[e]" and "masque" were used interchangeably with

³ Harvey, *Works*, ed. Grosart, I, 218 and I, 272.

⁴ *Works*, ed. McKerrow, III, 152.

⁵ Mr. Lee quotes this entry in a foot-note to p. 170.

any possible significance until after 1660, when the French spelling was specialized to dramatic purposes.

In discussing the attempts of England at classical drama, Mr. Lee states that: "Thomas Kyd turned aside, at the prompting of the Countess of Pembroke, . . . to supplement the countess's endeavours as a translator of Garnier into English" (p. 444). A few lines farther he speaks of Kyd's work on Garnier as "under her auspices." Evidence for this is not forthcoming. Kyd's version of Garnier's *Cornélie* was indeed dedicated to Lady Pembroke's aunt, the Countess of Sussex, but the pathetic tone of his own statements indicates anything but favorable recognition by the Countess of Pembroke.

Throughout his work, Mr. Lee seldom neglects an opportunity in any direction to make a case for French influence.¹² There are, however, certain possibilities, not strictly demonstrable but favorably regarded by many students of the period, which might have found serious recognition in his study. One of these lies in the cumulative creative energy of the group of literary aspirants gathered about Sidney and Spenser and their "*Areopagus*." Mr. Lee goes as far as anyone in his recognition of the *Areopagus* as a "literary club," even if he does surprise us by putting this London organization under the domination of Gabriel Harvey, then at Cambridge (p. 238). But he makes no attempt to extend the significance of such a coterie beyond the metrical experimentation noted in the Harvey-Spenser letters. In the same connection may be noted his disappointment (p. 128) in finding no Englishwoman to compare with Margaret of Navarre as a 'versatile benefactress of culture.' Both Lady Margaret Beaufort and Queen Elizabeth occur to him in vain. Yet it is possible to establish an attractive parallel between Margaret of France and the accomplished Lady Mary,—"Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother,"—a parallel so close

that it carries more conviction than several which receive serious attention in the book. Another line of relationship which might have been developed with profit is that between Montaigne's *Essaies* and Lord Bacon's experimental philosophy, as expressed in the *Novum Organum*.

In all its parts, Mr. Lee has given us an eminently interesting and readable book. His material seems always well in hand, his points are stated with engaging clearness, and his style is unusually vivid and pleasing to carry such a burden of matter. Under the circumstances such sentences as the following become conspicuous by contrast:—

"As scholars, Tudor England fell lamentably behind their French neighbors" (p. 18).

"Wyatt's fondness for irregular lines of Skeltonian brevity echo a French predilection to which Marot was no stranger" (p. 122).

"The octosyllabic couplets which Heywood chiefly . . . uses is the habitual metre of the French" (p. 374).

Undoubtedly the book is a valuable contribution to the comparative study of literature, and will carry its message to many cultured readers who have little to do with doctoral dissertations. It is a matter of genuine regret, however, that Mr. Lee did not direct his energies toward an unbiased estimate of foreign influences in the period, rather than hold this brief for France.

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Die Gotische Bibel herausgegeben von WILHELM STREITBERG. (Germanische Bibliothek. II. Abt.: Untersuchungen und Texte. 3. Bd.) Zweiter Teil. *Gotisch-Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch*. Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung, 1910. 8vo., xvi + 180 pp.

This second part completes the new critical edition of the Gothic Bible, the first part of which was reviewed in *MLN.*, 1909, pp. 181-183.

While intended "für die Zwecke des akademischen Unterrichts," this Gothic-Greek-German dictionary not only provides for the needs of the beginner, but will prove helpful to the advanced

¹² In this connection, the following quotation from p. 48 will be of interest to students of Shakespeare: "The porter in *Macbeth* (II, iii, 15) attests that the English tailor's habitual offense was that of 'stealing out of a French hose' (i. e. of slavishly copying French fashions)." It would be interesting to know Mr. Lee's authority for this gloss.

scholar as well. It was not meant to be complete in the sense of a dictionary containing a reference to every passage. Yet it probably may claim to be the most detailed Gothic dictionary that has appeared since the publication of Ernst Schulze's memorable *Gothisches Glossar* (Magdeburg, 1848). It is, moreover, a work on which the author has obviously bestowed a great deal of painstaking labor. Every page bears testimony to his endeavor to record the Gothic words as accurately as possible both as regards their form and their meaning. Ample references are given throughout not only to single passages of the Gothic text, but also to works like the author's *Got. Elementarbuch*, Paul's *Grundriss*, W. Schulze's *Griech. Lehnwörter im Gotischen*, etc. Emendations and conjectures are carefully noted. In these and other respects, this vocabulary somewhat approaches the character of a brief grammatical and philological commentary in alphabetical order.

The fact that the Greek parallels of the Gothic words are systematically recorded adds much to the value of the present work as compared with the current Gothic dictionaries. I for my part entirely agree with Streitberg in holding that for us the Greek text from which Ulfilas translated is the authoritative interpretation of his own version.

Ulfilas' interpretation of the Greek text, however, need not in every case coincide with that of modern interpreters, and it probably will become necessary in future to distinguish between the two (or, in other words, between the actual meaning of the Greek text and the way in which it was understood by Ulfilas) more carefully than has been the custom heretofore.

Take, f. i., the word *gakunds* *πεισμονή* (Gal. 58), interpreted generally (and so by Streitberg) as 'Überredung.' This (*i. e.*, persuasion) very likely is the meaning in which the word was used by S. Paul. But, as Bernhardt pointed out in his note to the passage in question, *πεισμονή* was interpreted by Ulfilas as 'obedience.' Two circumstances serve to prove Bernhardt's contention. The one is that *πεισμονή* is immediately preceded in v. 7 by *πειθεσθαι*, Goth. *ufhausjan*, *i. e.*, 'to obey.' It is only natural that—not only by Ulfilas but also by other ancient interpreters—the word *πεισμονή* should have been connected

with *πειθεσθαι*. The other is that *ga-kunds* in Gothic obviously belongs to the verb *ga-kunnan* 'to obey.' It becomes clear, then, that *ga-kunds* is identical with the noun *ga-kunþs* (Dat. *ga-kunþai*, Luc. 3, 23). The latter, according to Streitberg "überträgt unklarer Weise ἀρχόμενος." It can hardly be doubted, however, that Bernhardt here too has interpreted the Gothic phrase correctly as 'unter Gehorsam.' Another instance in which Streitberg might have acknowledged a difference between Ulfilas' conception of the Greek text and that of modern interpreters is that of *ana-kaurjan* "*ἐπιβαρεῖν* beschweren," II. Cor. 2, 5. Here, it seems to me, the meaning recorded by Streitberg is probably correct so far as the Gothic is concerned. It should have been pointed out, however, either in a note to the text or in the vocabulary that the passage has been interpreted in various ways. May be that Ulfilas construed *ἐπιβαρῶ* with the following *πάντας ἡμᾶς* so as to interpret—wrongly—like Luther "auf dass ich nicht euch alle beschwere"; or that he took *πάντας ἡμᾶς* as the object of *λελύπηκεν* and understood *ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβαρῶ* with deWette (*i. e.*, de Wette's earlier version, cf. Bernhardt) "um ihn nicht zu sehr zu beschweren." As Streitberg in his text has a comma after *ἐπιβαρῶ*, he seems to ascribe to Ulfilas the latter interpretation. What S. Paul had in mind, apparently, was something different. De Wette's final version (4. ed., 1858) of *ἵνα μὴ ἐπιβαρῶ* was "damit ich nicht zu viel sage," and this translation is at present pretty generally accepted (*e. g.*, in the revised English version "that I press not too heavily"; in the revised Luther version "auf dass ich nicht zu viel sage"; cp. also Weizsäcker, *Das N. T.*, "damit ich nicht zu viel tue"). It is hardly possible to ascribe the latter meaning to Goth. *anakaurjan*.

There is no difficulty in interpreting the word *andbahtida* II Cor. 3, 3. Here the meaning of the verb *and-bahtjan*, however, is not 'leisten' (as given in Streitberg's dictionary), but 'besorgen.'

I find no occasion for criticism in reference to the formal side (*i. e.*, the transcription of the Gothic words, etc.) of this dictionary, except perhaps with regard to the fact that a distinction has been made between short and long *u* in genuine Gothic words but not in foreign words. If *ūta*,

jūs receive a macron, why not *Iūdaius*, *Iūdas*, *Jūstus*, etc.? This, of course, is rather a subordinate matter.

This second part of Streitberg's *Got. Bibel* is accompanied by a brief Supplement to the first part, giving (pp. ix-xiv) an account of the newly found Giessen Fragments of Ulfilas' translation. While not adding any new word to the Gothic vocabulary, the two fragments have thrown new light on the history of the Gothic text, for the reason that they turned out to be remnants of a Gothic-Latin parallel edition of the Bible.

In the preface, Prof. Streitberg expresses the hope that he may be able to compile at a later date a complete Gothic dictionary, embodying every form actually found in the Gothic text. Grateful then as we are for the present book, we take it for granted that we may regard it only as an instalment toward the future more comprehensive work.

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RECENT LITERATURE ON FRENCH ROMANTICISM

PAUL LAFOND, *L'Aube romantique: Jules de Rességuier et ses amis . . .* Paris, Mercure de France, 1910. 354 pp.

LÉON SÉCHÉ, *Muses romantiques: Delphine Gay, —Mad. de Girardin,—dans ses rapports avec Lamartine, Victor Hugo, Balzac, Rachel, J. Sandeau, Dumas, Eug. Sue et George Sand* (Documents inédits). Paris, Mercure de France, 1910. 338 pp.

ALPHONSE SÉCHÉ ET JULES BERTAUT, *Au Temps du Romantisme, Etudes pittoresques et littéraires*. Paris, Sansot & Cie., 1909. 259 pp.

Correspondance entre Victor Hugo et Paul Meurice. Préface de JULES CLARETIE. Paris, Charpentier, 1909. 484 pp.

All these volumes will help materially the student of the various periods of French Romanticism; they testify to the non-abating interest in that fascinating epoch.

Regarding the first mentioned we need not enter

into many details. The name of Jules de Rességuier (born 1788) is usually associated with that of Ulrich Guttinger (born 1785); they are the two "frères aînés" of Romanticism. The first's most famous volume of verses, *Tableaux poétiques* (1827) appeared one year before the *Orientales*. But Rességuier never moved forward with his ideas like Hugo; he remained to the end (1862) the faithful royalist and catholic of before 1830. Moreover, it is more the man than the writer who is playing an important part in literary history.

All that need be said about J. de R. has been ably summarized by Lafond in his *Préface* of 47 pages. The book itself consists of letters addressed to various important poets and writers; as such they present no great interest, but they may be very useful documents. Especially valuable are the numerous letters regarding the *Académie des jeux floraux de Toulouse*. About 70 pages of good explanatory notes are given at the end of the volume.

M. Léon Séché has been for years diligently searching libraries, archives, and private correspondences to give us a vivid picture of the period of Romanticism. For those especially who work away from Paris, his books contain treasures of information. M. Séché has spoken of Delphine Gay, "la muse de la patrie," in previous works (e. g., in his *Cénacle de la Muse française*). Here he deals especially with her relations with Lamartine, Balzac and Rachel. It suffices to say that scholars will find the book indispensable.

In the first essay of *Autour du Romantisme*, the authors, Alphonse Séché (the son of Léon Séché) and Jules Bertaut, revive a character long since forgotten, the *Vicomte d'Arincourt*. He was quite famous in the early days of Romanticism, and a good sample of a whole class of literary adventurers. As a help to understanding the times such an essay on d'Arincourt is by no means futile. At the same time, students of Balzac will find it useful, as the Vicomte is quite frequently alluded to by the characters in the *Comédie humaine*. Other essays are: *Alfred de Vigny, auteur dramatique*; *Le rôle des femmes dans la vie de Lamartine* (not much that is new, but a good summary of recent investigations regarding Lamartine's life, especially Mad. Emile Ollivier's

Valentine de Lamartine, Hachette, 1908); *Balzac, critique littéraire* (an interesting and rather ignored aspect of B.; good account of the parallel he draws between Fenimore Cooper and Walter Scott, all in favor of Scott, as was to be expected from the man who was more or less the disciple of the author of *Ivanhoe*—amusing illustrations of Balzac's prejudice against Sainte Beuve—unbounded and at the time almost paradoxical admiration for Stendhal). Very remarkable are the two longer chapters devoted to *Béranger* and to *David d'Angers*. Nothing keener has been written about the part Béranger played in politics under the first Empire, the Restoration, and the Monarchy of July, and nothing could be fairer than the appreciation (one might almost say rehabilitation) of Béranger as a poet. In the essay, *David d'Angers*, we see presented the combination, so frequent in France, of artist and patriot. More than Chateaubriand, than Victor Hugo or Lamartine, David d'Angers was a man of action in politics, who exposed himself to the shots of his enemies, or, if need be, of his own people. His frank opposition to Louis Bonaparte sent him into exile. He made his mistakes, but certainly no more heroic figure appeared in France in the first half of the nineteenth century than that admirer of the old Romans.

The publication of the *Correspondance entre Victor Hugo et Paul Meurice* is, for two reasons, very important. First, the means of becoming acquainted with V. H. the man, are very limited. His biographies are either apotheoses, or disparagements, and *V. H. raconté* can hardly count as reliable from the psychological point of view. Further, in his own works, V. H. rarely appears except as *Olympio*, or the *Mage*, and at times as child, father and grandfather. So "letters" remain the only touchstone.

V. H., after 1830, did not mix much with fellow writers of his generation. In this *Correspondance* with Meurice it is very striking how seldom names of colleagues in the realm of letters are mentioned; just here and there a glimpse of Michelet (pp. 275-6, very interesting), Lamartine, Blanc, Quinet, Baudelaire, or Taine—an exception ought to be made for Delphine Gay de Girardin. He has been misjudged on account of his silence about his contemporaries; possibly too

severely criticized. If he was conscious that he was great enough not to need the help of others in order to succeed, it was human nature that the others should resent it; and it was unavoidable that the judgments of colleagues would be often unkind appreciations of V. H. the man.¹ So it happened that his correspondence is chiefly with people who were so unmistakably inferior to him that jealousy was not possible. Even in this volume we find Hugo very conscious of his genius, but at the same time it is very comforting to see him so human and so loving. The devotion of a Paul Meurice was indeed unique, and most certainly the popularity and influence of V. H. in Paris would have been considerably diminished during the twenty years of exile, had not this friend been so completely self-sacrificing to the Hugo interests. V. H. realized this, and we see that he never took for granted the abnegation of his friend; he finds sincere words to express his thanks. "Si j'ai jamais"—he writes one day (Aug. 19, 1855)—"dans l'avenir, comme vous le dites, quelque lueur qui ressemble à une auréole, votre amitié, mon doux et vaillant poète, en sera le plus charmant rayon" (p. 48).

This book, all told, is a most beautiful testimony both to V. H.'s and to Meurice's characters. Nobody can read it without feeling that the great exile on the English isles was a good and sound man. Indeed, whoever had read *Pauca meae*, or the poems in which he sings childhood, or such inspirations as *Les pauvres gens*, had always suspected it. What may seem strange, after all, is that his genius did not make V. H. more vain than he was.

The second element that lends interest to the book is that, as Claretie, who writes the introduction, says so well (p. xix): "c'est mieux qu'une correspondance, c'est de l'histoire." The correspondence covers the years 1851-1870, the whole period of exile, as well as the shorter periods when V. H. was afterward away from Paris. Those who have tried to get a precise idea of V. H.'s doings during the exile will find much help in this correspondence. Here are a few points: V. H.'s account of the "expioulcheune"

¹ See an example of such severe judgments of "ce misérable Victor Hugo," in the book of Lafond mentioned above, on pp. 272-273.

(expulsion) from Jersey (Marine Terrace Oct. 26, 1855); of his settling in Guernesey (Hauteville House); and of the Alien Bill, "qui nous frappe, mais les déshonore" (the English), and which came near sending V. H. to America (pp. 50-56). Pages 58 ff. will be a welcome supplement of information to that offered in the Ollendorff edition, on the circumstances of publication and the success of the *Contemplations* and of the first volumes of the *Légende des siècles*. The same is true of *Les Misérables* (p. 159 ff.). We hear of a plan made to publish a second volume of the *Châtiments* (p. 370 ff.). On p. 331 ff. there is given the history of *Le Rappel* (an anti-napoleonic paper). Finally, one will find the amusing information that V. H. was planning to write an encyclopedia *Tout pour tous* (p. 282)—as if genius had time to be accurate. A good sample of V. H.'s scholarship is given just a few pages further on; he maintains, in spite of Meurice's very wise suggestions, that the last part of the word *Boulevard* comes from *varte, vert*, "green."

I cannot close without mentioning the very valuable footnotes, with exact dates of events, usually so hard to obtain.

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Del Siglo de Oro, Estudios Literarios por BLANCA DE LOS RÍOS. Madrid, Bernardo Rodríguez, 1910.

The contributions of Doña Blanca de los Ríos to the biographies of Tirso de Molina and other writers of the golden age have long been appreciated by students of Spanish literature; but owing to her unfortunate habit of publishing the results of her investigations in daily newspapers and popular journals, she has received less credit abroad than is her due. Few of even the best equipped foreign libraries contain files of all the periodicals to which she has contributed. Consequently, it has been very difficult for those outside of Spain to control the material she has offered. Fortunately, most of these fugitive studies have now been collected in a single volume which is merely the prelude to the long-promised complete biog-

raphy of her favorite author. Menéndez y Pelayo prefaces the work with an interesting introduction, the more valuable in that it does not consist of mere fulsome praise as is too often the case with such prologues. While thoroughly sympathetic and appreciative of the author's merits, Menéndez does not gloss over her faults.

Doña Blanca's contributions are of two sorts: first, the results of her researches in the archives; second, her critical interpretation of the new facts she has unearthed. Those dependent upon Cotarelo y Mori for their knowledge of Tirso's biography would scarcely suspect the extent and importance of Señora de los Ríos's discoveries.¹ For this the author herself may be partly to blame because she refrained from publishing the complete list of her discoveries until the year 1906 when Cotarelo's second biography was already in press. It is obvious that Tirso's two biographers are not working in the most perfect harmony. In view of these facts, we may perhaps pardon Doña Blanca the very human weakness of criticizing Cotarelo for failing to make personal researches in the archives, quoting the following statement: "The public and private archives which, in these latter years, have shown themselves so profuse in information relating to other great writers remain dumb only in the case of Tirso de Molina." Doña Blanca alone has unearthed over thirty important documents relating to Tirso, and many more throwing light upon his associates, convent life, etc.—all this in addition to the important discoveries of Gallardo, Serrano y Sanz, and Pérez Pastor.

Doña Blanca's discoveries are the fruits of many years of patient investigation. When in 1885 the academy offered a prize for a biography of Tirso, the young poet and novelist prevailed over the Valladolid professor, Pedro Muños Peña, who most infelicitously entitled the first chapter of his study: *Imposibilidad de hacer la biografía de Tirso por falta de datos*. Again, it would be unkind to begrudge the author the manifest pleasure she takes in recalling this circumstance. Not content with these early laurels, Doña Blanca has

¹ *Comedias de Tirso de Molina, Discurso preliminar* (Madrid, 1906), Vol. I, pp. xviii, lxxviii. In his previous work, *Tirso de Molina* (Madrid, 1893), Cotarelo is a trifle more generous in alluding to Señora de los Ríos.

been prosecuting her researches in the archives for over twenty-five years. Those of Guadalajara, Soria, Trujillo, Madrid, Salamanca, Sevilla, and Alcalá de Henares have been ransacked. The results, if not so valuable and sensational as Pérez Pastor's discoveries relating to Cervantes and Lope de Vega (the life of an ecclesiastic was naturally less eventful than that of a soldier of fortune), are nevertheless extremely interesting. The long mooted question as to the date of Tirso's journey to Santo Domingo has now been definitely settled. Documents found in the archives of the Indies show that the voyage was made in 1616. Others found in Guadalajara prove that Tirso was there present in June, 1618. Cotarelo, disputing the long accepted date of 1625, came near the truth when he designated 1615 as the year when this voyage was made, basing his conclusions upon an erroneous statement made by Tirso in the *Deleitar aprovechando*.² Fortunately, the controversy is now at an end, and one of Farinelli's arguments for denying Tirso the authorship of the *Burlador de Sevilla* falls to the ground.³ It is most curious to know that a *papeleta* left by Gallardo states the date correctly. It is probable that he, too, saw the *cédula* authorizing the voyage.

Another interesting discovery is a document showing the indirect way in which Tirso, while Comendador de Trujillo, collected payment for three plays which he sold for 300 reales each to Josef de Salazar, a Sevillian manager,—a proof that he was still, perhaps secretly, writing plays in 1629, and disproving Cotarelo's statement that the Mercenarian had given over writing plays at that period.⁴ It is impossible to discuss Doña Blanca's other discoveries in detail. Suffice it to say that the various steps in Téllez's ecclesiastical preferment may now be more accurately traced than formerly, and many another important biographical gap has been filled in. Twelve years ago she published in *La ilustración española y americana* the supposedly lost birth certificate of Lope de Vega. Two years before that, she had published in *La España moderna* the results of her

investigations in Salamanca in which she brought to light interesting discoveries relating to Alarcón, Góngora, Liñán de Ríaza, Argensola, etc. These articles are reprinted in the present volume.⁵

As a diligent investigator of archives, Doña Blanca is deserving of all praise. We admire her patient industry and envy her her good fortune. As a literary critic she is less happy. Starting with the *a priori* assumption that realism is the only true expression of art, she seeks to exalt Tirso high above his contemporaries. In doing so she has been unjust in her estimate of other authors, particularly Lope, Calderón, and Alarcón. She reverses the process by which German romanticism elevated Calderón. According to her, Lope initiates the Spanish drama, Tirso attains unto its apogee, while Calderón represents nothing more than degeneracy. She can brook no rival to her hero. Menéndez y Pelayo rebukes her for this, while admitting that he, too, in his first enthusiasm for Lope de Vega, did Calderón scant justice. He now makes the *amende honorable*, characterizes his *Calderón y su teatro* as a somewhat juvenile production, and feels that he dwelt too exclusively upon Calderón's defects, and spoke too little of his merits.⁶ The work in question, he says, does not represent his present views. A few decades since, it was necessary that criticism should hold a brief for both Lope de Vega and Tirso de Molina. But the erroneous estimates of past generations have been corrected; there is no danger that Lope and Tirso will henceforth fail to receive their due. There is greater present need of a reaction which will restore to Calderón something of his diminished prestige. The tone of Doña Blanca's Atheneum addresses is that of one asserting a claim all but universally denied. It is what one might have expected in the days of Hartzenbusch. She has forced the note somewhat in vindicating an author who now needs no vindication.

Doña Blanca takes issue with those critics who have censured Tirso for his immorality. She is probably correct in thinking his work no more

² *Op. cit.*, pp. xviii ff.

³ Farinelli, *Don Giovanni*, *Giornale storico*, Vol. xxvii, p. 32.

⁴ Cotarelo, *op. cit.*, p. xliii.

⁵ The article *¿Estudió Cervantes en Salamanca? España moderna*, April-May, 1899, affords a good example of the imaginative way in which Doña Blanca often interprets her discoveries in the archives. In spite of the ingenuity of the article, it has failed to convince.

licentious than that of many other authors of the age. Study the manuscript *borradores* of almost any dramatic author of the time and it will be found that they contain numerous obscene jokes which the censor has carefully stricken out and which later editors have also omitted. Is it not likely that the works of Tirso, owing perhaps to the author's high position in the church, were less carefully inspected than those of others? But it is as absurd to make him out a plaster saint as it is to suppose him to have been a skirted Don Juan and here the author pushes her vindication too far. Téllez was doubtless a genial, full-blooded man to whom nothing human was alien. He may not, like the Archpriest of Hita, have lived the life of a *pícaro*, but he was one at heart for all that.

For one who has devoted over twenty-five years to the study of Tirso, Doña Blanca is surprisingly ignorant of the relations in which her author stood towards his contemporaries. Her studies of other writers of the time have been to little purpose. She grants him much greater originality than he deserves and seems to be utterly unaware of his great indebtedness to Lope and the novelists. Calderón is branded as a plagiarist because thirteen of his plays are taken from Tirso's repertoire. This is understating rather than overstating Calderón's indebtedness; but if plagiarism is a crime in Calderón, it ought in fairness to be noted that Tirso's indebtedness to Lope and others was at least equally great. It would be easy to make out a much longer list of Tirso's plays inspired by the works of other authors. Tirso is credited with the invention of many character types that go back to Lope and others. Even Don Juan Tenorio is not so original a creation as is commonly supposed, as one who has read Farinelli ought to have known. One cannot agree with Doña Blanca when she maintains that Lope painted successful female portraits only after Tirso had supplied the models. The weight of evidence tends to prove the contrary. Tirso, in borrowing, frequently improves; but as a delineator of character, Lope, when at his best, was his equal as Menéndez well shows in the introduction.

Nevertheless, taken all in all, Tirso's characters are perhaps the most human and lifelike to be found in the classic drama of Spain. But is this not largely due to the fact that he was more

than any of his rivals under the influence of the novelists? That realism which Señora de los Ríos so passionately admires found better expression in the novel than on the stage; but not a hint is offered that Tirso drew any inspiration from this genre. Both Lope and Tirso drew freely from Italian *novelle*, but Tirso was more influenced by Cervantes, his "Spanish Boccaccio," and the romances of roguery.

Doña Blanca's attitude is too exclusively that of an attorney pleading a case. She will admit no scrap of evidence tending to minimize the high degree of originality which she attributes to the principal object of her studies. It is to be hoped that in her forthcoming book she will go to more pains to give Tirso his proper historical setting, to trace the influences he underwent, and to show how he in turn influenced others. Much remains to be done in the study of Tirso's sources.

The most valuable portion of the present work is the *Biografía documentada* in which the author records the results of her researches in the archives. The great value of these discoveries far outweigh any fault that may be found with the rest of the volume; for these faults spring from that same enthusiasm which has held her steadily to her task for a quarter of a century.

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- I. G. MILLARDET, *Recueil de textes des anciens dialectes landais* . . . , Paris, Champion, 1910, in 4°, lxviii-340 pp.
 - II. G. MILLARDET, *Petit Atlas linguistique d'une région des Landes*, Toulouse, Privat, 1910, in 8°, lxiv-428 pp. et une carte. (Bibliothèque Méridionale, 1^{re} série, t. xiii.)
 - III. G. MILLARDET, *Etudes de dialectologie landaise. Le développement des phonèmes additionnels*, Toulouse, Privat, 1910, in 8°, 224 pp. (Bibliothèque Méridionale, 1^{re} série, t. xiv.)

Il n'existe pas—que je sache—en France ni ailleurs de région dont les parlers populaires, anciens et actuels, aient été explorés avec autant de conscience et de méthodique précision que le

coin gascon du département des Landes auquel M. Millardet vient de consacrer—pour débiter—trois volumes. Cette belle contribution à la dialectologie française mérite, par son exceptionnelle importance, de retenir longuement l'attention de quiconque voudra désormais se consacrer aux mêmes études.

I. Le *Recueil de textes des anciens dialectes landais* renferme des documents inédits (chartes, registres, terriers, etc.) rédigés en langue vulgaire entre 1251 et 1588 dans presque toute l'étendue du pays landais. M. M. s'est montré très sévère¹ pour le choix de ces documents : il n'admet, avec toute raison, que des originaux (autant qu'il a été possible) datés et strictement localisés. Ces textes sont répartis en six sections (Mont-de-Marsan, Roquefort-de-Marsan, Villeneuve-de-Marsan, Saint-Sever, Tartas, Albret et régions voisines²) à l'intérieur desquelles ils sont ordonnés chronologiquement ; des indications bibliographiques sur les sources manuscrites et imprimées sont données en tête de chaque section. Les documents ne sont pas tous publiés intégralement : les formules oiseuses des notaires ont été éliminées (il en reste encore passablement), mais l'on peut tenir pour certain que rien d'intéressant pour l'histoire linguistique de la région n'a été sacrifié. Les actes sont publiés avec le plus grand soin³ : les *i* et les *j*,

¹ Peut-être même trop sévère : il a pris "autant que possible les documents portant le nom et surtout la résidence du notaire rédacteur" (p. iv). L'un des résultats du système, c'est que les "régions" auxquelles appartiennent ces documents sont souvent représentées par de simples localités : il n'y a dans la 3^e section que des actes de Saint-Sever, dans la 1^{re} que des actes se rapportant à Mont-de-Marsan (sauf un, pp. 35-37, que M. M. rapporte à Canenx, mais qui est un contrat de vente entre deux habitants de Mont-de-Marsan, dressé par un notaire de Mont-de-Marsan), etc. On en vient à se demander si cette précision excessive ne nous prive pas parfois de certains points de comparaison non négligeables ; appliquée aux documents en langue vulgaire du domaine d'oïl, cette méthode aurait pour effet d'exclure à peu près tout ce que l'on possède (cf., p. ex., les actes sur lesquels M. Philipon fonde ses études des *Parlers du duché de Bourgogne aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*, Romania, XXXIX, p. 476 sqq.).

² Une carte du département des Landes n'eût sans doute pas été inutile : il suffisait, à la rigueur, de reproduire celle qui termine le *Petit Atlas*.

³ P. 32, l. 17 : *mot e egregi*, suppr. *e* ou *l.* *mot [noble] e egr.* (cf. p. 160, l. 16) ; p. 55, l. 18 : au lieu de *Pnsot, l. Pusot* ; p. 155, l. 22 *Viuizano* [?] est à la Table *Viuizano* ;

les *u* et les *v* sont distingués conformément aux originaux, les résolutions des abréviations sont toujours indiquées en italiques, et les lignes des originaux sont données entre crochets.⁴

Ce recueil de textes est précédé d'une *Introduction* qui n'est qu'un "simple répertoire des formes et des principales particularités de syntaxe" (p. viii) : ainsi s'expliquent sans doute l'absence de toute étude phonétique et le renvoi à un volume futur d'*Etudes de dialectologie landaise* d'indications sur la genèse des formes et leur répartition géographique.⁵ Un appendice (pp. 229-251) comprend des traductions en dialectes modernes (notation phonétique) ; le volume se termine par un *Glossaire* (où manquent les termes qui figurent dans le *Dictionnaire béarnais* de Lespy et Raymond) et par une *Table des noms de lieux et de personnes*.

Ce livre, qui apporte, pour les Landes, un très précieux complément au *Recueil de textes de l'ancien dialecte gascon* de Luchaire, est un modèle de ce qu'on souhaiterait avoir pour chacun des départements français.

II. En regard des documents anciens groupés dans le *Recueil*, le *Petit Atlas linguistique d'une région des Landes* offre les résultats des enquêtes faites par M. M. sur les parlers actuels de 85 communes contiguës qui se groupent autour de Mont-de-Marsan. Ces résultats sont doubles, car M. M. a usé de l'"observation et de l'expérimentation" (p. xx), ou—plus exactement—s'il a "expérimenté" toujours et partout, il s'en est rapporté tantôt au seul témoignage de son oreille, tantôt au témoignage des appareils de la phonétique instrumentale ; le livre se distribue par suite

p. 228, l. 1 : suppléer sans doute [*de*] devant *l'autre cap* (cf. ll. 11, 14, etc.) ; p. 249, l. 19 : au lieu de [xxi, v^o, 5...], *l.* [xxi, v^o, 10...]; à l'Errata : au lieu de p. 120, l. 20, *l.* l. 10.

⁴ Pour quelques documents (p. ex. Saint-Sever 1510, p. 127 sqq.) il n'y a qu'une numérotation de [5] en [5] ; pour d'autres (Saint-Sever, 1480, p. 122 sqq.) se succèdent—sans qu'on en voie la raison—la numérotation ligne par ligne et la numérotation de [5] en [5].

⁵ P. xxx, § 63 : *bend* (= vendu) est invraisemblable par sa date (1535) et son isolement (cf. p. xlv, s. v. *bener*) ; p. xli, § 90 : il eût été bon de faire remarquer (cf. p. xlv, s. v. *deber*) que les trois exemples de conditionnel en -i, -is appartiennent tous à des documents de Bazas—qui n'est pas dans les Landes.

en deux parties : 1^o) planches de phonétique ; 2^o) cartes linguistiques.

1^o) *Planches de phonétique*.—C'est la première fois—sauf erreur—qu'on essaie d'appliquer à un groupe de parlers populaires la méthode dite expérimentale : à cet égard, M. M. a fait une tentative très méritoire. Il s'est servi du palais artificiel et a recueilli "plus de 2.500 empreintes dont il ne reproduit qu'un choix" (p. xli ; il y en a 1054 ; pourquoi ce choix ? qui l'a guidé ?) ; il a usé en outre de l'inscripteur de la parole et nous donne 153 tracés graphiques de mots.

Les sujets qui ont bien voulu se plier aux exigences de l'expérimentation avec le palais artificiel sont au nombre de quatre, tous transplantés à Mont-de-Marsan, tous jeunes, sachant le français et le parlant d'ordinaire (pp. 389-390). C'est dire que, nécessairement,⁶ ces empreintes ne nous renseignent que de façon très incomplète et imparfaite sur les différents systèmes phonétiques de la région explorée. Il est douteux⁷ que le palais artificiel puisse avoir à l'heure actuelle d'autre utilité que celle d'amener le dialectologue à mieux analyser sa propre prononciation, de l'aider à faire l'éducation de son oreille. Utiles à M. M. au moment où il se préparait à entreprendre son enquête,⁸ ces empreintes auraient pu, ce semble, être laissées de côté sans grand dommage.—Les tracés graphiques sont plus probants et plus utiles : ils pourraient l'être davantage, si M. M. avait

⁶ Sans parler des difficultés réelles qu'on éprouve à articuler avec un palais artificiel, ni de l'inévitable danger qu'il y a à isoler les articulations qu'on se propose d'étudier en faisant prononcer aux sujets des mots qui n'existent pas dans leur langue (v. p. 53 *raisin*, p. 55 *roue* 2, etc.).

⁷ M. l'abbé Rousselot, patoisant d'origine, ayant à sa disposition des sujets particulièrement bienveillants, n'a pas jugé possible d'expérimenter avec le palais artificiel ailleurs que sur lui-même (cf. *Les modifications phonétiques du langage* . . ., pp. 7, 27, etc.), et je ne vois pas que M. M. tire nulle part un réel parti de ses empreintes.

⁸ A cet égard, il est regrettable que M. M. n'ait commencé à se servir du palais artificiel et de l'inscripteur de la parole qu'en 1904 et 1905 (pp. 389-391), alors qu'il avait déjà fait une bonne partie de ses enquêtes sur le terrain (p. 393 sqq.), et il est assez typique que ce soient les notations de M. Edmont—qui n'a, je crois, étudié ni la phonétique expérimentale ni l'autre—qui aient révélé à M. M. l'existence d'un *e* atone nasal très bref à la finale de certains mots (p. xxxii).

tenté d'employer sur place l'appareil portatif construit par M. l'abbé Rousselot au lieu de s'en tenir à grouper au laboratoire du Collège de France des sujets rares au patois médiocrement pur (pp. 390-391).

Cette première partie permettra néanmoins quelques comparaisons instructives, en particulier pour ce qui est de la durée des sons (il y aurait eu intérêt, en ce sens, à multiplier les tracés d'un même mot).

2^o) *Cartes linguistiques*.—En 573 cartes, classées par ordre alphabétique des mots français, sont consignés les résultats de l'exploration faite, de novembre 1903 à mars 1907, sur le terrain même. M. M. a visité chacune des 85 communes de sa région ; dans chaque commune il a fait traduire par un ou plusieurs sujets indigènes un questionnaire comprenant "800 articles, mots isolés ou courtes phrases" (p. xxi) ; à l'aide des réponses obtenues et notées phonétiquement, il a dressé des cartes schématiques⁹ où sont indiqués pour chaque mot les différents types (et les variantes principales), ces types étant séparés par des lignes. Chaque localité est représentée par un numéro ; la répartition des types saute immédiatement aux yeux. L'*Atlas* de M. M. occupe une place intermédiaire entre les *Atlas* où les cartes ne donnent que les limites linguistiques (Wenker, Fischer, Bennike et Christensen, etc.) et l'*Atlas linguistique de la France* où les cartes donnent simplement les matériaux bruts ; il est cependant plus proche de ce dernier, en ce sens que chacune des cartes n'y est jamais consacrée qu'à un seul mot (ou à une expression).

M. M., n'étant "nullement un patoisant d'origine" (p. xxvi), a commencé par exercer son oreille et par consulter, avant de dresser son questionnaire et de se mettre en campagne, ce qu'on pouvait connaître du landais moderne (p. xviii sqq., p. xxi). Il a pris soin de renseigner scrupuleusement le lecteur sur les particularités de sa prononciation (p. xxix sqq.), base naturelle de ses notations phonétiques ; il a dit en outre (pp. 393-397) à quelle date et par quel sujet¹⁰ chaque partie du

⁹ Le procédé adopté dans l'*Atlas linguistique de la France* eût été trop coûteux et ne paraît pas indispensable pour une région restreinte.

¹⁰ Le lieu d'origine des parents, l'âge, la profession, les

questionnaire a été traduite dans chacune des localités explorées : et c'est une chose excellente de tout point que de permettre ainsi à chacun de faire la critique de toutes les formes notées en ces cartes.¹¹

Il y a pourtant une lacune assez grave, à savoir le questionnaire même. Ce questionnaire comprenait 800 articles : nous n'avons que 573 cartes. Pourquoi ? — "Pour économiser de la place en diminuant le nombre des cartes," nous dit M. M. (p. li, n. 1); "le latin *filiam*, par exemple, étant représenté partout par *hilhe*, il était superflu d'en tracer la carte." — Assurément ; mais la liste de ces formes communes à tout le domaine ne serait-elle pas indispensable à quiconque voudrait étudier *motu proprio* les phénomènes linguistiques de cette région ? N'est-il pas un peu gênant d'être obligé de parcourir les notes du t. III de M. M. et d'attendre les *Etudes* futures pour être fixé sur les "types régionaux" recueillis par M. M. pour 200 mots au moins ? Il était très simple — et un appendice de 4 pages y aurait suffi — de donner la liste alphabétique de ces types (*filie* = *hilhe*, etc.).

Cette lacune rend malaisé de porter un jugement quelconque sur ce questionnaire. M. M. a pleinement raison de plaider en faveur du questionnaire les circonstances atténuantes (pp. xxii-xxvi) : on n'a pas encore trouvé, malgré les inconvénients réels de la méthode,¹² d'autre moyen d'aboutir, ou du moins d'aboutir vite, et, somme toute, on peut croire que, si les enquêtes sont prudemment conduites, les patoisants donnent en général la forme considérée par eux comme normale.¹³ Encore

habitudes linguistiques de chaque sujet sont indiqués presque toujours.

¹¹ En beaucoup de cas (carte 12, point 35 ; carte 419, point 53 ; etc.) un doublet isolé dans une aire homogène s'explique par les antécédents linguistiques (le plus ordinairement généalogiques) du sujet.

¹² Ces inconvénients sont infiniment plus graves partout où les patoisants ne distinguent pas nettement leur patois du français, partout où ils le considèrent comme du "français corrompu." Si, à la question *cheval*, on répond dans les Landes *chibaw* au lieu de *cabat* phonétique (p. xlix et carte 88), il reste du moins que *chibaw* n'est pas *cheval* ; mais il est des régions (en langue d'oïl) où la forme employée — aujourd'hui encore — est *chevō* et où les patoisants s'obstineront à répondre *cheval* : qu'y faire, si l'on ne veut pas admettre de formes prétendues "extorquées ?"

¹³ Ici je me sépare à peu près complètement de M. M.

faut-il autant que possible éviter de leur poser des questions qui les surprennent ou les obligent simplement à réfléchir : le questionnaire doit être composé de mots courants et concrets, de phrases toutes naturelles. Il semble bien parfois — autant qu'on en peut juger par un questionnaire en partie inconnu et en ignorant la mentalité des paysans landais¹⁴ — que M. M. ait été plus préoccupé *a priori* de l'intérêt linguistique des matériaux à venir que du souci de concilier cet intérêt avec les réalités de la vie paysanne.¹⁵

M. M. n'a pu — cela se conçoit — "faire subir, dans chaque commune, le même interrogatoire à un nombre déterminé de sujets représentant chacun une génération différente" (p. xxxvi) ; il lui a fallu se contenter en quelques points d'un seul sujet¹⁶ qui a traduit le questionnaire en entier ; le plus souvent, 2, 3, 4 . . . sujets en ont traduit chacun une partie. — Il en résulte, comme le dit l'auteur lui-même (p. xxxvi), qu'il n'y a pas de concordance entre l'âge des différentes personnes dont les réponses figurent sur une seule et même carte ; il en résulte, en outre, que les matériaux juxtaposés sont d'origine trop diverse, trop fragmentaire, tranchons le mot, trop individuelle. — M. M. semble avoir répondu par avance à cette objection : "la

qui regarde comme "instinctives" (pp. xlv-xlv) les réponses qu'il a obtenues ; "j'ai photographié au vol du langage en mouvement" (p. xlv) me paraît très exagéré.

¹⁴ Je dois dire que M. Bourciez, qui connaît à fond les dialectes gascons, estime le questionnaire de M. M. "fort bien fait" (*Revue critique*, 1911, p. 14).

¹⁵ On trouve assez peu de mots spécialement vivants dans les Landes : ceux qu'on rencontre (*aiguille de pin*, *ajonc épineux*, *pigne*, *résine*, etc.) ont fourni — naturellement — les cartes les plus riches, lexicologiquement du moins (c. 5, 8, 69, 85, 394, 395, 446, 447). — Mange-t-on vraiment beaucoup d'*ails* (ou d'*aulx*) dans les Landes (c. 7) ? N'est-ce pas pour étudier la dislocation de l'*n* mouillée finale que des questions telles que celles-ci ont été posées : *Ils mènent le cheval au bain* (c. 47) ou *Il mettra de l'étain à la casserole* (c. 169) [pourquoi pas plutôt : *Ils vont faire baigner le cheval* ou *Il étamera la casserole* ?] ? Pourquoi *L'dne est plus petit que le cheval* (c. 21 et 88), *Ils te chargeaient d'insultes* (c. 79), *Cela ne me concerne pas* (c. 99 ; forme "extorquée" en de nombreux endroits, remarque M. M. ; le contraire serait assez surprenant), etc., etc. ?

¹⁶ M. M. distingue — innovation intéressante — entre les sujets *fondamentaux* qui ont traduit le questionnaire d'une manière suivie (en totalité ou en partie) et les sujets *occasionnels* qui n'ont fourni qu'un nombre limité de réponses éparpillées (données en variantes) (pp. xxxvi-xxxvii) ; il a indiqué l'âge des uns comme des autres.

dialectologie appliquée aux parlers vivants . . . doit partir des faits *individuels* . . ." (p. xlv, n. 1) et l'expression "patois d'une commune" ne "répond à aucune réalité précise" (p. xxxv).—Pourtant, si le langage n'était qu'individuel, il resterait intérieur et nous ne parlerions jamais ; d'autre part, il n'y a pas de science du particulier. Qu'on le veuille ou non, il est indispensable de considérer des *types*, si indispensable qu'à chaque page et presque à chaque ligne de son t. III, M. M. lui-même regarde un témoignage individuel comme valable pour tout le "patois d'une commune"; il écrira, p. ex. (III, pp. 101-102): "Quant au [b] de [awbrichkoun] "fragon" à Saint-Pierre-46, non loin de [awristoun] à Leuy-26, il doit être étymologique, si on rapproche ce mot de la forme *brisconis* signalée dans un manuscrit du x^e siècle."—Transposons cette phrase dans la réalité (et, je le répète, on ne saurait trop louer M. M. de permettre à ses lecteurs cette transposition), elle devient: "Le 13 novembre 1903, à Saint-Pierre-46, M. Mallet, aubergiste, âgé de 42 ans, né de parents qui n'étaient ni l'un ni l'autre de Saint-Pierre, a répondu [awbrichkoun] à la question "fragon." Si l'on rapproche cette forme de [awristoun] à Leuy-26 (à 35, 25, 47, 48, plus voisins de 46 que le point 26, M. M. n'a obtenu aucune réponse), le *b* doit être étymologique et remonte à *brisconis*." C'est à dire que d'un témoignage individuel, généalogiquement suspect, géographiquement isolé, M. M. conclut à l'existence du *b* de [awbrichkoun] transmis depuis le x^e siècle sur les lèvres de tous les habitants de Saint-Pierre (954): et je ne veux pas dire qu'il ait tort, mais je ne suis pas très sûr qu'il ait raison.—Cette remarque ne signifie pas qu'il sera possible à personne d'observer jamais tous les parlers individuels d'une région ; mais, puisque la question de l'existence, de la formation et de la déformation des types linguistiques n'est encore ni résolue ni même vraiment posée, n'y aurait-il pas avantage à procéder, dans des enquêtes aussi vastes que celle de M. M., un peu autrement qu'il ne l'a fait ? Ainsi, M. Edmont a partout réussi à faire traduire en entier par un seul sujet un questionnaire dont l'étendue était au moins double de celui de M. M. ; serait-il sans intérêt et sans importance de choisir en chaque localité un *seul* sujet fondamental—dont on ferait connaître, cela va sans dire, l'*habitus*

linguistique—, puis de faire traduire à 2, 3, 4 . . . sujets occasionnels des parties plus ou moins étendues du questionnaire ? L'unité y gagnerait,¹⁷ la comparaison et la critique des matériaux seraient plus aisées, et peut-être les matériaux eux-mêmes seraient-ils plus sûrs.¹⁸

Quoi qu'il en soit, les réponses obtenues par M. M. s'ordonnent en aires lexicologiques, phonétiques et morphologiques assez cohérentes¹⁹ pour qu'on soit assuré de leur réelle valeur objective ; et c'est une très forte présomption en faveur de la "sincérité" de ces réponses que de voir toujours situées sur la limite qui sépare les aires de deux formes différentes d'un même mot les localités où M. M. a recueilli concurremment les deux formes. —L'auteur n'a fait subir à ses matériaux aucune retouche, ce qui est tout naturel ; il n'intervient que pour tracer les limites des aires. Cependant, il est quelques cas où, avant d'attribuer un point à telle ou telle aire, une comparaison des réponses obtenues en ce point à des questions "parallèles" eût été salutaire. Soit, par exemple, la carte 566 (*il voulut*): M. M. a recueilli presque partout²⁰ le parfait synthétique et la carte se divise en trois aires, selon que la forme obtenue se termine par une voyelle, par un *-k* ou par un *-t*. Le point 2 appartient à l'aire à terminaison *-t* à la 3^e pers. sing. de l'indicatif parfait ; il en est ainsi dans 6 cas (cartes 45, 142, 174, 327, 478, 566) ; dans 2

¹⁷ L'unité du tableau d'ensemble, bien entendu ; la question de l'unité dans le parler de chaque localité explorée est tout autre : ni les matériaux de M. M. ni la façon non spontanée dont ils ont été fournis à l'enquêteur ne permettent de l'effleurer.

¹⁸ En effet, comme l'indique M. M. (p. xxiii), la rapidité de l'interrogatoire remédie sensiblement aux inconvénients du questionnaire ; mais, pour qu'on puisse interroger rapidement, il faut un sujet qui soit bien en train et complètement "apprivoisé" : or le sujet le mieux disposé ne s'apprivoise vraiment—c'est du moins l'expérience que j'ai eue en Vendée—qu'au cours de l'interrogatoire ; il y a là, je crois,—sans parler de l'oreille du linguiste qui doit se faire une nouvelle éducation à chaque sujet nouveau—, une raison importante de ne pas trop morceler la traduction du questionnaire en recourant à des sujets différents.

¹⁹ Il est clair que le manque de concordance entre certaines limites phonétiques (*j-* et *y-*, *r-* et *ar-*, *f-* et *h-* à l'initiale, etc.) tient, sans doute exclusivement, à l'histoire et à la nature différentes de chaque mot.

²⁰ Sauf aux points 4 et 5, où il l'a cependant obtenu pour d'autres verbes (c. 45, 174, etc.).

cas (cartes 144 et 156), au contraire, les formes se terminent par une voyelle; dans 1 cas (c. 315) *montra* est remplacé au point 2 par une périphrase comme dans toutes les localités de l'aire à terminaison -t. La statistique²¹ est donc en faveur de l'aire en -t: dès lors, pourquoi avoir rangé le point 2 dans l'aire à terminaison vocalique dans les 12 cas où aucune réponse n'a été donnée (c. 10, 61, 185, 186, 316, 348, 365, 379, 382, 420, 519, 529)?

Il faut dire en terminant que la région explorée par M. M. est fort intéressante pour le nombre et l'importance des limites linguistiques qui la traversent.

III. Dans son troisième volume, l'auteur étudie, en s'appuyant sur les documents anciens et modernes réunis en son *Recueil* et son *Atlas*, une question de phonétique landaise, le développement des phonèmes additionnels (appelés généralement phénomènes d'insertion, d'épenthèse, de transition, de soutien, etc.). Combinant les méthodes historique, expérimentale et géographique,²² M. M. a écrit un chapitre de phonétique des plus forts et des plus attrayants. Après avoir écarté les phénomènes intellectuels (= contaminations résultant de "fausses perceptions"), agglutinations d'articles, agglutinations diverses,²³ croisements provenant d'une analogie de forme, ou de sens, ou de sens et de forme, etc., M. M. passe aux phénomènes proprement phonétiques qu'il ramène à un principe unique, la segmentation. Le mot et la théorie—comme le dit l'auteur (p. 49, n. 2)—n'ont rien d'absolument nouveau: ce qui est neuf et curieux, c'est la généralisation de cette théorie et l'application qui en est faite à un groupe de parlers où les phonèmes additionnels se sont développés avec une fréquence et une variété toutes particulières.—Signalons comme intéressant spé-

cialement le gascon l'étude du développement de *a-* devant *r-* initial et l'histoire du groupe *fr-* initial (pp. 117-127); d'autre part, les pp. 55-75 (développement de *w* et de *y* entre les voyelles en hiatus) et 191-214 (diphthongaison des voyelles) sont d'une réelle importance pour la linguistique générale et l'histoire du provençal littéraire.²⁴

Les conclusions générales du livre (pp. 215-220) ne me semblent pas très heureuses. On aurait pu négliger les comparaisons maritimes, géologiques ou chimiques qui n'ont jamais rien expliqué (p. 218); je crains surtout que M. M. n'ait été trop aisément porté à bâtir sur le plan de son travail (phénomènes intellectuels, phénomènes phonétiques) une théorie linguistique un peu ample. Il déclare que, les additions phonétiques de nature intellectuelle n'étant régies par aucune loi, et les additions d'origine phonétique semblant parfois échapper aux lois (lorsqu'on a affaire soit à des lois anciennes disparues, soit à des lois naissantes), la concordance bien réelle des limites linguistiques s'expliquerait par la *combinaison* de l'élément intellectuel et de l'élément physiologique: "au moment où l'ensemble des sujets parlants prend conscience des innovations provoquées par le jeu des organes, la prononciation jusqu'alors incertaine tend à se fixer et à se généraliser. Il s'établit une *norme*" (pp. 219-220).—Avant d'adopter cette théorie, il faudra se rappeler que M. M. n'a discuté nulle part la question de l'existence des normes (ou types) linguistiques, qu'il a dû constamment *normaliser* en les étendant à des ensembles de sujets parlants des documents purement individuels (et sans doute moins inconscients qu'il ne le suppose); l'on se demandera alors si la concordance des limites linguistiques ne pourrait pas s'expliquer tout aussi bien par la combinaison en sens inverse de l'élément intellectuel (ou conscient) et de l'élément physiologique . . . ou de quelque autre façon.

A. TERRACHER.

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²¹ Il se pourrait que, dans une localité où le parfait synthétique est en voie de disparition, les deux exemples à finale vocalique (deux verbes *réguliers*) n'aient aucune autorité.

²² "Cartographique" serait plus juste, car "géographique" s'applique—en linguistique comme ailleurs—à des recherches d'un autre genre (aux études "géologiques" de M. Gilliéron, p. ex.).

²³ P. 21: l'explication du *d* (dans *a-d-aisso*, *a-d-autre*, etc.) par la préposition *de*—et non par le *d* de *ad*—a été déjà suggérée par M. l'abbé Rousselot (*Modifications phonétiques* . . . , p. 184).

²⁴ N'est-ce pas aller un peu loin pourtant que d'expliquer, p. ex., (p. 116) la particule honorifique *en* par un "développement prothétique de l'*n*"? Si les formes limousines *nos* et *non* sont discutables, il faudrait en tout cas écarter les exemples de *ne* (cf. Crescini, *Manualetto provenzale*², p. 168sq.).

ARTHUR RANSOME: *A History of Story-Telling*.
 London: T. C. and E. C. Jack; New York:
 F. A. Stokes & Co. 8vo., pp. 312 and Index.

This is a commendable venture into a field still too little cultivated in English. The development of college courses in the Novel has called out several good text-books, but there is no satisfactory work in English as yet upon the history of prose fiction for the general reader. Dunlop's work, even in its revised form, is inadequate, ill-arranged, and very dry. Mr. Ransome does not put forward his book as a history of fiction, but it may well help make a market for a more comprehensive and thorough work. It conveys, apparently, his series of shilling selections from *The World's Story-Tellers*, published by the Messrs. Jack, and seeks merely to give a readable sketch of some of the important aspects of prose fiction, English and French, from the Renaissance to the present day. It is confessedly fragmentary, giving little attention to the realistic branch of the Novel, and it is more than whimsical in the inclusion of the *Roman de la Rose* and the tales of Chaucer among its topics, and the exclusion of *Amadis of Gaul* and other prose romances of chivalry, and of the whole dynasty of seventeenth century French Heroic Romances. But it shows a sympathetic though uneven acquaintance with the earlier periods, and an intelligent familiarity with the nineteenth century Romanticists. Part I, which discusses in chapters of about a dozen pages each *The Roman de la Rose*, *Chaucer and Boccaccio*, *The Rogue Novel*, *The Elizabethans*, *The Pastoral*, *Cervantes*, the essay-fictions of the *Spectator*, and the English realists of the eighteenth century, shows deft selection of matter and suggestive presentation. These sketchy chapters should make the reader curious to know more of the fiction of the early Renaissance, interesting, in spite of its weakness of form, in so many ways. It must be admitted that Mr. Ransome's statements are sometimes inaccurate. Sidney's *Arcadia* is represented (p. 85) as lacking in vigor and robustness. Swinburne's description of the work of Mrs. Aphra Behn as "weltering sewerage" is repeated with approval (pp. 71 and 139), though as applied to her novels the phrase is quite incorrect. Fielding and Smollett

are bracketed together, casually, with strange disregard of perspective (p. 162), as having "failed as dramatists." The estimates, moreover, of several of the leading figures of earlier fiction, Fielding, for example, Defoe, Le Sage, Cervantes, and Sidney, are scarcely adequate; the backgrounds are good, but the main points do not stand out sufficiently. Part II, which deals with Scott and a few minor English Romanticists, with the two Americans, Hawthorne and Poe, and with French writers from Chateaubriand—who for some reason is included—to De Maupassant, is much better,—more correct in view and better written. Occasional inept or crudely expressed statements like the attribution to Hawthorne of "provincial pedantry" (p. 264), or the assertion (p. 188) that "Before the writing of the Waverley Novels, Romanticism in English narrative had shown itself but a stuttering and one-legged abortion, remarkable only for its extravagance," are easily outweighed by the excellent chapters on Balzac, Gautier, Mérimée, and the note on De Maupassant. In these chapters, as, indeed, throughout the book, Mr. Ransome has caught much of the vivacity, the graphic power, of the French critics of fiction, whom he seems to be imitating. It is to be regretted that he has not always attained the French discretion of phrase. The numerous portrait-sketches by J. Gavin, reinforcing ingeniously the author's estimates of his Story-Tellers, add much to the interest of the book.

JOHN M. CLAPP.

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ROMAN WOERNER: *Henrik Ibsen*. Zweiter Band.
 München, 1910. 8vo., v + 384 pp.

This second volume of Woerner's *Ibsen*, like the first which appeared in 1900, happily combines in the historical method of literary criticism with the purely æsthetic. After acquainting us with the necessary facts in connection with the inception and development of each drama, the mood in which it was conceived—as far as such a mood can be reconstructed from letters, speeches, reminiscences, and other sources,

— Woerner interprets in searching and illuminating fashion the artistic value and intellectual import of each work. Nor does W. stop there. For him Ibsen is no isolated phenomenon, but receives form and light and shadow by being presented in company with poets and thinkers, continental and English, antecedent or contemporary, who labored or are still laboring to hold the mirror up to life.

The Introduction gives a bird's-eye view of the development of the dramatist from his early "Norwegian" period when the brooding eye was turned within, through the long activity of the "European" period "when the searchlight was sent forth to glide over society, spreading both light and terror" (p. 4). Most suggestively W. traces the gradual growth in the nineteenth century of the ideal of "characteristic" or realistic drama as opposed to the typical or "classic" (pp. 5 ff.), an ideal which had found champions even among the young Storm and Stress writers of the outgoing eighteenth century, as instanced by young Goethe, and which, in the nineteenth century, was passionately and impetuously upheld by Kleist. The latter, one hundred years ago, died in a desperate struggle for principles which his generation was not yet ripe enough to perceive. Grillparzer (1791-1872), less aggressive, almost bled to death in his desperate struggle to affect a compromise between his inner urge toward the new truth and the force of the old traditions. The indomitable Hebbel (died 1863), so nearly Ibsen's kindred in spirit, was tortured by the conflict between the new ideal and the old into many exaggerations and eccentricities. In Ibsen, however, the new tenet found a young genius almost unhampered by old traditions, and hence came to its consummation in him. Woerner might here have adduced the Austrian poet Anzengruber, who in the seventies wrote dramas strangely like Ibsen's both in style and content (for instance, *Das vierte Gebot*). Very helpful for a realization of Ibsen's peculiar genius is the comparison which W. makes (pp. 20 ff.) of the influence upon the poet by his sojourn in Italy (1864-68) with that which a similar sojourn had made upon Goethe nearly one hundred years earlier. For both it meant a re-birth, but from diametrically opposite points of view: for Goethe

a complete revulsion of his inmost being in accordance with the classical ideals of art; for Ibsen a casting off of all that was not pre-eminently idiosyncratic. Ibsen built up in 1866 what Goethe had torn down in 1786—characteristic art (p. 29).

The dramas, as in vol. I, are treated in chronological order, except that *The League of Youth* (finished in 1869) forms the beginning of this volume as logically being the first of the social dramas, while *Emperor and Galilean* (finished 1873) was treated as the last of the introspective dramas, at the close of vol. I. W.'s method of making each chapter an essay in creative criticism which draws the essence out of an Ibsen play and presents it to the reader in original and trenchant fashion, is extremely grateful to those to whom a flash of illuminating penetration is worth pages of ponderous detail.

Least successful appears to us the treatment of the last four, "the symbolistic," dramas, for which W. has no affinity, while *The Lady from the Sea* also seems underrated. Most successful and attractive are the chapters on *The Doll's House*, *Ghosts*, *Hedda Gabbler*. Here W. is in his element, laying bare Ibsen's inimitable character-development, down to the most delicate, almost imperceptible cells of consciousness. In Nora's case, W. makes a very fine distinction between her great natural and unconscious power of self-abnegation, as shown in her sacrifice for Helmer, and her habitual little egoisms from the conventional point of view. Equally stimulating is his tracing of Helene Alving's slow progress from conventional cowardice to complete anarchy (p. 105), and the almost uncanny vivisection of that "corseted Hjördis" Hedda Gabbler. Most happy also is the contrast between the moral ideal expressed in *Doll's House* and that of Gellert's *Das Leben der schwedischen Gräfin von G.*, between outward fidelity to the words of a vow and inward fidelity to oneself—as illustrating nineteenth century morality vs. eighteenth century ethics. "Ibsen hat auf ethischem Gebiete die innere Form nachgewiesen, wie Goethe auf ästhetischem" (p. 90).

The chapter on *Ghosts* (pp. 91 ff.) begins most felicitously with a reference to Hebbel's *Vorwort zur Maria Magdalene*, where as early as 1844 H. had demanded for modern life as expressed by

modern art not so much new institutions, as new foundations for the old. *Ghosts* seems like the consummation of this demand; not the abolition of marriage, but a better foundation for it, an inner not an outer motive, is what Ibsen advocates. Nor is this true of this one play alone. The Ibsen drama as a whole represents, as W. well puts it, "ein innerlich notwendiges Schicksal" quite in the spirit of Hebbel (p. 93). Suggestive also is the comparison of *Ghosts* with *Oedipus* (pp. 101 ff.), both tragedies of "belated insight," with many wise and instructive words on parallels and contrasts of these apparently so divergent dramas. But in the discussion of *Ghosts* we miss a reference to Anzengruber's *Das vierte Gebot* in which (in the story of Hedwig Hutterer) marriage is treated from the same point of view, by the use of the same material as in the Ibsen play.

In *Hedda Gabbler* W. sees Ibsen's criticism of his own dearly-beloved Hjordis ideal, a criticism already begun in *Rosmersholm*. In contrast with those other two painters of Utopias, Rousseau and Nietzsche, Ibsen was constrained to turn the light of criticism upon his own ideals (pp. 235 ff.). This gives to *Hedda Gabbler* that absolute objectivity—"überfaustisch" W. calls it—which makes it enjoyable only to those who are avid for the delineation of life, the real hunters after truth (p. 240).

W.'s comparative method of treatment yields fruit in such illuminating passages as that on pp. 250 f., in which he traces the gradual development in modern literature of the ideal of the comradeship between men and women from the onesided emphasis upon the sex-relation which characterized eighteenth century letters: Schiller's *Thekla* vs. Kleist's *Nathalie* and Ibsen's *Thea*. To Ibsen's almost uncanny penetration into the vagaries and finesses of woman's psyche W. does full justice, often adducing most helpful comparisons with Hebbel's women. But we miss the very obvious one between Aline Solnesz and Rhodope (in Hebbel's *Gyges und sein Ring*) who are so evidently kindred of type and fate. Interesting is W.'s delineation of the fluctuations in Ibsen's estimate of women, as illustrated by the characters of Ingeborg, Nora, Rebecca, Thea, Irene (pp. 338 ff.). In the suggestive discussion of the hatred which the last named

as well as Rita Allmers bears to the man's work, it would have been helpful to speak of Bernard Shaw, whose *Man and Superman* was doubtless largely influenced by *When We Dead Awaken*. Useful also would have been a reference to Maeterlinck's *Sister Beatrice*, who bears much resemblance to Irene.

Scattered throughout the volume are many excellent passages on Ibsen's dramatic technique. Ibsen's affinity with Lessing in finesse of craftsmanship (pp. 112 and 183), which at times becomes meticulous as contrasted with Shakespeare's bold sweep of metaphor (pp. 164 f.), is excellently demonstrated. The influence of Dumas and the other French dramatists of the younger school W. considers far slighter than was formerly believed (pp. 68 f.), but in the *Volksfeind* he sees a tragi-comedy of the *Misanthrope* type (p. 127). In discussing Ibsen's innovations in the dialogue, W. makes a happy reference to Ludwig's *Erbförster* (pp. 71 f.). Almost every chapter contains appreciative and helpful analyses of technical economy: so especially the admirable exposition of the *Volksfeind* (pp. 135 f.), the twofold test applied to Helmer in *Doll's House* (pp. 81 f.), the excellent uses made of dramatic material (pp. 84, 111 f., 183 ff., etc., etc.).

In closing, grateful mention must be made of the clear, lucid and vivid style of this presentation, a style which stamps W. as a representative of that new school of writers who are making of German prose a most supple instrument of expression.

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CORRESPONDENCE

ON THE NAME "SEIGNIOR PROPSERO."

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—In the November (1910) number of *Modern Language Notes* Mr. Alfred E. Richards inquires in a note under the heading "Several Verbal Queries," for information concerning a

certain "*Seignior Propsero*," whose name appears in chap. 22 of *The Second Report of Doctor Faustus* (1594).

It seems that this name does not refer to a famous horse of the time, as Mr. Richards conjectures, but to a foreign horseman (an Italian, to judge by the name), who acquired fame and imitators for a time in England, on account of his cruel method of controlling horses. This control he gained by means of a "cavezan" or "muzroule," a nose-band of iron, leather, or wood, fixed to the nose.

I find him mentioned in this connection as early as 1589 in Lyly's Martinist pamphlet *Pappe with an hatchet*:¹ "But if like a restie Iade thou wilt take the bitt in thy mouth, and then runne ouer hedge and ditch, thou shalt be brokē as *Prosper* broke his horses, with a muzroule, portmouth, and a martingall, and so haue thy head runne against a stone wall."²

The spelling "*Seignior Propsero*" is a misprint. In Michael Baret's *Hipponomie or the Vineyard of Horsemanship* (1618)³ it is correctly given as "Signior Prospero": "For when Signior Prospero, first came into England, he flourished in fame for a time, (through that affectionated blindnes we are veiled withall, in exalting strangers for their strange fashions) and so, though he vsed such tormenting Cauezans as were more fit for a massacring butcher then a Horseman, yet for all that well was he that could goe neerest him in such Turkish tortures: And besides those, he would haue a thicke truncheon to beat those Cauezans into his nose, the further to torment him, as if Art had consisted in cruell torturing poore horses."⁴

A fuller quotation than Mr. Richard gives from *The Second Report of Doctor Faustus* might point more clearly to Signior Prospero's

perfect control of his horse. The unusual sight of "the Elephant flying from the horse and the horse following the Elephant" suggests, at any rate, the peculiar means employed by Signior Prospero to compel his horse to overcome a natural fear.

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DATE OF HUGO'S *Expiation*

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—All the editions that I know of Hugo's *Expiation*, in *les Châtiments* (except the new Ollendorff-Imprimerie Nationale edition),¹ give the date "1852" at the end of the poem. The "édition originale," published at Brussels in 1853, gives "Jersey, 30 novembre, 1852"; the "édition ne varietur" gives "Jersey, 25-30 novembre, 1852." On the other hand, the ms. at the Bibliothèque Nationale—which Mr. B. M. Woodbridge, of Harvard University, has kindly examined for me—has at the end "25 9^{re}—30—Jersey" (no year), and after v. 282—the second part of Part VI—the date "14 novembre, 1847."

Basing their belief on this discrepancy and on certain differences in the handwriting of the ms., P. et V. Glachant, in their *Papiers d'autrefois*, p. 70, say: "L'Expiation . . . se terminait . . . après le vers *Et l'océan rendit son cercueil à la France*. —Il est clair que le poète n'avait d'abord prétendu que rappeler, en guise de leçon morale, les désastres de Napoléon 1^{er}, depuis l'expédition de Russie. La peinture indignée de la cour de Napoléon III, qui occupe les divisions VI et VII, a été annexée après coup—Les trois premières strophes de la division v semblent, pareillement, postérieures à la conception initiale."

Apart from the fact that the line *Et l'océan rendit son cercueil à la France* would make an abrupt and unnatural ending, the examination of the ms. makes the theory of the Glachants scarcely tenable. The date "1847"—which comes at the bottom of p. 158 of the ms.—and the last nine stanzas of Part V are written with the darker ink,

¹ Bond's *Lyly*, Vol. III, p. 410, l. 7.

² Prosper as an abbreviation of Prospero occurs in the *Tempest*, II, 2, 2; III, 3, 99.

³ Bk. II, ch. 20 ('Of the Headstraine'), p. 71. Quoted in Bond's *Lyly*, Vol. III, p. 586, n.

⁴ On p. I Ib of Blundevill's *Art of Riding* (1609) there is reference to the "musroll" with a word in its defence. (See N.E.D. under "musroll"). An examination of this book might reveal further reference to Signior Prospero.

¹ At the end of the poem there is given in this edition simply the date "25-30 novembre. Jersey" (No year). Beginning on p. 497 is a two-page note entitled "Les différences de dates," attempting to justify Hugo's habit of dating his poems, in the printed editions, on the anniversary of some important event; there is no reference to *l'Expiation*. On pp. 431-432 is a brief note on this poem, reading, in part: "Ce manuscrit offre plusieurs types d'écriture.—La cinquième division est datée de 1847; V. H. a ajouté à Jersey les trois premières strophes et les guillemets." According to Mr. Woodbridge, who examined the ms. carefully on two occasions, there are only two,—not "several"—handwritings: the 2d and 3d, but not the 1st, stanzas of Part V are written in the margin.

dried with powder, and in the large, bold handwriting of the later period; all the rest of the poem and the date at the end are written with the paler ink, without powder, and in the smaller handwriting of the earlier period.

It is well known that numerous discrepancies exist between the dates in Hugo's MSS. and those in the printed editions of his works; in the present instance, where the earlier date is in the later writing and the later date in the earlier writing, there would seem to be obvious falsification of some sort. V. 322—*Empire à grand spectacle*—might be taken to indicate that the poem was written after the assumption of the imperial title by Napoleon III on December 2, 1852, that is, even later than the date given in the printed edition. I shall be grateful if any one can throw any light on the question of the true date of this poem.

GEO. N. HENNING.

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“EASTWARD HOE” AND *bicchèd bones*.

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—I should like to correct a misinterpretation, as I think, in Professor Carleton F. Brown's “An additional note on *bicchèd bones*,” *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXIII, 159–160.

The quotation from Marston's play obviously does not mean, as Professor Brown interprets, by a “figure, though not altogether clear,” that the old usurer is to be transformed into “a dog's carcase” (note the plural apostrophe *dogs'* in the quotation), whose bones and skin are to be used for making dice and parchment. The passage contains no figure, but is a straightforward statement of fact, and means exactly what it says. Quicksilver is upbraiding the usurer, Security, for his covetousness and brutality, and exclaims in his anger: “I hope to live to see dogs' meat (*i. e.*, food) made of the old usurer's flesh [his flesh becoming dogs' food is no doubt a reminiscence of Ahab], dice of his (the usurer's) bones, and indentures of his (the usurer's, *not* the dog's) skin.” The whole question as to whether parchment was ever made of dog-skin thus evaporates entirely, leaving in its stead a vicious and most appropriate thrust at Security, for the words of Quicksilver that follow: “And yet his skin is too thick to make parchment, 'twould make good boots for a peter-man (fisherman) to catch salmon in” are not added, as Professor Brown interprets, because “Quicksilver himself was aware that his figure was defective at this point,” but “thick-skinned” is here used of the usurer in the figura-

tive sense of “feelingless,” “cruel,” which Security is shown conspicuously to be. He is too “thick-skinned” to permit of his skin being made into parchment. That this is the meaning, the last words of the speech, which immediately follow, clearly show: “Your only smooth skin to make fine vellum is your Puritan's skin; they be the smoothest and slickest knaves in a country.” The peculiar aptness of associating Security's skin, even in this jesting way, with indentures is obvious. He has been bringing people into his “parchment toils”—to use his own expression of a few pages back—all his days, and it would be only natural to wish to see the tables turned and his own skin used to serve as such an indenture (if it were not too thick); equally appropriate is the thought that the man who has been making a business of robbing men as a usurer all his life should, even after death, through having his bones made into dice, continue to be the means of their undoing. This interpretation makes an especially appropriate, as well as a fine and powerful passage of Quicksilver's speech.—It turns out, thus, that this quotation is not a proof of dogs' bones being made into dice, but a hypothetical—or rather optative—one of human bones being so used, as referred to a little later in Professor Brown's note (p. 160).

J. B. E. JONAS.

Brown University.

PARALLELS BETWEEN PEELE AND TENNYSON

To the Editors of Mod. Lang. Notes.

SIRS:—It is interesting to observe that among the many parallels to be found in Tennyson's writings and those of earlier authors, there is at least one very striking instance of such similarity between Tennyson and Peele; and a number of others which, though of less significance, are worthy of passing remark.

The most noticeable of these parallels is that of *Cenone's Complaint* (in *The Arraignment of Paris*) and the swallow song (in *The Princess*):

“Thou luckless wretch! becomes not me to wear
The poplar tree for triumph of my love:
Then as my joy, my pride of love is left,
Be thou unclothed of thy lovely green.”

“Why lingereth she to clothe her heart with love,
Delaying as the tender ash delays
To clothe herself, when all the woods are green?”

Of the less striking parallels, *i. e.*, those which deal with ideas which are fairly common to all poetry, two instances of similarity come readily to mind. The first of these is that of Thestylis' song (*Arr. of Par.*), and the second song in *The Miller's Daughter*:

"The strange affects of my tormented heart,
Whom cruel love hath woeful prisoner caught."

"Love that hath us in the net."

The second of this class of parallels exists in a speech by David (in *David and Bethsabe*), and the well known song in *Maud* :

"May the sweet plain that bears her pleasant weight
Be still enamelled with discoloured flowers."

"From the meadow your walks have left so sweet
That whenever a March-wind sighs
He sets the jewel-print of your feet
In violets blue as your eyes."

When we remember that five of these six citations are taken from songs ; when we consider that Tennyson, almost unparalleled in English literature for the number and variety of his songs, borrowed abundantly from older sources for the subject matter and phraseology employed in them (one illustration of this, which has or has not been pointed out before, is the first song in *The Miller's Daughter*, a mere elaboration of three sentiments expressed in an ode of Anacreon) ; when we consider the technical excellencies of both Peele and Tennyson, and the bond of sympathy which might readily have existed between them, these external similarities perhaps attain to something of real significance.

JOHN ROBERT MOORE.

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'SHE WAS A MAIDEN CITY.'

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—As Professor Livingston suggests, the allusion to Venice as 'a maiden City' is so frequently encountered that Wordsworth (who read Italian with ease) might have found it in any one of a dozen places in the native literature. Among the possible sources in English, Professor Belden (*Mod. Lang. Notes* 26. 31) cites the *Familiar Letters* of the traveller, James Howell. I find no reference to Howell in Lienemann (*Die Belesenheit von William Wordsworth*), and recall none to the *Familiar Letters* from my own study of Wordsworthian sources in the literature of travel. Though there is nothing improbable in the supposition that the poet knew this book, it does not seem to be listed in the Catalogue of his library. Of course it might have been reserved from the posthumous sale ; not a few of the volumes which he had especially valued may have been so withheld.

On the other hand, Howell's *Instructions for Forreine Travell* does appear in the Catalogue, and since it is precisely the kind of book that would interest the author of *A Guide through the District of the Lakes*, we have some right to assume that he read it. On our approach to Venice, the *Instructions* edify us with the inevitable common-

place. The volume in Wordsworth's library is said to have borne the date of 1650. I quote from Arber's reprint of the edition of 1642 (p. 42) :

'From *Siena* he may pass to *Milan*, and so through the *Republiques* territories to *Venice* where he shall behold a thing of wonder, an *Impossibility in an impossibility*, a rich magnificent City seated in the very jaws of *Neptune*, where being built and bred a *Christian* from her very infancy (*a Prerogative she justly glorieth of above all other States*) she hath continued a *Virgin* ever since, nere upon *twelve* long ages, under the same forme and face of Government, without any visible change or symptome of decay, or the least wrinkle of old age, though her too nere neighbour, the *Turk*, had often set upon her skirts,' etc.

Will it be out of place to contrast Wordsworth's employment of the phrase 'a maiden City' with his ordinary use of adjectives as applied to cities ? As my forthcoming Concordance will show, a city to him is, in general, 'great' or 'vast'—terms whose implication may be gathered from certain other epithets : 'huge,' 'enormous,' 'crowded,' 'mean,' 'cruel,' 'doleful,' 'obstreperous,' 'dis-solute.'

I suppose that the notion embodied in the expression 'maiden City' ought ultimately to be referred to a Biblical source, directly or by opposition, as, for example, in the earlier chapters of Jeremiah and the customary allusions to Babylon in Isaiah and elsewhere ; thus, Isaiah 47. 1 :

Come down, and sit in the dust, O virgin daughter of Babylon, sit on the ground : there is no throne, O daughter of the Chaldeans : for thou shalt no more be called tender and delicate.

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MILTON'S CHINA

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS :—In *Paradise Lost* 11. 385–90, Milton, in describing the prospect spread by Michael before the eyes of Adam, says :

His Eye might there command whereever stood
City of old or modern Fame, the Seat
Of mightiest Empire, from the destind Walls
Of *Cambalu*, seat of *Cathaian Can*
And *Samarchand* by *Orus*, *Temirs* Throne,
To *Paquin* of *Sinaean* Kings.

Commentators on the passage do not consider Cathay and China (*Sinae*), and *Cambalu* and *Peking* (*Paquin*) identical, though such is the case (Col. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, and *Marco Polo*). Professor Masson, for example, describes Cathay as a region northwest of China.

However to make Cathay a province of Tartary is a needless belittling of Milton's picture, because his identification of China and Cathay is not an inconsistency, but may be explained by a fact interesting for the history of geography. For ages China was known by two names, one given by those who approached it by the overland route, the other by those who went thither by sea. Not only was this true in Milton's time, but there was still debate whether or not China and Cathay were the same (Purchas, *Pilgrims* III, iv. 801). The question is elsewhere debated in the *Pilgrims*, with which Milton was somewhat familiar, as is attested by the notes to his *Brief History of Moscovia and of other less known Countries lying Eastward of Russia as far as Cathay*. This same work gives evidence that he had studied the overland route to China in writings where it appears as Cathay. Some of those writings, the 'Russian Relations in Purchas,' he thought excellent. He may have debated the question, and decided incorrectly. He may have known that China was Cathay and yet, to complete his roll of 'cities of old and modern Fame,' have deliberately used the two names to aid in different ways in producing the total effect, for 'Cambalu, seat of Cathaian Can,' suggests military power, and 'Paquin of Sinaean Kings,' more peaceful splendor.

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BRIEF MENTION

The Evolution of Literature, by A. S. Mackenzie (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co.), is offered as a much-needed manual of Comparative Literature. It is "the product of years of patient research," composed in humble acknowledgment of the temerity of such an undertaking, but sustained by a high seriousness that will not fail to convince the reader of the author's right to present his report of a Captain Anson's voyage around the world of literature. The author is philosophic, sympathetic, and scientific. He aims not to make all-comprehensive knowledge easy and thus encourage superficial omniscience or charter a roving commission through the ages prematurely. Educational plans are rightly demanding the comparative study of literature. Philology has shown the value of the method. But the application of the method to literature begets a long list of dangers. The author of this well-constructed and soundly instructive book is aware of all the pitfalls, and he has set down nothing for the encouragement of the cheap 'get-wise-quick' aspirations of the indolent or the incompetent. The titles of the author's chapters cannot be recited here. But an indication of

them may be given by noticing that the words primitive and barbaric, autocratic and democratic are the leading designations of man, society, and literature as here considered under broad anthropologic theory. The necessity of compression of matter and reduction of details has not driven the author to take refuge in an excess of generalization. Facts are in the main allowed to suggest the underlying principle. Occasionally a detail springs into unexpected prominence, as, for example, this personal judgment: "Among living American poets the highest place seems to belong to Lloyd Mifflin, the most finished sonneteer ever born out of Europe." Mr. Mifflin's extraordinary output of sonnets surely deserves wide acknowledgment; it confounds the nonsense of a judgment cited on the first page (cited in the blind fashion, "a well-known critic," that deserves nothing but condemnation), "that a half-dozen sonnets are enough for any one to write." An extensive bibliography is distributed in the footnotes.

There remains no period in the Romance literatures for which it is not becoming easy to secure an extensive selection of the leading works. This is in no small degree furthered by the various collections now in course of publication with the primary aim of providing at modest price a large number of reliable texts. The *Bibliotheca romanica* (Strassburg: Heitz) has passed its 124th volume, and is now being followed by *Les classiques français du moyen âge* (Paris: Champion), the *Clásicos castellanos* (Madrid: La Lectura, Paris: Champion), and the *Scrittori d'Italia* (Bari: Laterza). None of these series is expensive; some are remarkably inexpensive. All should be welcomed by every student of Romance life and thought, and they can not fail to result in wider reading and better first-hand knowledge of literature.

ERRATA

In *M. L. N.*, May, 1911, the following corrections should be made: P. 150, col. 1, l. 22, for *fus* read "*feaus* or *faus*." P. 157, col. 2, l. 39, for "That the author is a New Mexican" read "The fact that the author has lived many years in New Mexico." P. 159, col. 1, add the following footnotes:

⁷¹ *Letter xxxvii*, vol. III, p. 97."

⁷² Hecht, *Thomas Percy and William Shenstone*, Strassburg, 1909, p. 81."

Page 152, col. 2, l. 36; p. 153, col. 1, l. 47, for Coleman read Colman.

Page 153, col. 1, l. 12, for Diamond read Dimond.

Page 151, col. 2, l. 27, for 65,000 read 6500.

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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No. 7.

PSEUDONYMS OF THE NOBLES OF THE BROGLIO IN VENETIAN POPULAR POETRY

I examine here a literary type that has attracted the attention of a celebrated investigator of Venetian life, Senator Pompeo Molmenti.¹ A kindred form was studied also by Moschetti,² and the philological aspects of the theme have interested another master of Venetian folk-lore, Dr. Cesare Musatti.³ The documents here put in circulation notably increase the list of epithets of the Venetian nobles which Molmenti derived from a Marcian codex. They illuminate the literary phases of the question which his meagre references do not define. They throw light on the method of interpretation which must be followed in reading these difficult texts, and on the process of association and contamination by which these nicknames in part originated and in part developed. Behind them too one discerns in outline the special traits of existence in Venice which give form to much of her local literature, especially to that prolific genre, the Venetian serenade.

Both the poems which follow have the metre of the Venetian musical lyric, and the second is specifically described as a *cantata per musica*. Whether they were sung beneath a lady's window is a matter of speculation. The humorous word-play suggests rather the plaudits of a jocose banquet or an un-Arcadian drawing-room, but the purity of tone distinguishes them from obscene bacchanal revelry. They were, perhaps most probably, sung on the stage of a Carnival restaurant, to an initiated audience able to appreciate the puns, and where the entrancing profusion

of women and wine might induce the dreamy atmosphere of a languid licentiousness. The *scenario* suggested was one familiar to all the hearers: the gondola beneath a window; the complacent servant and the discreet gondolier,—*Nane, poppier* and *Santa, cameriera*. These figures still survive from the shadows of the *buon tempo antico*. So for Leonardo Zustinian, the servant carried news of the lover's arrival to the expectant mistress, and in the latter's absence, stood ready to receive the song of lament—or even more; while the boatman listened for threatening sounds or watched for evidence of prying eyes, along the *fondamenta*. And rarely enough did the ingenious poet find waiting *Contarin porte de ferro* or *Sior Donà dai risi*! But our people here at any rate are from the lower walks of life. It is not a parsimonious *zudio* that here offers a heart untainted with gold. Sonnets and canzoni came cheap in Arcadian days, and even the scullions loved them. So dreams of an immortality of Laura's type invaded even the kitchen, and humble swains were required to "learn Platonic love," and consecrate it forever in "ottave e sonetti." Zerbino must know the "stil bizzaro," the "frase elletta," even if the lady has never learned the noble "parlar polio." To what sacrifices will he not go to win the coveted moment! He will incur the ridicule of the workmen in his guild, with his broad garments "alla parigina," with the horned shoes, perhaps, the powdered queue, the baggy trousers, that sail over the Piazza of San Marco "like Levantine galleys, full set before the wind." Or he will wait outside the theatre, or in the narrow streets, when the lights are out, and, as a "bravo," thrash the tell-tale lover known of yore who has been too indiscreet. With him at least her "concetto" is assured:—provided meanwhile she cease her visits to the *festino*, with that *becchin* of a rival! He promises, too, the delights of the sea and shore. He will take her fishing,—in the *piscine* of the lagoons, the weedy shallows where the water is

¹ *La storia di Venezia nella vita privata dalle origini alla caduta della Repubblica*. Bergamo, Istituto Italiano di Arti Grafiche, 1905. Vol. III, p. 186, in the chapter: *La vita delle strade nelle varie stagioni*.

² *I bisticci geografici nel dialetto veneziano*, in the *Novo Archivio Veneto*, 1894, pp. 157 ff.

³ *Motti popolari veneziani*, in *Ateneo Veneto*, 1904, I, 1, 2.

warm and the tide runs slow.⁴ And returning in the evening, they will go to the inns of the Giudecca, and the feast will have *puine* for "antipasto" and rare fruits for the "*popasto*" too, vermicelli and "caoli fiori." And he will let her win at chess. They will join the promenade, she adorned with finery that he has bought, and attended by a servant, till her glory outshine that of Caterina Corner herself. She may have a house, with a garden beside the canal, where, when "the goose leads her on a weary walk," she may go to refresh herself.⁵ And to show her popularity, no longer will the serenades be sung in secret, but he will bring his band, with pipe and drum, *pifero*, *trombiol* and *tiorba*. Then if anyone fails to give her the title of "great lady" there will be a great ado. Best of all, he will help about the house. No longer bags and boxes for her. He will go to church, become in fact a veritable *baccheton*. If she wish, he will be a hermit or a "philosopher." And if all these fine things be of no avail, if she leave him to despair, he will join the galleys and go off to fight the Turk.

So our poems develop among the conditions of Venetian life in the flower of the seventeenth century.

Life in Venice was like that of a great family. The classes of society were clearly defined, so there was little antagonism between them. Everyone was more or less the relative of everyone else, especially when the baptismal rite, with all its serious import, extended the relations of the *compadricato*. Everyone too could be found daily in the Piazza promenades or in the Rialto shops. His personal traits were known to all, his peculiarities, his weaknesses. Families were extremely large, between the various branches, parallel and direct. So it became almost as significant to define a person by his recognized idiosyncrasies as by the well worn names of John or Peter or Paul. Did a man have puffy cheeks? He became

(Morosini) *dalle papozze*, and his son "figlio di quel dalle papozze." Was he prematurely bald? He became (Morosini) *pelà*. Or he lived *alla Zucca*; or he distinguished himself at some time by a pair of big *scarpon*. His wife was very dark,—*moretta*. He belonged to the family that produced the Queen of Cyprus,—*Corner della regina*; his garden was especially fine,—*del zardin*; his temperament was moody,—*filosofo*; he returned with a nugget of gold,—*toco d'oro*; he had a prominent jaw, and wore short hair, and had sunken eyes,—*scimiotto*; he wore high heels or strutted like a king-pheasant,—*tacco*; or his palace had strong gates,—*porte de ferro*. A striking event, of course, at times undiscoverable to us, in the written annals of the past, was sufficient to signalize a man to his contemporaries, and make the memory of that event the most intelligible means of identification.⁶ Nor was this necessarily a disrespectful name. Surely the Bragadin could rejoice in the glory of their epithet, the *scortegai*! Naturally the process here described is the same which ultimately explains any family name. The special interest of these poems is in showing the extent to which such epithets in Venice had become conventionalized, and to see the jovial use made of them by a "conceitistic" society.

For the Italian of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries worshipped the conceit; and that is characteristic not only of the literary circles, but of the populace as well. It is difficult for us to see the humor in such far-fetched and arbitrary distortion of words for the sake of a joke, that have in many cases become an inheritance of the Venetian language. Such puns as *Mazorbo* and *mezz'orbo* have with us gone out of style. But under the Republic of Venice these witticisms were quite the thing, and Pasquino's offspring, the *Gobbo di Rialto*, would have felt lost without them. He loved especially to play on the names of his governors: in Venice there are, he says, "Cornari-assai, Boni-pochi, Zustin solo." And so the author of the poems before us plays on the respectable name of Alexander VII: Ottoboni becomes for him the *Zotto bon*:

⁴ In the less frequented parts of the lagoons the currents were and still are so controlled as to form natural traps where fish are caught as in rivers. In these places, line fishing was always successful and came to form a peculiarly Venetian sport, portrayed notably in the paintings of Longhi.

⁵ The *oca* in Venetian folk-lore is the inspirer of *ennui*.

⁶ Casanova, *Mémoires*, II, 5, shows us such a process in operation: Antonio Dolfin, through the elegance of his dress, was acquiring the epithet of *Bucintoro*.

Marcello becomes a *macello* or a *martello*. There is a malicious twinge in Mocenigo, where we have the distant feeling of *mocino*. Morosini suggests the delicate *moroso*. The pathway of a Corner school-boy must have been spotted with gore. We may observe also that this process of far-fetched association affects not only the names, but at times the epithets themselves. *Stella* has become *stella fissa*, and *gallo* (Morosini) has become *galeno*. If one Priuli is the *calderiola*, surely his cousin or his brother must be the *pignatin*. And the possibilities are exploited to the limit: *Priuli dai risi* is used now for 'laughter' and now for 'rice.'

These remarks, however, are still insufficient to make easy the interpretation of the poems as a contemporary would have understood them. For it will be observed that in the majority of cases the proper names do not fit into any conceivable relation to the sense, itself complete, usually, with the simple epithet. And where, beyond the obvious puns recorded above, these names yield up some secret association with a popular word, the association does not seem to harmonize with the necessary meaning. That, however, they form an integral part of the phrase is proved by their inclusion in the metre and rhyme. We believe, in fact, that these names are purely extraneous to the sense in many cases; nor is this extreme artificiality surprising, inasmuch as it would have what one might call its esthetic justification. For the proper name calls up a picture, living and moving before the eyes of the initiated contemporary reader; and this picture serves to specify the connotation that the epithet is to give to the phrase. The lover was not merely a "pazzarello," but a genial lunatic of the Grimani type; the door that is slammed in the lover's face is no ordinary door, but to his disappointed eyes it takes on the insuperable magnitude of the gates of the Contarini palace. This, of course, is the case when the epithet and the name is skillfully employed. But we must confess after all that a rhymester who devotes himself extensively to this kind of humor is capable of all the varieties of nonsense and no sense hitherto recorded.

We are dealing here in short with a literary type of the most ephemeral kind, reflecting a psychological moment which no reconstruction, however minute, could resurrect in its entirety.

Its place in the history of manners is with the local squibs of political campaigns, with the satires of comic journals. It can assume a lasting importance only when it deals with imposing characters, as here. For documents such as these must be consulted in writing the histories of the patrician families of the Venetian Republic.

The first of the poems here reproduced enjoyed some diffusion: I have noted copies in the Correr codice (Venice) 1083, pp. 76-7; 1085, pp. 189-90; 1193, 91b-4a; finally in the Bertoliana of Vicenza, cod. 6, 2, 25. From this I derive the text here published. We must not forget, however, a complete *rifacimento* of the same poem in different metre in codex 2, 10, 18 of the Bertoliana, which begins:

Catte zà che mi vengo osservando.

In all cases save the last, it is accompanied by a response, wherein the lady slightly pronounces her indifference to the rosy promises of her admirer. This poem begins:

Sta mattina conzandone la testa.

For this let us note merely the epithets not contained in our other verses or in the collections of Molmenti:

Mocenigo—*forfetta*; Lombardo—*strolego*; Querini—*testolina*; Dolfin—*piccoli*; Mocenigo—*basso*; Badoer—*buffon*⁷; Valier—*Arlecchin*; Donà—*Scaramuzzo*; Cremonin—*Burichinella*; Calbo—*boccal*; Rioni—*patron*; Contarin—*brazzo de ferro*; Badoer—*puina*; Donà—*torelle*; Pesaro—*verin delle torre*; Mocenigo—*manon*; Gradenigo—*dalle piere*; Soranzo—*panada*; Sagredo—*panimbruo*⁸; Giustinian—*cersato*; Vendramin—*Don Gillè* (the Venetian Don Giovanni); Bembo—*Medico Volante*; Loredan—*Fiammia*; Badoer—*buovolo*; Morosini—*nervetto*; Puzini—*bocchea*; Barbaro—*culo*; Zen—*mona*; Contarini—*Seneca*; Molin—*burchio*; Priuli—*coccalon*; Contarini—*macchia*; Molin—*zombria*; Braga—

⁷There is a passage in the poems of Gian Francesco Busenello on the Carnival which represents himself and Giacomo Badoer acting in Piazza plays (see *Xe pur senio quei chiassi e quei morbini*, for instance, in cod. Marciano, 7015, p. 355). Probably, however, the epithet and the three following simply identify their victims with the comedy type as a judgment of character.

⁸*Panada* and *panimbruo* connote vulgarity of taste. Busenello has drawn for us the picture of a wife who justifies the irregularities of her conduct at the *Sensa* on account of her husband's fondness for these articles of food.

din—barchetta; Badoer—musico; Pavagnin—mostro; Piva—scarpioni; Bernardo—occhiali (Molmenti gives *occhialon*); Michiel—scalferotto; Malipiero—dente; Venier—brochetto; Nani—pazienza; Contarini—strazza; Balbi—scatola; Morosin—caldiera (we have *calderiola*); Molini—dall'acque; Dolfin—muso de poreo.

These epithets are here given in order to point out the categories into which they fall consciously in the author's mind. For precisely in these categories the series of epithets expands: the moment we have a Bembo identified as the Medico Volante, some one discovers other comedy types in other nobles; so we come to have a Don Giovanni, a Fiammetta, an Arlecchin and so on; then come the fruits, the articles of food, the utensils of the kitchen, etc.

In the Bertoliana codex, our first poem has a prolix title, of course by some copyist: *Lettera di un amante ad una sua amica, che nel descriverli le sue pene amorose li nomina li soprannomi de Nobili Veneti: con la risposta allo stesso dell'amica; ed una cantata per musica dello stesso amante alla sua amica con li sudetti soprannomi; e varie stanze del medesimo amante pure con li soprannomi predetti; il tutto in lingua naturale veneziana, composti dall' Illmo Sig. Gianfrancesco Businello, Segretario dell' Eccmo Senato Veneto*. Preceded by a *Catalogo per ordine d'alfabetto di tutti i soprannomi de Nobili Veneziani che si contengono in tutte le presenti composizioni*. Codex Correr 1193 also attributes the poem to Busenello, but a later hand has cancelled his name. As a matter of fact, these manuscripts are all of miscellany, and date from the end of the Seicento, while Busenello died in 1659. The confusion which reigns in the attributions made by such manuscripts strips them of all authority, unless there be corroboratory evidence. And a study of this extensive bibliographical question is lacking.⁹ We may note, however,

⁹ To this task I shall address myself in a forthcoming study: *La poesia in dialetto veneziano nel secolo XVII*. E. Filippini has approached the difficulty in *Un ignoto codice miscelaneo contenente poesie di Bartolommeo Dotti*, *Rassegna bibliografica*, xiv, 326-39; and again on Dotti in the last number of the *Rivista di biblioteche ed archivi* (1910). But it is not a question of considering one or two MSS. Where Mr. Filippini leaves his Dotti prints he falls into necessary speculation and error. For instance, the poem *Compare passa el tempo e se vien vecchi* is not anonymous, but belongs to Busenello with the title *El giudizio universal*. The satire *Sopra gli usi più detesta-*

that the biographical data concerning Busenello given in the Bertoliana title is entirely erroneous. His authorship is nevertheless suggested by the acute satire of costume and the keen sense of Venetian life that pervades the poem. And Catte or Ninetta is the name of several of the Lauras of his vernacular poetry.

These observations as to authorship apply as well to the second poem, which likewise appears in the same codex of the Bertoliana, 6, 2, 25. Here we have a Nina, likewise a familiar name in the poems of Busenello. Another vivacious Venetian satirist may likewise have a claim upon all these poems, that Alvise Priuli, who engaged in a fierce ecclesiastical polemic in the second half of the Seicento. This Priuli has verses in the style of those here given in Codex Bertoliana, 2, 10, 18. They deal with the nobles of Padova. However, the poems contain little of the personal note, and the question of authorship is of slight importance. There are plenty of anonymous examples, as for instance in Codex Correr 1083, pp. 429-34.

In the text, otherwise treated diplomatically, except that accents on unstressed vowels are omitted, epithets noted by Molmenti are put in italics, new examples in capitals.

I.

SCRITTO SOPRO LI SORANOMI DELLE CASE DEL BROGIO.

LETTERA DEL ZOTTO BON A CATTE SUA DAMA DEL BUSENELLO.

Catte, zà che m'accorzo
Che no t'intendi el mio parlar polio,
Quando te digo in versi
Co lengua fiorentina el fatto mio,
Te vorria parlar schietto,
Come te sol parlar mattina e sera
Nane poppier, e Santa eameriera.
Ma per tegnir coverti i fatti nostri,
Servir dei soranomi mi me voggio
10 Delle casade che spassava el Brogio.

Catte, quando te vedo
Morosin sguardelin in su le galte
E luser come stelle
In tel to viso Morosin bei occhi;

bili de nostri tempi belongs not to Dotti but to the Padre Cacia, a satirist of Venice of the middle Seicento.

12-14: suppress in translation *Morosini*, but connote *moroso*.

- Quando ti averzi i lavri—M'accorzo che ti tien
 El *Mocenigo dalle perle* in bocca
 E che sul to bel sen
 Ti porti come in le to man intatte
 EL CAPELLO DAL PONTE DELLA LATTE.
 20 Te zuro che Cupido te destina
 Drento el mio cor *Corner della regina*.
 Me prometteva amor
 Farne con ti *CORNER DEL PARADISO*,
 Finchè sto traditor
 Con el *Grimani spago* a cento doppie
 M'à ligà così stretto—Che no posso scampar.
 E pò, montà sul *PESARO DEL CARRO*,
 Co i *Contarini roncinetti* sotto,
 Cargo d'amor e de superbia sgionfo,
 Della mia libertà fatto à el trionfo.
 30 O Dio, che gran brusor—Per ti Catte me sento !
 E a destuar sto fuogo—Sò che no saria bon
 EL *PISANI GARZON*
 E ti ghà da veder per el to amor
 IN *DONÀ DELLE CENERE* el mio cnor.
 Mò, perchè mai no pustu—Volerme un pò de ben
 Col *NAVAGIER DELLA PIETÀ* nel sen ?
 E no sempre mostrarte—El *Marcello dei cani*,
 E el *BARBARIGO CERBERO* ai miei danni ?
 Sò che ti xe *Corner dalla Ca Granda*,
 40 Che ti ti à in casa el *CONTARIN DAI SCRIGNI*,
 E drento, el *Giustinian buelle d'oro* ;
 E nni son panno basso—Poveretto e mendico,
 Nè tegno altra ricchezza, altro tesoro,
 Che la mia fedeltà,
 Che xe, più d'un *Soranzo*, *tocco d'oro*.

15-16: read only: "ti tien le perle in bocca."
 —18-19: suppress *Capello da. El ponte della latte*: 'milk market,' i. e., she has the milk market in her hands and breast, they are white as milk. Locutions of this type are numberless in the Venetian language of the Seicento: *Star al ponte dei Assassini*, "be maltreated"; "*vogar in Rio Menuo*", to be out of money; *far da Canal Grando*, "to show off"; *star al malcanton*: "be in trouble"; just as in our poems, we find these locutions becoming as it were parts of speech: *Ponte della Paglia*: 'bed'; *Rio dei Morti*: 'death'; *Ponte del Aseo*: "vinegar," hence "cold reception," etc. This question we shall treat fully in a forthcoming study on the dialect of the Seicento. Note, however, that from being the mooring-places of market boats from the mainland, the bridges come to mean 'markets.' —21: read only *regina*; in 23, however, *Corner* may mean "doge," i. e., "king of paradise," from the shape of the ducal hat. Pasquino, of course, observed that Venice was never without a "duca cornuto." —32: It is obvious that the Pisani would be capital fire-extinguishers, in spite of the single "s" in their name. *Garzon* seems to mean "fireman, or the servant boy who tends the fires." —37, 38: read only *cani* but *barbaro(igo) cerbero*. —39, 40, 41: read only *granda*, *scrigni*, *oro*. —45: Here the proper name is to be read literally: "My fidelity is more of a piece of gold than the Soranzo who bears that epithet."

- Ma la mia povertà
 No xe tal che [mi] no possa donarte
 Canzon sonetti stanze—Fatti con qualche arte,
 Che ò consegnade a STAMPARIA QUERINI.
 50 Poderia forse un zorno, avendo sorte,
 Tior el to nome ai *CONTARINI MORTE*.
 Se ti savessi, o Catte,
 Come stago per ti, come sbassiso !
 Co no te vedo, muoro,
 E co te vedo, oddio, me par morir !
 Ma tutto el resto è niente,
 Respetto a quando, sotto i to balconi,
 De notte tempo col *GRIMANI SCURO*,
 Battendo al *Contarin porte de ferro*,
 60 Nessun no me risponde ;
 E dopo sul sogier sonni stentai,
 A darne retto no vegnisse almanco
 El *Pisani dal banco* ;—E a reparer dal freddo,
 Sta mia vita meschina,
 Avesio adosso el *MOROSIN SCHIAVINA*.
 Ma quel ch'è pezo ancora—Ti sà se gho desgusto !
 No credistu ch'el sapia
 Che se Santa te porta de sti avvisi,
 Crudel, ti ghe respondi,—Col *Priuli dai risi* !
 70 Oh quante volte m'è saltà l'umor—
 Catte, tel vogio dir—De tiorne al to rigor,
 E cercando altro ciel, mudar mia sorte.
 Giera quasi ressolto
 In sul *BALBI* montar *DEL GALION*,
 E sul *PRIULI DELLA NAVE* andar
 Contro el *Pisani turco* a battagiar.
 M'aveva zà provisto—De zacco e vanto forte,
 De targa e pugnaletto—E m'aveva setao
 El *CELADINA GIUSTINIAN* in cao.
 80 Quando quel furfantello—D' Amor, [che] m'ebbe visto
 Co sti arnesi arredosso,—Ridendo a più non posso,
 Così me dise, el tristo :
 "No ti xe pur *Grimani pazzarello*,
 A creder de scampar,
 Se ti à Catte in tel cuor, gramo ignorante !
 Catte sarà con ti anco in Levante,—
 Se, co'l proverbio dise—Uno che vogia ben
 El vive sempre con la bissa in sen."
 Donca se a sto mio mal no ghe remedio,
 90 Miedeghi, andè con Dio—E s'è insegnà mai
 A miedegar Amor, el nostro mistro,
 Su i *Dolfini culata*,—Disèghe ch'el se petta
MOROSINI GALENO la ricetta.—Morirò nni meschin,
 E ti Catte cagnona un dì. Ma tardi

49: alteration of *Stampalia*. —51: The ms. has so for to. —61: *sonni*: "sounds," i. e., "knocking," or the more frequent "sneezing," or else *sonni stentai* = Ital. "sonni stentati," in which case *retto* may be read *letto*. —62: *veguisse*, second person singular: read *al banco*, the seat in the *liagò* or under the porch of the palace door. —65: *schiaivina*: "blanket." —68: *Santa* is the name of the servant. —75: *Priuli* connotes *prua*, or *prova*, "prow." —76: *Pisani* again with a double sense. —79: *celadina*: 'helmet.' —83: *Grimani* connotes *gramo*.

Ti pianzerà el mio erudel destin.
Quando sonando TREVISAN BATTOCCHIO
Lored un campanon,
Te dirà el cuor: Xe morto el ZOTTOBON.

Il Fine.

II.

CANZONETTA DI UN' AMANTE INNAMORATO
ALLA SUA AMICA NELLA QUALE SI DE-
SCRIVE LE PENE E TORMENTI CHE
PROVA PER AMOR SUO, NOMINANDOLI
LI SOPRANOMI DELLI NOBILI PATRIZJ
VENETI. CANTATA PER MUSICA IN LIN-
GUA VENEZIANA.

COMPOSTA DALL' ILL^{MO} SIG^R GIANFRANCESCO BUSI-
NELLO, SEGRETARIO DELL' ECC^{MO} SENATO VENETO.

- Per ti son tocco morto—Ninetta, anema mia,
E se no trovo all'amor mio conforto,
La mia vita è fenìa.
Tanto son pien de spasemi e d'affanni,
5 Che a martellarme el cuor,
El *Marcello* me par aver dei *Cuni*.

Peno, me struzo e moro—Per zonzer una volta
A posseder quella beltà ch'adoro.
Deh, el mio parlar ascolta!
10 Che a veder che con mi ti è sempre sorda,
Resto storno e incantà,
Che son ginsto un *Priul potta balorda*.

Son pronto a far de tutto—Per venzer sto antigenio,
E per goder delle mie pene el frutto.
15 Per darte un dì nel genio,
Fame sentir dalla to bocca un motto!
Che pronto mi sarò
A deventar anca un *Donà scimiotto*.

Se ti vol, vestirò—Per ti alla parigina;
20 E dove ti sarà, comparirò
Con gran perucca e mina.
Basta ehe ti comandi, anema mia:
Che nel mio portamento,
Ti vederà un *Molin fazziol da fia*.

25 Se delle parolette—Tì à gusto de sentir,
Sempre col stil bizzaro e frase elletta,
Componerò el mio dir.
Te farò delle ottave e dei sonetti.
E da ti vegnirò

Title: We have also a subtitle, *Canzonetto di un amante innamorato ad una sua amica nominandoli li soprannomi de Nobili Veneti*. — 6: a pun on the entire verse: "I seem to have the torment of a dog"; "Marcello certainly does have dogs." *Marcello* in the two senses of *martello*, connecting with *martellar*. — 11-12: *storno*: "stupefied"; *potta balorda*: "dumfounded idiot"; this stock phrase, common enough in the Seicento should be added to Boerio. — 18, 24: the proper names are taken literally.

30 In compagnia del *Loredan concetti*.

Se ti ami serenate—D'aver sotto i balconi,
Queste in tempo d'istà te sarà fatte:
Con dolci canti e soni
Farò vegnir da notte in sti confini

35 PIFERO PASQUALIGO,
DOLFIN TIORBA e TROMBIOL CONTARINI.

Se el genio malinconico—Ste vanità no cura,
Imparerò per ti l'amor platonico.
Comanda: e ti è segura

40 Che parerò un chietin, un baecheton;
E ehi me vederà,
Tutti me erederà *Priuli Scarpon*.

S'è gnsto Nina bela—Che staga ritirà,
Starò con ti come un romito in cella.

45 Sta voglia se ti ga,
Per secondarla, credilo d'amigo,
Che me trattenirò
Col *filosofo* sempre *Pasqualigo*.

Se ti vol che in sta parte—El nostro amor sia sconto,

50 Saiò col BALBI NOTTOLO a trovarte.
E per no far affronto
Al to concetto, all'onor to, te zuro
De no vegnir da ti,
Se con mi no ghe xe GRIMANI SCURO.

55 Se andar pò saverò—Che in maschera te piasa,
Col *moretta Pisan* te menerò
Sempre fora de casa.
Se el zioigo vederò ehe te diletta,
Dal *Pisani dal banco*

60 Te manderò col CONTARIN BASSETTA.

[Se] in gondola, in battello—Dei spassi te voi dar,
Me farò *Barbarigo buranello*,
Per menarte a pesar.

E pò anderemo a marendar alfin

65 Dal NANI ALLA ZUECCA,
O pnr dal *Morosini del Zardin*.

Se fuora qualehe mese—Genio ti avrà de star,
Te menerò a un CASIN DEL VERONESE.
O pur podremo andar

70 (Che zà ghè sedie birbe e anea carrozze)

36: *tiorba*: 'short-sighted,' but here used in its other meaning 'liute.' — 42: implies that *Priuli* was a *chietin*: "pharisee." *Scarpon*: apparently a member of the order of *scarpanti*, monks who wore wooden shoes in penitence. — 50: "I will go with the bats to see you," i. e., at night, secretly. — 56, 60: *moretta*: "mask"; *banco*: "gaming table"; *bassetta*: "card game." — 62: *buranello*: "fisherman." Burano conducted the bulk of the fishing trade. — 68, 72: apparently reference to specific resorts of *villeggiatura*: the *Casin dalle Papozze* and others in the Veronese or near Breseia. *Quel del Bressa* may have the usual ellipsis of *territorio*, but cf. the following verse. *Fina*, because Breseia is so remote.

Fina in quello [CASIN] DEL BRESSA,
E del Querini pur dalle papozze.

Me bramistu corrivo?—Te zuro in verità
Che per ti deventar me sottoscrivo

75 *Morosini pellà.*

La romperò per ti, caro tesoro,
Col CONTARIN DAI SCRIGNI,
E te farò un *Soranzo tocco d'oro.*

Con rispetto parlar—Farò de ti la fama,

80 E el titolo da ogn'un te farò dar
Del GIUSTINIAN MADAMA.

Te mandarò con tanta pompa e mina,
Che stimada da tutti
Cornera ti sarà dalla regina.

85 Vorastu abiti fini?—Te i farò riceli intorno,
Tutti guarnij de *Morosin franzini.*

De zogie el collo adorno
Pur che ti gabbi, no ghe penso un figo
Che te vegna per casa

90 Tutto el dì dalle perle el *Mocenigo.*

Farò, non zà de scato—Ma de rasa vestia,
Col cendà sgionfo e'l canareggio in moto,
Te vegna drio una fia :
Vorrò proprio la para un' *Artenisia*

95 Al sussiego, al contegno,
Ma che no tenda al *Bragadin negrisia.*

Che la sia de sta mina—Così l'intendo mi :
Che a vederla così, tutti indovina
Quel che de più xe in ti.

100 La voi ricca de mine, e che abbia intorno,
Mai con ella alterà,
Sguardolin Morosini e notte e zorno.

A to requisizion—*Corner dalla Cù Granda*
Ti averà per to alozo e abitazion

105 Con orto da una banda ;
E el *Barbarigo* IN CAO della terraza,
Che te serva qualch'ora
Per passarte quell'occa che strapazza.

73 to 78 : the MS. has *mò* ; but the sense is : "do you wish me generous (*corivo*)?" *Pellà* : "poor"; then, "I will break off my relations with my treasure boxes (*scrigni*) and make you like a piece of gold, or as rich as a *Soranzo*." — 81 : "I will have you given G.'s title, viz., madama." — 86 : Molmenti has *franzoni* : "ornaments, laces." — 91 to 96 : *scato* : "woolen"; *sgionfo* : the tournure, involving the whole skirt, was in the height of fashion around 1640 and after; *canareggio* : the exact meaning of this word, which appears also in Goldoni, I have not been able to determine. Perhaps Ital. "sculettando"? *Negrisia* : *negra*, on the analogy of possibly *egizia* and the like ; she will have no negress for a servant, but a real lady, to show how much more of a lady (vv. 97-9) Nina is. — 106 : "and a terrace on top like that of the Barbarigo palace."

Vorrastu far gran tola?—EL VENIER CAPPE CÈ,

110 *Priuli PIGNATIN e Calderiola*

Farò star sulle soe.
Co quel becchin no voi che vaga in ballo
Ne mattina ne sera,
PRIUL BRUO LONGO o *Morosini gallo.*

115 MOROSINI CAPON—Vogio che in caponera

Ti gabi sempre a to requisizion
La mattina e la sera ;
E appresso a questo assai più bone spese
Te farà de mia parte

120 *Contarini fasan* più volte al mese.

Voi che sera e mattina—Te serva d'antipasti
E l'inverno e l'istae FALIER PUINA,
Come pur de popasti
Oltre altri frutti rari e pelegriani
125 Che te farò sentir :
Te proveda *dei perseggi* el *Querini.*

Sarò in ogni stagion—Acciò ridè all'ingrosso,
Ai bisogni de casa un BALBI OCCHION.
Tutto quel che voi, posso.

130 Dove son mi, no vien, se non stravedo,
Mai PRIULI SACCHETTO,
Perchè ò sempre de su CASSON SAGREDO.

Farò ben che in quell'ora—Vegna, cò fa bisogno,
Farse el BALBI sentir BUKATAORA.

135 Se me pararia un sogno
El vederte à magnar, ò dolce Clori,
Più col *Donà dai risi*
Che con mi vermicelli e caoli fiori.

Se pò te occorrerà—Che per ti fazza el bravo,

140 El bulo, el sbarufarsi, zà ti sa
Che de gniente me cavo.
Per ti sempre tierò la lanza in resta.
E eo farò bisogno
GIUSTINIAN CELADINA averò in testa.

145 Sarò PRIULI GRAN CAN—Con chi te oltragierà :
Fato in mi troverà *turco Pisan*,
Quei che t'offenderà ;

109 : *cappe ce* : apparently an *intercalare* : Molmenti has noted the role of speech mannerisms in popular satire : *cappe* is an oath, here used for *cappa* (del forno). The puns here are rather involved : the epithets refer to the requisites for dining but also constitute contemptuous descriptions of the rival. *Bruo longo* : "thin soup." Boerio does not note this regular Venetian parallel to the It. *decotto*, "cheap slop of a person." *Gallo* : regular metaphor for Zerbino. — 122 : *puina* : It. *ricotta*, a delicious by-product of milk in the manufacture of cheese. — 130 : "It will not be a question of little bags of supplies but of big boxes, with my munificence." — 134 : *burataora* : "gossip," but also "floursifter." Then : "I shall be surprised if with me you don't have more cauliflowers and vermicelli than you now have of ordinary rice."

E senza far parole nù schiamazzi
Conoscer me farò

150 Da i to nemici *Priuli taglia brazzi.*

Per altro se ti avesse—Qualch'altro amor nel petto
E che compir sавesse ai tò interessi,
Sodisfar el genietto
Son disposto, cuor mio, non aver tema :

155 Che per no disgustarte,
Co ti vorrà, sarò *Pisani flemma.*

Farò l'orbo e anca el sordo ;—A so tempo a so liogo
Andereimo, mio ben, sempre d'accordo.
Segonderò el to zioigo :

160 A to piaser me lasscrò dar scacco,
E, benchè con mia pena,
Me lasscrò spassar par *Corner tacco.*

Morite, mia Ninetta,—A ste calde espression,
E più a longo no far la ritrossetta

165 A tante impromission.
Introduseme in *casa*, o me despiero.
Avertime, e no esser
Contarini con mi *porte de ferro.*

Se el to bel me consola—Col deventar amante,

170 Non dubitar che mi in amarte mola.
Sarò fido e costante ;
E de fermezza sarò senza fallo
UN *TREVISAN BATTOCCHIO*,
E più tosto dirò *PISANI PALO.*

175 Rissolvi via, mio ben,—Destuar quella fiamma.
Che impizza le mie viscere nel sen.
Ama, cara, chi t'ama.
Fa che un dì del to amor me trova pago.
E per tirarme sù,

180 No me andar a cercar *Grimani spago.*

No dubitar, mia bella,—Che el mio amor mai fenissa ;
Che per ti son *PRIULI DALLA STELLA*,
Ma *DALLA STELLA FISSA.*
Nè temer del mio cuor mai falsità :

185 Che nel trattar con ti,
Sarò sempre un *MARCELLO PURITÀ.*

162 : *tacco* : "pheasant," almost the usual "peacock," "strutting fellow." — 173 : *batochio* : "hammer of a bell, door-knocker," or else "staff," therefore something stiff and unyielding. The *palo* is the anchorage for the gondola, the buoys in the lagoons ; something reliable and fixed. So *mola* above, from *molar*, "to unmoor," carries out the figure. Above, *el to bel*, "your beauty." — 179 : *tirar su* : "uccellare" in all derived senses ; in fact exactly "to get on the string," "to torment." However, *tirar su* also means "entrar in battaglia amorosa." Around this locution Buscnello wrote a series of conceits in the *Dora*. The phrase originated in the letting down and drawing up of rope ladders in secret intrigues. Cf. *Bandello, Novelle*, I, 15.—191 : *cailletto* is the burial gondola, as well as "bier."

Quà me butto in zenocchio—E te prego voler
Vardarme un dì col *Morosin bell'occhio.*

Del resto, non temer :

190 Che in servitù sarò fedel e forte,
Finche *Donà cailletto*
Me vien a tior col *CONTARINI MORTE.*

Il Fine.

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ANOTHER CONTEMPORARY ALLUSION IN CHAUCER'S *TROILUS*

If Professor Lowes's extremely plausible interpretation¹ of Chaucer's line,

Right as our firste lettre is now an A,²

as a delicate compliment to Queen Anne the consort of Richard be accepted, it definitely establishes for *Troilus and Criseyde* a date subsequent to the royal marriage, January 14, 1382. With the composition of this poem thus fixed, almost with certainty, between 1382 and 1386 (at the latest) one finds new interest in a passage in Book IV, giving an account of the council called to consider the exchange of Criseyde for Antenor. In this account lines 169-210—as Mr. Rossetti's parallel column indicates,—have no counterpart in *Il Filostrato*. Chaucer, in these six stanzas, after bringing out more clearly the motives which led Troilus to keep silence during a discussion which so vitally affected him, represents Hector as stoutly opposing the proposition to exchange Criseyde. For this, however, he is at once taken to task by the "peple," who excitedly demand the ransom of Antenor, declaring to King Priam,

'That al our voys is to for-gon Criseyde' (v. 195).

The voice of the people prevailed : it was determined by the "parlement" that Criseyde should be "yelden up" for Antenor,

Al-theigh that Ector 'nay' ful ofte preyde (v. 214).

In striking contrast to this account in *Troilus*, Boccaccio's mention of the "parlamento" is

¹ *Pubs. M. L. A.*, XXIII, 285 ff.

² *Troilus and C.*, I, 171.

brief and colorless and does not enable us to distinguish at all those who took sides *pro* or *con*:—

molte cose ragionate
Fur tra' baron, di quel che bisognava
Ora al presente per le cose state;
E come è detto, a chi quelle aspettava
Fur le risposte interamente date,
E che fosse Griseida renduta,
Chi mai non v'era stata ritenuta (IV, st. xvii).

Chaucer's account of the "parlement" shows, in one or two points already noted by Professor Hamilton, the influence of the form of the story given by Benoit and Guido. Hector's protest against the exchange of Criseyde was in all probability suggested by his speech against the truce with the Greeks, as it is recorded by these older authorities. Moreover, Professor Hamilton justly observes, "the outcry of the people against this plea is suggestive of their better [? bitter] expression of opinion upon Calchas when they learn that he wishes his daughter, as stated in the same authorities."³ In order to bring out the exact relation in which Chaucer's account stands to the earlier form of the story I quote the corresponding portion of Guido's text. Benoit's narrative, though somewhat longer, supplies no additional points of comparison.

Hic calcas pro predicta filia sua briseida regem agamemnon & alios grecorum reges sollicite deprecatur vt predictam filiam suam a rege priamo si placet exposcant vt eam restituat patri suo. Qui eidem regi priamo preces plurimas obtulerunt. sed troiani contra calcam antistitem multum impugnant asserentes eum esse nequissimum proditorem & ideo morte dignum. Sed rex priamus ad petitionem grecorum inter commutationem anthenoris & regis thoas briseidam grecis voluntarie relaxauit.⁴

According to this account, it will be observed, the responsibility for handing over Criseyde to the Greeks rests solely upon Priam, who overruled the protests of the Trojans and granted the petition of the Greek ambassadors by a decisive exercise of his royal authority.⁵

³ G. L. Hamilton, *Chaucer's Indebtedness to Guido*, 1903, p. 105-6.

⁴ Quoted from the Strassburg ed. of the *Hist. Troiana*, 1489.

⁵ With this accords also Guido's statement a little later: "Troilus vero postquam agnouit de sui patris procedere voluntate de briseida relaxanda & restituenda grecis—."

Chaucer, now, has contrived by a series of deliberate changes to put a wholly different face on the affair. In the first place, he directly reverses the attitude of the protesting Trojans. In the *Historia Troiana* their hatred of Calchas leads them to cry out against the proposition to send Criseyde to the Greek camp; in Chaucer's poem, through a desire to recover Antenor, they vehemently urge that the exchange be made. Again, the "parlement" at which the exchange is discussed, instead of being (as Boccaccio's *parlamento* implies) a "parley," is represented according to the English signification of the word. It is a formal deliberative assembly in which decrees are enacted by majority vote: ("For substaunce [*i. e.* majority] of the parlement it wolde," v. 217). These decrees are "pronounced by the president" and have thenceforth final authority without possibility of appeal: ("what wight that it with-seyde, / It was for nought, it moste been, and sholde.") Priam's position in the "parlement" is not made altogether clear. He is present, for the people appeal to him directly (vv. 194-6), in their opposition to Hector. But there is nothing in the narrative to identify the king with the presiding officer of the "parlement"—another indication that Chaucer was following English usage. And in any case King Priam no longer appears as a dominating figure. It is the will of the majority which prevails; Hector is out-voted and the king does not once speak his mind.

According to Chaucer's account, therefore, the decision to exchange Criseyde becomes a striking instance of the blindness of the popular will. Moreover, in order to emphasize the danger to the state resulting from such deference to "the noyse of peple," two stanzas (vv. 196-210) are devoted to enforcing the moral and to pointing out the calamities which this ill-advised act brought upon Troy.

The noyse of peple up-stirte thanne at ones,
As breme as blase of straw y-set on fyre;
For infortune it wolde, for the nones,
They sholden hir confusioun desyre.

O Iuvenal, lord! trewe is thy sentence,
That litel witen folk what is to yerne
That they ne finde in hir desyr offence;
For cloud of errour lat hem not descerne
What best is; and lo, here ensample as yerne.
This folk desiren now deliveraunce
Of Antenor, that broughte hem to mischaunce.

There is in these lines, in my opinion, a distinct allusion to the great uprising of the peasants in 1381. The first two lines should be compared with the well-known passage in the *Nonne Preestes Tale*, in which Chaucer makes express reference to the peasants' rebellion :—

So hidous was the noyse, a *benedicite* !
 Certes, he Iakke Straw, and his meynnee,
 Ne made never shoutes half so shrille,
 Whan that they wolden any Fleming kille.

(B 4583-6).

Stress is laid in both passages, it will be noted, upon the same characteristic of popular tumults—the “noyse.” Very possibly the shouts of the crowd had rung in Chaucer's own ears, for one could hardly have lived in London during the summer of 1381 without getting at least a glimpse of the rioting which took place.⁶

Moreover, as soon as one recognizes that in the *Troilus* passage Chaucer is thinking of England quite as much as of Troy, one perceives the reason for the changes which he has introduced into the story of the “parlement.” Each of the modifications which we have noted was designed to make

⁶ I relegate to a foot-note a question which at this point inevitably suggests itself: Did Chaucer, under the figure of the “blase of straw,” veil an allusion to the notorious peasant leader—to whom, as we have seen, he makes express reference in the *Nonne Preestes Tale*? It is to be noted in this connection that Gower puns, not once but twice, on Straw's name:

Hec erat illa dies, subito qua maxima quercus
 A modico leuiter stramine vulsa cadit.

Ecce dies, in qua sua stramina stramen habebat,
 Que nullo precio grana valere putant.

(*Vox Clam.*, I, 651-2, 655-6. Macaulay calls attention to the first instance but not to the second).

Though Chaucer is not given to punning, he has recently been suspected in one instance of playing on the name of the Queen (see Lowes, *Pubs. M. L. A.*, xxiii, 291, note). If a personal allusion is to be recognized in “an A,” surely it is not impossible in the “blase of straw.” If I am right in seeing in the passage before us a definite allusion to the events of 1381, Straw's name would necessarily have been present in Chaucer's mind, and I am disposed to believe that it suggested the figure which he here employs. The figure is in itself apt, whether it carries a personal allusion or not; and even if a word-play was intended it does not in the least deflect the course of the thought, and cannot, therefore, be regarded as objectionable.

the story apply more perfectly to the political events in England which were in his mind. On no other hypothesis, it seems to me, can his deliberate departure from tradition be satisfactorily explained.

When one considers the profound impression which these scenes of disorder made upon all thoughtful persons of the time, one easily understands the deep seriousness which Chaucer puts into these phrases. Though his story is of Troy his thoughts have turned for the moment to “Troia Nova,” as London was often called after the appearance of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*.⁷ In this connection it may be worth remarking that Gower, in his *Jeremiad* on the uprising of 1381, also uses the figure of Troy to represent London. Some passages in the *Vox Clamantis* which emphasize the lack of foresight shown by the riotous peasantry may even be compared in their general tone with the lines of Chaucer quoted above. For example :—

Sic fera rusticitas incircumspecta malorum
 Incipit, et finem non videt inde suum.

(Lib. I, 907-8).

The purpose of such comparisons is by no means to find a “source” for Chaucer's lines. The similarities which exist are amply accounted for when we reflect that Chaucer and Gower were writing in the midst of the same political and social agitations. Gower's vision of “Nova Troia” shows that it was entirely natural in putting forth observations on events in England to use the figures of Trojan story. Though he employs a different method, Chaucer likewise, by using the debate over the exchange of Criseyde as a parable to illustrate the blindness of popular clamor, shows that the connection between Troy and London was easily established.

In conclusion, I would call attention, in connection with this passage in *Troilus*, to the well-known lines of the “Auctor” in the *Clerk's Tale* (E 995-1001), apostrophizing the “stormy peple, unsad and ever untrew.” Though the scene of this Tale is in Lombardy, ten Brink⁸ recognized in these lines an allusion to the enthusiastic reception given to Richard II in 1387 by

⁷ See Lib. I, cap. xvii.

⁸ *Geschichte der engl. Litt.*, II, 127.

the Londoners, who only a few months before had bitterly opposed him. Whether Chaucer's reference be to such a specific event or not, at least we shall not be mistaken, I think, in seeing in these lines another allusion to political affairs in England.

The *Knight's Tale*, likewise, though it deals with Athens and Thebes, affords more than one allusion to events in England in Chaucer's own time. Professor Skeat,⁹ years ago, recognized in the phrase "the cherles rebelling" (A 2459) a reference to the peasants' rebellion. More recently Professor Lowes¹⁰ has pointed out in "the tempest at hir loom-coming" (A 884), mentioned in connection with the "quene of Scithia," an allusion to the remarkable storm at the time Anne landed in England. And within a few months Professor Emerson¹¹ has argued plausibly that Chaucer in mentioning the "certeyn contrees alliaunce" considered by the parliament at Athens (A 2970-4), glanced at the alliance of England and Bohemia in 1381. Reference, under cover of the story of Troilus and Criseyde, to the great uprising of the peasantry under Wat Tyler is seen, therefore, to be quite in keeping with Chaucer's method elsewhere.

In its bearing on the question of Chaucer's chronology the *Troilus* passage which we have been discussing signally confirms the conclusion which Professor Lowes based upon his interpretation of the "letter A." To my mind the evidence of the "letter A" was in itself sufficient to carry conviction. But supported as it is by this reference to the peasants' rebellion, it must establish beyond doubt the fact that *Troilus* was not written earlier than 1382.

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CARLETON DEWYN.

*a beautiful
circular
argument*

⁹ Oxford Chaucer, I, p. lvi. Skeat's interpretation of this phrase is endorsed by Tatlock (*Devel. and Chronol. of Chaucer's Works*, p. 80).

¹⁰ *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XIX, 240-1.

¹¹ "A New Note on the Date of Chaucer's *Knight's Tale*," in the James Morgan Hart *Festschrift*, 1910.

JOTTINGS ON THE HILDEBRANDS-LIED

Some time ago I mentioned (in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXI, 110) a passage from Laȝamon's *Brut* as throwing light on the much-discussed line 63 of the *Hildebrandslied*; cf. Collitz's statement in *Beitr.*, xxxvi, 372. Perhaps it will not be amiss briefly to call attention to some Old English parallels also which, to the best of my knowledge, have not yet been utilized for the elucidation of that most interesting and difficult of Old High German texts.

22. her ræt ōstar hina,
sīd Dētrihhe darbā gistuontun
fateres mīnes.¹

That this punctuation (so Heinzel) is really the correct one, I would infer from the use of analogous subordinate clauses (introduced by *pā*, sometimes *þonne*, *þær*): Beow. 199 *cwæð, hē gūðcyming . . . sēccean wolde . . . , pā him wæs manna þearf*; ib. 2876 *pā him wæs elnes þearf*; Par. Ps. 58.9 *þær mē wæs frēondes þearf*; Jud. 3 *pā hēo āhte mæste þearfe / hylde þæs hēhstan Dēman*; Gen. 1482, 1591, Höllenf. 114. There is no allusion in these lines, I think, to a subsequent occasion on which Hildebrand helped Dietrich—"a special legend unknown to us," as Koegel suggests—, but they repeat by way of variation the statement of l. 18 f. To apply Heinzel's well-known formula, ll. 18 f. + 20 ff. + 22b ff. = B + A + B.² As regards the following *dat uwas sō friuntlaos man* (viz., Dietrich, the exiled one), which has been illustrated by reference to OE. *frēondlēas, winelēas* (*wrecca*), we may also cite Beow. 2392: *Ēadgilse wearð / fēasceaftum frēond*, i. e., Beowulf lent his help to Eadgils, who is called *wræcmæcg*, 2379.

28. *chūd was her [allēm] chōnnēm mannum*—
says Hadubrand of his father. Holthausen's insertion of *allēm* is all the more acceptable as a sufficiently near parallel from the *Beowulf* is

¹ Braune's text of the *Hildebrandslied* has been followed.

² With Heinzel and Rieger I believe that we have no right to reject as a blundering scribe's repetition the clause *untī Dēotrīchhe darbā gistuontun*, which follows after l. 26a.

available: *wæs mīn fæder folcum gecyðed, . . . hine gearwe geman / wītena welhwylc wīde geond eorþan*, 262.

31. *dat dū neo dana halt mīt sus sippan man
dīne nī gileitōs.*

A legal term is here applied to a situation which is liable to lead to battle (cf. Ehrismann, *Beitr.*, xxxii, 281; also my note, *J. Engl. and Gmc. Ph.*, viii, 255 f.). It should be compared to *þing gehēgan*—which refers, indeed, to the consummation of the proceeding—in Beow. 424: *ond nū wið Grendel secal . . . ana gehēgan / ðing wið þyrse*. This parallel, briefly mentioned by F. Schulz,³ seems to have been practically ignored, though Trautmann naturally ascribed this very phrase to his OE. *Ur-Hildebrand*.

41. *pist alsō gīaltēt man, sō dū ēwīn inwīt fuortōs*
'du bist in Lug und Trug ('Tücke') alt geworden.'
It is worthy of note that in Brun. 46 one of the enemies, Constantinus, receives the epithet of *eald inwitta*. This interesting coupling of 'cunning' and 'old' (so also Hildebr. 39: *dū bist dir altēr Hūn, unmet spāhēr*) may be considered a not unnatural variant of the traditional association of 'old age' and 'wisdom.' An intermediate position is occupied by *Ludewīc der alte*, who shows *starke liste*, Kudr. 894, cf. 897.⁴

- 44a. *tōt ist Hillibrant.*

Without entering upon the question of the meter, I beg to cite the similar half-line, Beow. 1323b: *dēad is Aeschere*,—the metrical status of which has, by the way, likewise been discussed (Child, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, xxi, 199).

51. *dār man mih eo scerita in fole sceotantero.*

A similar thought is expressed, though in different phrasing and syntax, in Beow. 2638 ff.: *ðē hē ūsīc on herge gecēas / tō ðyssum siðfate . . . þe hē ūsīc gārwigend gōde tealde*.

65. *dō stōpun tō samane.*

In addition to the parallels cited in *M. S. D.*,

³ F. Schulz, *Die Sprachformen des Hildebrands-Liedes im Beowulf*. Königsberg Programm, 1882.

⁴ Perhaps much stress cannot be laid on Predigtbruchst. (Gr.-Wū., II, 110), l. 32: *wacæð se ealða* (the devil), . . . *ēhteð wēfstra, inwīt sāwreð*.

p. 11, and by Heinzel, *Über die ostgotische Heldensage*, p. 49, there may be mentioned Mald. 8: *tō þære hilde stōp* (on foot), and Lazamon's Brut, 28408 f.: *heo togadere stopen / and sturnliche fuhten*, where *togadere*, however, possibly refers to the assembling of Arthur's host rather than to the encounter of the two armies. The use of *tō samane* is matched by that of *tōgædere* in Beow. 2630 *syððan hē tōgædre gegān hæfdon*, Mald. 67 *tō lang hit him þūhte, / hwenne hī tōgædere gāras bēron*.

68. *gīwigan mīti wābnum.*

A corresponding phrase carrying the sense to be postulated for this passage,⁵ viz., 'destroyed' ('used up') occurs in Mald. 228: *forwegen mid his wāpne*; cf. *bewegen* (em.), *ib.* 183.

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Modern English: Its Growth and Present Use.

By GEORGE PHILIP KRAPP.

The title of Dr. Krapp's book is unhappily chosen. The main title, *Modern English*, is misleading since the author deals for the most part with the language of the past. The sub-title, *Its Growth and Present Use*, contains the redundant word "present" and is otherwise clumsy. A better title, in the reviewer's opinion, would be *The English Language*, with or without sub-title.

A text-book, we take it, should combine breadth of scope with underlying unity of design. Dr. Krapp is perhaps the first writer of a text-book on the English language who has succeeded in combining these two requirements. The works on the English language by Greenough and Kittredge, Bradley, and Jespersen are, of course, not designed primarily as text-books, being limited for the most part to a consideration of but one aspect of the language.¹ The works of Louns-

⁵ Cf. Lachmann, *Kleinere Schriften zur deutschen Philologie*, p. 442; Heinzel, *l. c.*, p. 54.

¹ Thus Kittredge and Greenough in *Words and Their Ways in English Speech*, The Macmillan Co., 1901, are

bury and Emerson, though planned on a sufficiently comprehensive scale to meet the requirements of a text-book, are divided into sections which convey an inadequate sense of the fundamental unity of the subject with which they deal.² Dr. Krapp, on the other hand, is neither onesided nor piecemeal in his treatment of his theme. Within the compass of eight compact and closely interrelated chapters he presents all that the beginner needs to know with regard to the more important sides of English. Furthermore, his treatment is scholarly and his style distinguished by a vivacity as rare as it is refreshing in text-books on linguistic subjects.

The book consists of an introductory and a concluding chapter (chaps. I and VIII), in which the author presents his own personal views upon the question of good English, and of six intermediate chapters (chaps. II-VII), in which he deals more objectively with the following topics: *The English People* (chap. II), *The English Language* (chap. III), *English Inflections* (chap. IV), *English Sounds* (chap. V), *English Words* (chap. VI), and *English Grammar* (chap. VII). Dr. Krapp's discussion of the general problem of good English merits more than passing consideration and may best be examined by itself before turning to a consideration of the more specific topics discussed in the chapters that intervene.

According to Dr. Krapp, good English is determined not by any ideal standard of excellence but by the practical standard of social usefulness. "Language," he writes (p. 5), "is a form of social custom and its function is the expression of

social ideas." Again (p. 6), that language is "the best which enables men to express themselves most fully and satisfactorily in their relations to each other." Still again (p. 9), it is in "the immediate social relations of man with man" that "the final test" of language lies.

No one, we believe, will be disposed to question the essential soundness of this conception of language as a distinctively social institution.³ No modern language illustrates the operation of social forces as conspicuously as English. The social efficiency of our language has unquestionably resulted in no small measure from such mutual adjustment between the foreign and native elements of the language as would facilitate intercourse between Anglo-Saxon and Norman. It is primarily to this need for intercommunication between native and foreigner that we must ascribe the loss of grammatical gender, the virtual abandonment of inflection, and other simplifying processes which have rendered English a peculiarly efficient medium of expression.

To the author's opinion as to the means by which social efficiency may be promoted, decided exception must, however, be taken. Krapp maintains that language is a democratic institution and that social efficiency is to be determined not by the authority of the few but by the practice of the many. "Whenever," he writes (p. 326), "two minds come into satisfactory contact with each other, through the medium of language, we have then, so far as each instance taken by itself is concerned, a good use of language. The rustic with his dialect, and in his own homogeneous speech community, realizes as much the purpose of language as the most polished speaker in the 'best society' of the city." So likewise with respect to the speech of the nation as a whole. "A

concerned primarily with the life history of English words; Bradley in *The Making of English*, The Macmillan Co., 1904, with the fortunes of the English inflectional system; and Jespersen in *Growth and Structure of the English Language*, Teubner, 1905, with a variety of interesting problems, mainly connected with English syntax.

² Thus Emerson divides his *History of the English Language*, The Macmillan Co., 1895, into what are virtually five independent sections, entitled respectively *The Relations of English to Other Languages*, *The Standard Language and the Dialects*, *The English Vocabulary*, *The Principles of English Etymology*, and *The History of English Inflections* and Lounsbury, Henry Holt and Co., 1904, divides his *History of the English Language*, into two equally distinct sections, entitled respectively *General History* and *History of Inflections*.

³ Save Mr. Clayton Hamilton, who in a review of *Modern English* in the *Forum*, Vol. XLII, pp. 277 ff., claims that the author's social view of language makes no allowance for the fine phrase of the poet, which he claims would be ruled out of court by Krapp's utilitarian test. In reply it need only be said that the author is not writing an "Ars Poetica," and that, even if he were, there is nothing in his social theory of good English that in any way militates against the very evident fact that a feeling of exceptional elevation can be adequately conveyed only by a corresponding heightening in the form of expression.

democracy⁴ which is not self-expressive and self-determining," he writes (p. 7), "is not a real democracy," and again (p. 8), "democracy works from the bottom up, and not from the top down." Hence (p. 9) "the general level" of a democratic speech can be raised "only by the sum of all the acts of the people who make up the whole." It is here evident that the author makes no distinction between the speech of the isolated community and that of the nation at large but regards the latter in no less degree than the former as nothing more or less than the collective speech activity of the several individuals of which it consists. Hence he concludes that all progress in language must proceed from a general raising of the level of this aggregate from below upwards.

To this view of the democratic nature of language the reviewer is emphatically opposed. He believes, on the contrary, that the real no less than the literary language is essentially an aristocratic institution. For while language, as the author rightly contends, is a social institution, and those forms of expression best which best serve that purpose of intercommunication for which language exists, it is evident that the conditions of intercommunication in the rustic community differ widely from these same conditions in the nation at large; and that those forms of expression which serve all the ends of intercommunication in the former will entirely fail to serve those same ends in the latter. It is precisely at this point that the author's analogy between the speech of a local community and of the nation as a whole breaks down. Within the narrow limits of a primitive community it is quite possible for each individual to make his simple wants known to his neighbor in a dialect which for that community will serve all the purposes of social efficiency. Such a dialect the individual might presumably master instinctively and without reference to any standard beyond the borders of his own community. But the more complex social needs of a nation, involving, as they do, intercommunication beyond the borders of a local community, clearly demand the adoption of a norm

of speech which shall prove intelligible throughout the nation. Such a norm of speech it is quite beyond the powers of even the most highly gifted member of the nation to master without the aid of systematic training and instruction. When we pass, in other words, from the local community to the nation at large, social efficiency clearly demands the adoption of a standard which is no longer local but national in scope. The need of such a standard the author himself appears to recognize when he writes (p. 7) "the national speech of a democracy cannot be sectional." But to this statement he adds, in the very same sentence, the apparently contradictory assertion, "If there is not one uniform speech acceptable to the whole nation, then the speech of one region must have equal authority with that of another." For if "the speech of one region" should "have equal authority with that of another," then manifestly the national speech of a democracy could not be otherwise than sectional. As a matter of fact, however, such a state of affairs is entirely impossible. In the constant struggle for existence, which pervades language no less than every other form of human activity, it is quite inconceivable that the dialects of two separate regions should retain equal authority. Even before our modern days of rapid intercommunication between all parts of the English-speaking world, one dialect—the Midland—grew at the expense of the others and became, through superior social efficiency, the recognized standard throughout the English nation. While therefore, it is, of course, true that good English ultimately springs from dialectal English—and might, therefore, be styled democratic in origin—it by no means follows that dialectal English is good English. No matter how freely a given location may have passed current within a local community, it does not deserve to be ranked as good English until it has received the sanction of national approval by surviving the test of the broadest social usage. It thus appears clear that to secure an efficient medium of communication throughout the nation a national standard of some sort must be adopted. Every individual is necessarily limited in his speech experience by birth, natural aptitude, and social environment. The same limitation applies—though to a less degree—to any class or community of individuals. It is

⁴ The use of the term democracy—frequently employed by the author—is objectionable because it implies that language develops differently under a democracy than under a monarchy or any other form of government.

only by laying hold of a standard which transcends personal, local, and professional limitations that the individual may enter into possession of the accumulated wisdom of the ages and enjoy communication with those of his own contemporaries who live outside the range of his own limited experience. In other words, good English appears to us to be a distinctively aristocratic institution since it represents the survival of the forms of speech best fitted to serve both as a past and as a present medium for national intercommunication.

We believe, however, that it is a wholesome desire to protest against the too frequent tendency to accept some one particular standard as final that has led Dr. Krapp to pass to the opposite extreme of denying the validity of any external standard whatsoever. For it is undoubtedly true, as the author constantly implies, that no single opinion can be regarded as an infallible guide in matters of language. No so-called "authority," self-constituted or otherwise, be it grammar, dictionary, literary academy, or any particular group of writers or speakers, whether living or committed to the peaceful recesses of a library "shelf," can possess any validity other than that conferred by the more or less limited range of social experience of which that authority happens to be the expression. If language is a social institution, it must be left free to develop as a natural result of the ever widening social experience of the race. This it obviously cannot do if checked and hampered by the necessarily limited prescriptions of any single "authority" or set of "authorities." But if language should not be permitted to suffer from the prescriptions of dogmatic authority, just as little should it be allowed to suffer from the limitations of individual experience. To allow the solitary judgment of the individual to replace the winnowed verdict of the race would be to mistake the true nature of social efficiency and to obtain a chaos of individual instances in place of a national uniformity determined by the collective experience of the race. A standard of some sort, therefore, must exist and to that standard the individual must conform, unless he undertake to defeat the ends of language by preferring a less to a more efficient medium of communication.

But to what source of information—if not to some definite authority—shall the bewildered wan-

derer in the mazes of the English language turn for linguistic guidance? In answer to this question the reviewer can only express his conviction that the English language may be likened to virtue or any other moral quality. Virtue is never found perfectly exemplified in the practice of any single person or in the teaching of any single school. Yet no one would be disposed to deny the objective existence of virtue and the very urgent necessity incumbent upon everyone of acquiring it. Nor would any diligent seeker after virtue be at a loss how to come by it. He would discern instinctively as much of the path at any given moment as he would be able to pursue. So likewise in the matter of language. While not even the most accomplished individual may safely trust to his own unenlightened instincts in matters of speech, even the most ignorant at once recognizes good English when he hears or reads it. For a while he must, to be sure, rely upon the example of men of wider social experience than himself, but the more extensive his own speech contact with his fellows becomes the less will he be compelled to depend upon the practice or teaching of others. But until he has exhausted the social experience of the race, his need for instruction from others can never wholly disappear.

We now pass to a consideration of chapters II-VII, in which the author gives an objective and, for the most part, historical presentation of the more important phases of the English Language.

In his chapter on The English People (chap. II), Krapp reviews briefly the several settlements in England. Occasional exceptions must be taken to statements in this chapter. Thus it was not (p. 16) all "the Celtic inhabitants" of the island "who called themselves Britons" but only the Celtic inhabitants of the South, as distinguished from the Goidels of the North. It appears to the reviewer questionable whether (p. 17) *street* was borrowed from the Romans "both on the continent and in Britain" and not rather in Britain alone. The fact that *street*, *wall*, *wine*, etc. (cf. p. 212) occur not only in Old English but also in various continental German dialects, hardly seems to warrant the assumption that these words were borrowed before the Anglo-Saxons left the continent. Why not allow the possibility that

these words—like OE. *ceaster*—were borrowed from the Romanized Britons in Britain? In Britain *street* was not “borrowed from the Roman soldiers,” who had left that country before the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons, but from the Romanized Britons, who remained. By opposing the names “Roman citizens” (p. 19) and “Roman Britons” (p. 20) to “Celts” (p. 19) the author seems to imply that the Romanized Britons were not Celts but Romans. The Britons of the South, including Vortigern and his followers, were, of course, of the same race as the Celts against whom they fought. Hengist and Horsa are generally supposed to have been Jutes and not (p. 20) Saxons. Worthy of special commendation is the vivacious and convincing manner in which, at the end of the chapter, the author disposes of the attempts to introduce Esperanto and other artificial languages into general use.

In his chapter on The English Language (chap. III) Dr. Krapp enumerates the main branches of the Indo-Germanic family of languages (with their subdivisions), and describes the chief characteristics of the Teutonic branch. It may appear futile, at this late date, to express a personal preference for Indo-Germanic as a more appropriate designation than Indo-European (p. 44) for a family of languages that includes Iranian and excludes many languages of Europe. The judiciously brief remarks upon primitive speech (p. 45) are in harmony with the generally nugatory results of recent investigation upon this obscure and much vexed topic. The statement (p. 46) that British was the language of “the original inhabitants of Britain” is, of course, incorrect and contradicts the previous correct statement (p. 15) that the original inhabitants were “different pre-historic races about whom little is known.” In the list of the several branches of the Indo-Germanic family of languages, enumerated from East to West (p. 45), the demands both of geography and of rhetoric require that the Teutonic (p. 46), and not the Balto-Slavic (p. 47), stand last. For *cornus* (p. 51) read *cornu*. To the inexperienced reader the expression (p. 52) “tracing back” English words to their cognates in other Indo-European languages could hardly fail to convey the impression that English is in some way derived from these languages. At the

end of the chapter the author divides the history of the language into the three main periods of Old, Middle, and Modern English and proposes to trace the development of “sounds, inflections, words, and syntax” through each of these periods.

In his chapter on *English Inflections* (chap. IV) Dr. Krapp defines the term inflection and traces the fortunes of the English inflectional system through the Old, Middle, and Modern English periods. The author’s statement of the distinction between inflection, derivation, and composition is unsatisfactory. “It is best,” he writes (p. 57) “to regard inflection as the general term, including inflection proper and derivation, and to use the specific term derivation, or composition, for those instances in which the elements of a word are plainly felt to have separate existence.” The following objections may be made to this use of the term inflection. In the first place, the author proposes to employ the term inflection in two different senses, in a narrow sense, to indicate “inflection proper,” i. e., a change in the form of a word to indicate a change in its grammatical relation, and in a broad sense, to include “derivation or composition” as well. In the pages that follow, however, he uses inflection only in the narrow sense and this, to avoid logical confusion,⁵ is the sense to which the term should be limited.⁶ In the second place, the terms derivation and composition cannot be restricted to words in which “the elements are plainly felt to have separate existence.” Thus the derivative element *-ly* in *likely* and the two compositional elements in *lord* (< OE. *hlāford*), though once independent, are now no longer felt to have separate existence. Finally, it would be well to draw a sharp distinction between derivation and composition by restricting the term derivation to the formation of a new word by putting together an old word and a prefix or suffix or both (e. g., *unlike*, *likely*, *unlikely*), and the term composition to the formation of a new word by putting together two old words (*railroad*). The redupli-

⁵ As well as to provide a term correlative with derivation and composition.

⁶ Since grammarians have not yet evolved a term applicable alike to the three processes of inflection, derivation, and composition, it would be better either to invent such a term or else to rest content with a statement of the essential similarity of the principles involved in the three processes.

cation in Old English might be compared to the reduplication more aptly than to the (p. 57) "augment in Greek." The comparative and superlative formations of the Modern English adjective and adverb cannot (p. 60) "be called composition." The *-er* and *-est* terminations are inflectional terminations while the comparison in *more* and *most* is a phrasal, not a compositional formation. The author's statement (p. 61) that all the Modern English pronouns other than the personal pronouns inflect only for number and case fails to take account of the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that*, which do not inflect for case. Exception must be taken to the statement (p. 64) that the dative case of the noun is "lost in Modern English," whereas the accusative case survives in the Modern English objective. The mere fact that in the former case the noun is usually preceded by a preposition, by no means deprives it of the right to be regarded as a dative. For the dative relation may be expressed without the preposition (cf. "I gave the man a blow"). Moreover, as the author takes pains to explain (pp. 312 ff.), function rather than form is the determining factor in Modern English grammar and there can be no doubt that the function of indirect object is as definite and distinct in Modern English as that of direct object. The various inflectional terminations of the Old English noun (p. 65) and adjective (p. 67) might better be arranged so that the forms peculiar to a given declension shall stand in a row by themselves. Old English *bēc* would give regularly Modern English *beech* and not (p. 66) *beek* (cf. OE. *brēc* > Mod. E. *breeches*). Is it not possible that Modern English "*she*" may, like the plural of the personal pronoun, be due quite as much to the influence of the corresponding Scandinavian demonstrative pronoun as to (p. 71) "the Old English" demonstrative adjective *sēo*, which is rarely used as a pronoun? The adverb in *-um* (p. 72) persists in the current Modern English *seldom* as well as "in the archaic *whilom*." The adjective *exceeding* in the Biblical phrase (p. 72) "*exceeding glad*" is far more probably an instance of the contemporary use of the adjective for the adverb (cf. Schmidt, *Shakespeare-Lexicon*, second edition, I, 379) than of the so-called "flat" adverb (cf. *fast*, *slow*, etc.). Some explanation should

be given of the term (p. 72) "verbals." The statement (p. 74) that "the only kind of word stress which could have preserved the full inflectional endings of the Old English period is a general or distributed stress, spread over the word as a whole," appears to contradict the previous assertion (p. 50) that in Old English "words of native origin usually take the stress on the root syllable." Some modification is obviously necessary in order to reconcile these two statements. The Middle English leveling of the Old English full inflections left (p. 78) "no means" but just as much "reason" as ever for keeping up the distinction of grammatical gender. The tendency in the Middle English period to convert strong verbs into weak was not (p. 82) "developed still further in the Modern English period." On the contrary, this tendency received a check in the later Middle English period, with the result that the number of originally strong verbs in the language is no smaller today than at the close of the Middle English period, while, as Lounsbury points out (*History of the English Language*, p. 154 and pp. 349 ff.), examples are not wanting in Modern English of the converse change from weak to strong. The poetic *kine* might be added (p. 85) to the list of survivals of the old weak declension in Modern English. For *Ðā ealde men* (p. 95) read *Ðā ealdan men*. It is not easy to see what the author means by saying (p. 94) that the uninflected "type forms" of Modern English may, in contrast to the inflected forms of Old English, occupy "any position" in the sentence. For, as the author himself recognizes (p. 300), the absence of inflection and concord in Modern English renders a fixed word order more imperative now than formerly. Thus in Old English the verb might stand in the inverted, normal, or transposed order, according to circumstances, but in Modern English it generally occupies the normal position, whatever the circumstances may be.

The author opens his chapter on *English Sounds* with an admirably clear exposition of the functions of the several organs of speech. He then proceeds to describe the processes by which the various English sounds are produced and to classify the vowels and consonants. Since the term

spirant is defined (p. 108) so as to exclude the alveolar continuants and to include the continuants produced by "the teeth and lips," it is not clear why the author should exclude (p. 109) the labial continuant *w* and should include (p. 108) *s* and *z*, defined (p. 109) as "alveolar" continuants. Dr. Krapp appears to the reviewer to assign undue importance to imitation as a factor in sound change (pp. 125 ff.). Imitation can at best explain merely why sound changes when once started will continue to operate; it cannot explain how such changes originated. The author ends his chapter with a brief account of spelling reform, towards which he assumes an altogether sane and reasonable attitude.

In his chapter on *English Words* (chap. v) the author distinguishes two main processes in the development of the English vocabulary: (1) original creation, including the creation of new words and the adaptation of old words to new uses, and (2) borrowing from other languages. Particularly worthy of remark is the author's discussion, accompanied by numerous illustrative quotations from the literature of the day, of the controversy waged at the period of the Renaissance between the supporters and the opponents of the theory of enriching the language by wholesale borrowings from foreign languages. The following minor corrections or amplifications might be made upon this chapter, which is otherwise excellent in every way. *Berth* might be added (p. 186) to the list of derivatives from the verb *bear*. The second element in the compound "*upshot*" (p. 188) is a noun, not a "verb." It might well have been pointed out (p. 190) that the second, even more certainly than "the first element of OE. *ortgeard*" (cf. the *NED.*), is cognate with Lat. *hortus*. The words *fronts* and *backed* (p. 198) in the sentences "The house *fronts* the street" and "He *backed* the horse" are instances not of "adjectives" but of nouns which have "become verbs." Whatever one may think of *didoes*, it is hard to see for what reasons the slang words *bamboozle* and *cahoots* should be spoken of (p. 209) "as suggested by the high-sounding Latin vocabulary." Most readers would not accept the author's citation of *smart set*, *swagger*, and *swell* (p. 210) as examples of slang words which have escaped the taint of vulgarity because employed

by "leaders of fashion." These expressions are less frequently used by leaders of fashion than by others, and certainly carry with them distinctly sordid and vulgar connotations. The statement (p. 217) that the Anglo-Saxons, after settling in England, came into "renewed contact with the Scandinavians," implies a previous contact of which nothing is said. The author does not explain for what reasons the use of "*predicament*" (p. 281) in the sense of "*plight*" is any more subject to the charge of "vagueness" than *plight* itself is.

Dr. Krapp devotes his final chapter on the special aspects of the English language (chap. vii) to *English Grammar*. The term English grammar he restricts to a sense virtually synonymous with syntax, as distinguished from the broader use of the term to include sounds and inflections as well. The chapter is devoted to a discussion of a variety of typical tendencies in Modern English syntax. The most characteristic of these tendencies he attributes to the loss of inflection and to the consequent disposition to view the individual word as an independent unit in the sentence. For this reason the distinction between the several parts of speech is less closely observed in the English of today than in that of the earlier and more highly inflected periods of the language and a tendency to transfer a given word from one part of speech to another manifests itself more frequently now than formerly. Minor details only call for correction. It is unnecessary to repeat (p. 289) the popular use of *I han't* for *I have not* already cited once before on the preceding page. For "as result" (top of p. 291) read "as a result." The rules of Modern English orthography require that "the historically correct past participle" of *get* should be spelt *getten* (with two t's; cf. *gotten*) and not *geten* (p. 291). It would appear better (p. 292) to designate *lay* and *dived* as the historically correct rather than the "conventionally correct" forms of the past tense of *lie* and *dive* respectively. Though more frequently used than *laid* and *dove*, these forms are hardly employed with sufficient uniformity to be termed conventional. The statement (p. 293) that the use of "*will* in the first person and *shall* in the second and third" persons of the future tense of the verb is "generally unmistakably

determined" by the intention of the speaker is hardly compatible with the statement (p. 294) that in the use of these auxiliaries "the greatest freedom prevails." In the use of these auxiliaries in senses other than that of the simple future (which invariably requires *shall* in the first person and *will* in the second and third persons) it appears not that the greatest freedom prevails but rather that the rules, though approximately fixed for a given set of circumstances, vary so constantly with changes in the particular set of circumstances that a uniform rule for all cases is impossible. It would be better (p. 299) to distinguish the form *taxing* in the expression "for heavily taxing the people" from the infinitive *to tax* in the expression "to heavily tax the people" by calling the former a gerund or verbal noun rather than an "infinitive." The expression (p. 302) "the shortness of his leg prevented him running" does not, of course, belong in a list (p. 301) of examples of the verbal modified by a noun. In the expression (p. 309) "*I walked two hours*" and "*I walked two miles*" it is not the nouns *hours* and *miles* taken alone by themselves but coupled with the numeral *two* that form adverbs; otherwise we should have the strange phenomenon of an adverb modified by a numeral. The word *home* in the expression (p. 310) "I am going home" was not originally a "locative" but an accusative case used adverbially (cf. Bosworth-Toller, *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, sub *hām*). The so-called copulative verbs (p. 311) "may be followed" by predicate nouns as well as "by predicate adjectives," as in the example "She looked a dark Madonna," cited below (p. 312). In the sentence (p. 317) "I thank your Majesty for the cordial reception you have given us, and which we appreciate," it would appear more natural to regard the relative pronoun *which* as coördinate with a preceding relative, understood between reception and you, than as an instance of "mixed syntax." The full form of the sentence would then read "I thank your Majesty for the cordial reception which you have given us, and which we appreciate." The word *like* in the sentence (p. 319) "You are not like to find him here" is used as an adjective, not as "an adverb."

The following typographical errors have been

discovered: *Brtain* (p. 36); *English* (p. 39); *eb* (p. 319); omission of quantity in Old English *beon* (p. 73); *cower* (p. 89), by the side of *ēow* on the same page; *eow* (p. 93); *ge* (p. 93). For "following excellent" in the quotation from Sir John Cheke (p. 245) read "folowing of other excellent."

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Schillers Wilhelm Tell. Edited with Introduction, Notes, and Repetitional Exercises by BERT JOHN VOS, Professor of German in Indiana University. Ginn and Company, 1911.

This is in many respects the best edition of Schiller's masterpiece that has ever appeared in America. The editor has addressed himself deliberately and consistently to the modest though important task of producing a book adapted to the needs of high school and college students of German, who read *Tell* as their first classic drama. Introduction, notes, vocabulary, and *Fragen* aim, therefore, at a clarity and simplicity of statement demanded by the needs of the beginner. Every teacher of German in American institutions should hail as an omen of better things in our profession the emphatic assurance of the editor's preface that the *Fragen* are intended to "bring home anew to teacher or pupil the cardinal fact that in all modern language instruction the appeal should in the first instance be not to the eye but to the ear." The present writer shares with many of his colleagues the conviction that the college and the university have been discredibly slow to recognise practically this truth and to throw the weight of their influence in the direction of a more rational study of foreign languages in harmony with this principle.

Of the 444 pages of the volume, 57 are devoted to the introduction, 174 to the text of the drama, 89 to the notes, 4 to the appendix, 25 to the *Fragen*, and 92 to the vocabulary.

Moved by the conviction that the strongest appeal can be made to the interest of the student of Schiller through the presentation of an adequate amount of biographical detail, and that space, often wasted in editions of *Tell* upon an examina-

tion of the relation of the historical, legendary, and poetical elements of the story of the hero archer, could thus be more profitably employed, the editor has confined his Introduction in large measure to a sketch of Schiller's life and work. The sketch is carefully written and presents within small compass an impressive picture of the tireless energy and many-sided activity of Schiller's spirit. Such brief mention of large topics leads, of course, through necessary omissions, to an occasional false perspective. Thus in the present instance *Don Carlos* fails to assume its true significance as the dramatic preface of the period of the poet's dramaturgic maturity. Similarly the *Braut von Messina* is labeled "fate-drama" in the *Oedipus* sense of the word, with no regard of recent studies that show indubitably its closer relationship with *Wallenstein* than with the Greek drama, associated with it by earlier critics. In spite of these and other minor defects, the introduction is skilfully constructed and well adapted in coöperation with the notes "to rouse the feeling for poetry that seems to have become entirely dormant with so many of our young people."

The notes are, on the whole, well devised to explain real difficulties of language, style, or poetic allusion. They do not forget, as do so many notes in American text-books, that the commercial instinct of the publisher demands an accompanying vocabulary, that may reasonably be supposed to clear up certain elementary matters of form and meaning. Their value is greatly enhanced by well chosen parallel quotations from English literature. Each note is numbered according to the line of the text to which it primarily refers. Notes upon stage-directions are starred and numbered after the lines which the directions introduce. A careful reading of these notes suggests the following list of modifications or additions:

N. 14 should call attention to the usual strong inflection of the adjective after a personal pronoun in the accusative.

N. 15 should mention the archaic flavor of *zu Berg* (*zu Tal*) when used for the modern *hinauf* (*herauf*) *hinab* (*herab*).

N. 40: *Und kalt her bläst es*, etc. A closer English paraphrase than that offered by the editor, "a cold wind blows" would be, "a cold blast comes."

N. 108: *Es kann uns allen gleiches ja begegnen*.

The meaning of *ja* is here not "why at the beginning of a clause," but is approximated by the English "you know" in "The same fate may befall us all, you know." The suggestion of the editor that the word would best be left untranslated here seems to the reviewer unfortunate, for the double reason that it combines with other similar suggestions in the body of the notes to focus attention upon the text, as something to be primarily *translated*, whereas the editor would surely agree that the thing of prime importance for the learner is to *understand* the text without translation; and also that it encourages the false view that the word corresponds to no form of English expression.

N. 176: *beilegen* means rather *lay to* (bestir one's self) than *lay on*.

N. 229 is quite misleading. *Dies Haus, Herr Vogt, ist meines Herrn, des Kaisers, und Eures, und mein Lehn* does not mean, as translated by the editor: "This house belongs to my lord the Emperor, and (in your capacity as the Emperor's representative) is yours, and is my fief." The remark, "*Eures*: notice the form; not *Euer*." It can refer only to *Haus*," is, therefore, entirely inapposite. The meaning of the passage is clearly "This house belongs to my lord and your lord the Emperor, and is my fief." This reply is one of the most interesting expressions of the frankness and boldness of Stauffacher's character contained in the whole play. Hence the further remark of the editor, "The addition of *und Eures*, which was really uncalled for, shows Stauffacher's anxiety to appease Gessler," is quite aside of the mark.

N. 254: The indication of the pronunciation of *y* in Schwyz, already given in the preliminary part of N. 1, is here repeated.

N. 255: A clearer statement would be, After negative clauses *sondern* affirms the opposite of the preceding denial; *aber* affirms what remains untouched by the preceding restriction.

N. 286 should call attention to the dialectic and colloquial nature of the unhistorical form, *eurer* (gen. of *ihr*), used by Schiller here and repeatedly in the text of the drama.

N. 473: *Fine*, as distinguished from *punishment in general* (*Strafe*), is *Geldstrafe*.

N. 631 should indicate the difference between the participial adjectives, *gesinnt* and *gesonnen*.

N. 765, touching the drinking term, *Ich bring's*

Euch, might well have included the parallel student slang, *Ich komme Euch was* (einen ganzen, einen halben, meine Blume, etc.).

N. 772 should mention that *gemessen* (*Ist deiner Jugend die Zeit so karg gemessen?*) is here the poetical form for the usual prose form, *zugemessen*.

N. 982, which modernises the expression, *lässt sich nicht lang erwarten*, should give the adverb of time the more usual form, *lange*.

N. 1006 proposes the scansion, *In den einsamen Sennhütten kehrt' ich ein*; the following substitute seems to the present writer more natural: *In den einsamen Sennhütten kehrt' ich ein*, which expresses through the contiguous stressed syllables the solitariness of the abodes thus visited.

N. 1444: The editor finds these words of Rösselmann incongruous with the remark of Walter Fürst (l. 1443). Chairman Reding had urged haste (l. 1441) to avoid discovery by the light of day, which was just kindling the mountain-tops, whereat Fürst had reminded them that the valley folk, whom they might wish to clude, would sleep quietly some time longer as the dawn descended but gradually to them from the high Alps. With this reminder the words of Rösselmann, "By this light, which greets us before all the people who dwell below us and breathe with difficulty the murky air of towns, let us swear the oath of the new federation," seem quite in harmony.

N. 1567 might appropriately contain as a familiar parallel to *kein armer Laut* the phrase, *kein Sterbenswort* (-wörtchen).

N. 1821 suggests as scansion of the half-line: *Fört, fort ins Gefängnis*, for which the alternative: *Fört, fört ins Gefängnis* seems to the reviewer more natural (Cf. comment upon N. 1006).

N. 1903 recommends the omission of *ja* in the translation of: *Ei, Tell, du bist ja plötzlich so besonnen!* "If *Ei* did not precede it could be rendered, 'Why, Tell, you are.'" Referring to what was said concerning Note 108, attention should here be called to the fact that Gessler is, in this sneering use of the word, *besonnen*, taunting Tell with his own disclaimer to *Besonnenheit* (l. 1872: *Wär' ich besonnen, hiess' ich nicht der Tell*). It is easy to hear him saying, therefore, "Why, Tell, you are so circumspect all of a sudden, you see" (contrary to what you said a moment ago), and this is the shade of meaning conveyed by the participle, *ja*.

N. 3264 explains the word *ein* in the sentence, *So zieht dein Enkel ein auf deines Reiches Boden*, as equivalent to *einher*, 'wanders along'; the usual meaning of *einziehen* = to enter, to make one's entrance, seems, however, quite in accord with the bitterness of spirit that prompts the words of the speaker, "Thus thy grandson makes his entrance upon the soil of thy realm!"

The Appendix presents in modernised form a) the story of Baumgarten and b) that of Tell's escape, as told by Tschudi in his Swiss Chronicle, together with passages from Shakespeare's *Julius Cæsar*, to show Gertrude's resemblance to Portia.

The *Fragen* are intended by their substance and form to stimulate interest in and to further intimate acquaintance with the details of the action of the drama and are, in the nature of the case, suggestive rather than exhaustive. They seem to the reviewer for the most part admirably chosen for this purpose. In the hands of a skilful teacher they will prove a valuable means to supplement the oral quiz of the class-room by written exercises in German. The questions are based directly upon the text of the play and are in some cases accompanied by answers or by a specific indication of the line of the text that suggests the answer. A few observations, touching the form or substance of some of these *Fragen*, may be in place: these observations follow the consecutive numbering of the *Fragen* themselves under the sub-divisions of the drama (Act and Scene):

Apparently through inadvertence a few double questions have crept into the list. Such are: I, 3, 11; I, 4, 11; II, 2, 69 and 109; IV, 3, 48.

I, 1, 12: More idiomatic than *Welche sind die gewöhnlichen Formen*, etc.? is *Welches s. d. g. F.*, etc.?

I, 1, 40: *Was sagt Ruodi, wogegen könne er nicht steuern?* sounds awkward for the more natural German question, *Wogegen behauptet Ruodi nicht steuern zu können?*

I, 1, 51: *Warum schämt sich Ruodi nicht einzugestehen, dass er sich gefürchtet hat vor dem, was Tell gewagt hat?* The repetition of the auxiliary *hat* is disturbing. It might well be avoided either by suppressing the second *hat* or by substituting for the first *hat* the form *habe* of indirect discourse.

I, 2, 6: The question, *Wie findet ihn Gertrud?* is far from suggesting the answer given in the accompanying parenthesis, *Sie findet ihn ernst*.

For *Wie* seems at first blush to inquire for the manner of the discovery and not for the condition of the discovered person. The question is too terse and should be made more explicit, as, for instance, *In was für einer Gemütsstimmung (-verfassung, -zustand) findet ihn Gertrud?*

I, 2, 7: *Worin besteht Stauffachers Reichtum?* seems to inquire for the concrete ingredients of the man's wealth, e. g., full barns, cattle, horses, his handsome dwelling, etc. The introductory word should in this case be *Woraus?*

I, 2, 29: *Was sagt Gertrud, welche Wahl stehe ihr auch im äussersten Falle noch offen?* is objectionable for the same reason as I, 1, 40. A better form would be, *Welche Wahl, meint Gertrud, s. i. a. i. ä. F. n. o.?*

I, 3, 3: *Welche Personen sehen wir in Tätigkeit?* *In Tätigkeit*, commonly applied to machines (like the English *in motion*) and less frequently to persons, is less natural in this connection than *an der Arbeit*.

I, 3, 21: *Wo wurden die schweizerischen Lehen gegeben?* It is idiomatic German to say, *Etwas wird einem zu Lehen gegeben*; but it is customary to say, *Ein Lehen wird einem verliehen* (not *gegeben*); a better form of the question would be, therefore, *Wo w. d. s. L. verliehen (vergeben)?*

I, 4, 36: *Welche zwei hohen Berge sind hier genannt?* As the words of Melchtal (628) are here referred to, the real present passive with *werden* is more appropriate than the pseudo-passive with *sind*.

I, 4, 39: *Welche Waffen hatten die Schweizer in Tells Zeit?* The last three words sound unusual for the idiomatic *zu Lebzeiten Tells*.

I, 4, 71: *Was sagt Melchtal, wohin sollen die Schweizer wallen?* This might be more idiomatically phrased as follows: *Wohin, meint M., dass die S. wallen sollten (würden)?*

II, 2, 28: *Warum fürchten sie dieselben (i. e., die Festen)?* sounds stiff and official for *W. f. sie sie?*

III, 3, 46: *Was droht der Landvogt dem Tell?* stands here instead of the more explicit *Was d. d. L. d. T. an?*

III, 3, 68: *Allein* is more rhythmic than *nur* in the question, *Wer allein (nur) darf Waffentragen?*

IV, 1, 21: Instead of *Woran erkennt der Knabe es (i. e., das Schiff)?* the word-order, *Woran e. es d. K?* is stylistically preferable.

IV, 1, 29: *Was tut er in der Mitte derselben (i. e., der Szene)?* In place of the last four words, the words *mitten drauf* (i. e., *mitten auf der Bühne*) would be equally clear and less suggestive of the documentary style.

IV, 2, 2: *War der Schauplatz dort schon einmal?* is an infelicitous form of the question, first, because it calls merely for a reply with *Ja* or *Nein*, and also because it is unidiomatic German. Better, therefore, than the grammatically correct *Erscheint dieser Schauplatz zum ersten Male hier?* would be, for instance, *Wo kommt sonst im Drama derselbe Schauplatz vor?*

IV, 2, 9: *Was sagt Walter Fürst, warum könne er sie nicht trösten?* is as unsatisfactory as IV, 1, 40, already mentioned, and might well be changed into *Warum meint W. F. sie nicht trösten zu können?*

IV, 2, 26: *werde* of indirect discourse should be substituted for *wird*.

IV, 2, 30: *Wie viele sind schon im Geheimnis?* is an Anglicism for *Wie viele wissen schon darum?* or *Wie viele sind schon ins Geheimnis/gezogen (eingeweiht)?*

IV, 2, 32: read *könne* for *kann* (cf. IV, 2, 26).

IV, 3, 46: For *Was rät Stüssi ihm?* read *Was rät ihm Stüssi?* (cf. IV, 1, 21).

IV, 3, 67: *Worüber geht eigentlich der Streit?* sounds like an unidiomatic blend of *Worauf geht der Streit?* and *Worüber streiten sie sich?* The meaning is *Worum handelt es sich eigentlich bei diesem Streit?*

IV, 3, 87: For *ist* read *sei* (cf. IV, 2, 26 and 32).

V, 2, 32: For *Welchen Rat gibt Tell ihm?* read the more rhythmic *Welchen Rat gibt ihm Tell?*

A very important and attractive feature of the book is the series of twelve excellent photographic reproductions, including the countenance of Schiller, as presented in the Dannecker bust, and the most memorable spots in Switzerland mentioned in the play. This series is effectively supplemented by three full-page maps, showing the pertinent geographical outlines of Central Germany, the Forest Cantons, and Central Switzerland. A list of bibliographical references is given on pages lii-lvi, sure to prove useful to teacher and pupil. Very welcome, too, is the list of Familiar Sayings from *Tell* on the last two pages

of the Introduction. The typography is practically errorless.

The final word should be one of praise. Admiration for the plan of the book and for the main features of its execution have prompted the foregoing honest attempt to suggest minor improvements for a future edition.

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Le Cousin Pons, par Honoré de Balzac, edited with introduction, notes and questionnaire, by HUGO PAUL THIEME. Ann Arbor, George Wahr, 1911. 12 mo., xlv + 275 pp.

Not too much Balzac literature is available for school use, hence no one will object to a good edition of a work so characteristic of the novelist's talent as is the present one. The publisher is to be congratulated on the material make-up of the neat little volume: the paper is good, the type clear, and the binding tasteful.

A rather elaborate introduction, replete with valuable bibliographical information, will be more useful to the teacher than to the students; the latter will be left somewhat at sea owing to the bewildering confusion of contradictory opinions quoted. Some of the critics mentioned are hardly 'massgebend,' and therefore their often extreme views are of little importance. The average pupil needs more definite information, and by sifting the best criticisms, this may be given without danger of going far wrong. A few of the editor's own statements may be questioned; e. g., p. xi, "He knew great ladies . . . from whom he derived much of the inexhaustible instruction in the beau monde." It is hard not to agree with Fagniet:¹ *Son goût déplorable de faire des portraits de grandes dames*, etc. On p. xvii the editor states: "When we realize that all his characters are based on what he has seen . . ." The statement is extreme; Vautrin and Rastignac, to quote only two well-known characters, are impossible in real life, and however well and consistently they are worked out,

they are made *de chic*.—P. viii: "Balzac died . . . three months after his marriage." Balzac married March 14, 1850, arrived in Paris at the end of May, and died August 18, five months after his marriage.—P. xxiv: "These [Balzac's] characters, some 2000 in all . . ." Séché and Bertaut in their recent biography state: *Pour dresser en pied une foule de types si nombreux qu'on a pu éditer un répertoire alphabétique de 5000 personnages . . .*²—P. xxv: "Around the village doctor is centered much of the action . . . as in . . . *Cousin Pons*." There is no village doctor in *Cousin Pons*.

TEXT. The edition is slightly abridged and the omissions are justified. In several instances, however, more care in establishing the connection would seem desirable. Thus on p. 4, l. 1, *triple gilet* is unintelligible unless the reader refers to the omitted part: Pons wore a waistcoat of black cloth over a white one and a sweater underneath both.—P. 22, ll. 18 ff. *Pons avait refusé ce bonheur* (viz., of marrying Madeleine, the chamber maid) . . . *Aussi voulait-elle devenir la cousine de ses maîtres*. This *aussi*, 'therefore,' is here impossible. The original reads: *Aussi . . . jouait-elle les plus méchants tours au pauvre musicien*.—P. 32, ll. 16-18: Enigmatic because of an omission.—P. 38, l. 7: *En outre* makes no sense, again because of an omission.—P. 208, l. 10: *En ce moment arrive l'infatigable courtier de la maison Sonet . . .*; add: *et compagnie, entrepreneurs de pompes funèbres*, else we are in the dark as to this individual.—P. 213, ll. 1-3: The deviation from the original, apparently here due to the printer, makes this passage unintelligible.³

²I have not counted the names as given in Cerfberr and Christophe, *Répertoire de la Comédie humaine* (Calmann Lévy, 1893).

³Typographical errors have been noted at the following places: page 4, l. 21; 9, 11; 14, 30; 20, 30; 28, 3 (read *jolie*); 28, 11; 31, 5; 41, 4; 46, 6; 80, 26 (*grigous*); 95, 31 (add *pas*); 103, 23 (*tout*); 117, 11 (note missing); 120, 22; 122, 22; 124, 20; 128, 11; 178, 5; 184, 8; 196, 10; 235, 27 (*assigné*). The *ces* of p. 8, l. 15, should evidently be *ses*, tho *ces* stands also in the Calmann Lévy edition. Questionnaire, 263, 93-94; 263, 109.

¹*Études sur le XIXe siècle*, p. 422.

NOTES. It is impossible to lay down any hard and fast rule as to what word or expression deserves or does not deserve a note. In a text without vocabulary a sensible working rule seems to be that every word or special use of a word, not found in the ordinary school dictionary, every grammatical peculiarity not found in the ordinary school grammar, rare constructions, popular expressions, puns, slang, historical or literary references, should be briefly explained.⁴

Notes or additional explanations are needed in the following cases:

P. 1, l. 4 *le nez à la piste*, about the same as *le nez au vent*;—l. 26 *un mot* here *un bon mot, une répartie*.—P. 2, l. 10 *une fidélité quand même*, a faithfulness despite everything;—l. 19 *spencer couleur noisette*;—l. 22 The grammatical note is misleading; the conditional contrary to fact may be followed by indicative or subjunctive only in compound tenses.—P. 3, l. 5 *drolatique*. Mention should be made that the word was modernized, or was given additional popularity by Balzac's *Contes drolatiques*;—l. 17 *nez à la don Quichotte*;—l. 18 *bloc erratique*.—P. 5, l. 16 *théâtre des boulevards*.—P. 6, l. 13 *des succès auprès des femmes selon la phrase consacrée en 1809*. A note might state that this expression is still in common use;—l. 23 *Il n'est pas de pays*. *Il n'est* is less common than *il n'y a*, and more common than *il est* for *il y a*.—P. 8, l. 4 *pâte tendre*;—l. 20 *bricabracologie*, neologism, coined or at least made popular by Balzac, as are also *bricabracomanie*, *bricabraque*, *bricabracois*, etc.—P. 10, l. 3 *sept péchés capitaux* is not clear to all students;—l. 7 *gueule fine*, vulgar for *bouche-fine* or *gourmet*;—l. 19 *touchait le forte*. To the existing note should be added that this is no longer in use, but is replaced by *toucher le piano* and more commonly *jouer du piano*.—P. 11, l. 8 *pique-assiette*. Note says 'nutcracker' or 'parasite.' I do not know 'nutcracker' with this meaning; better 'sponger.'—P. 12, ll. 16-17 *on ne lui tenait plus compte de rien* should be explained.—P. 13, l. 2 *bâton de vieillesse*. Few students will know the meaning of this ex-

pression formed after *bâton de maréchal*, the highest rank in the army and, metaphorically, in any profession. When a man gets a pension or a decoration for long and honorable service, he gets what is familiarly and somewhat ironically called *le bâton de vieillesse* or consolation prize for old age;—l. 20 *synthèse*, not obvious to all students.—P. 14, l. 1 *démonstrateur*, used here as synonyme for *professeur*;—l. 10 *épicier*, a favorite epithet among romanticists meaning 'philistine,' equivalent to the English 'shopkeeper.'—P. 15, l. 1 *Richter* has a note but not *Hoffman*, whose *Märchen* are perhaps better known than his name. Balzac refers to them as "griseries" which, used metaphorically as here, is not found in the dictionaries;—l. 19 *le temps que Schmucke mettait à*; this meaning of *mettre* is not given in all dictionaries.—P. 16, l. 31 *casse-noisettes*, used frequently in the course of the book, is nowhere explained; it is a popular expression meaning about the same as 'ugly old fellows.' Webster gives for Eng. 'nut-cracker': sharp angular nose and chin; the same facial deformity in many old people gave probably rise to the French term.—P. 17, l. 10 *vers les sept heures*;—l. 21 *tolérance* is not quite clear.—P. 18, l. 8 *cor anglais*, instrument little known to most students and quite different from the French horn; it belongs to the oboe class;—l. 20 *encore*;—l. 28 *troubadour* is here used adjectively and means 'galant.'—P. 19, l. 20 *conseil général des manufactures*.—P. 20, l. 6 *Et Pons de venir à la queue*. The note says: 'following in the wake'; this infinitive with *de* means the same as *se mit à, s'empessa de*;—l. 13 *pair de France*;—ll. 22-23 *droit de fourchette*, neologism formed after *droit de cité, droit d'asile* and others of the same order;—l. 27 *sieur Thirion, huissier*; both *sieur* and *huissier* should be explained.—P. 21, l. 21 *substituts*;—l. 28 *branche cadette*; students will hardly know that the royal younger branch is meant here.—P. 24, l. 27 *pour laver notre linge ensemble*. It would be worth while to state that this is an application of the saying: *Il faut laver son linge sale en famille*;—l. 28 *faire la guerre à vos dépens* means 'to spend your money needlessly,' and is not found in the two dictionaries consulted.—P. 25, l. 7 *Dire à un riche: "Vous êtes pauvre" c'est dire à l'archevêque de Grenade que ses homélies ne valent rien*. One must have read *Gil Blas* to recognize the allusion.—P. 27, l. 11 *chit! chit!* equivalent to the modern *pst!* interjection used to call attention to oneself, when calling aloud is forbidden or not advisable;—l. 27 *c'est à se*

⁴In testing the notes I have made use of two dictionaries that are, I imagine, fairly representative: the little Gasc (Holt and Co.), and Passy and Hempel (Hinds, Noble and Eldredge).

mettre à genoux means 'fit to kneel before,' and should be translated in the notes.—P. 28, l. 26 *On peut exploiter cela*, apparently by making reproductions of the model.—P. 29, l. 17 *un chef-d'oeuvre doublé d'un Normand* means a masterpiece armor-plated by the shrewdness of a Norman.—P. 31, l. 5 *cour royale de Paris* is not the same as 'royal court' and should be explained; likewise l. 9 *dynastie nouvelle*, and l. 10 *commandeur*, which is not the same as *chevalier*; only the latter wears the red ribbon.—P. 32, l. 1 *elle nous reste sur les bras*, means 'on our hands';—ll. 5-6 *restée si longtemps sur pied*; vulgar for: 'waiting to be married'; figure taken from the habit of certain fowl; cf. *faire le pied de grue*, wait a long time standing;—l. 21 *conseiller à la cour*, and l. 24 *référéndaire* need notes;—l. 27 *duchesse du bal Mabille*. It should be stated that this is no duchess at all.—P. 40, l. 8 *Roi des Français*; under the old régime the king's title was *Roi de France*;—l. 10 *Pour eux le lait sortait pur de la boîte*. Students are not apt to be acquainted with the slang term *boîte au lait* (possibly formed after *boîte aux lettres*) and meaning breast.—P. 41, l. 12 *paré*. Since Mme Cibot's linguistic peculiarities are generally elucidated, a note might state that *paré* in *le dîner est paré* is corrupt for *préparé*.—P. 44, l. 24 *se frottait les mains à s'emporter l'épiderme* means 'rubbed his hands as though he were bent upon skinning them.'—P. 47, l. 15 *siège magistral*, conductor's seat.—P. 52, l. 6 *en droit et en fait*, legal term meaning 'in law and in practice.'—P. 56, l. 2 *Ah! dit le notaire d'un air fin, on ne court pas deux siècles à la fois*. I fear that students will puzzle over this, failing to see that the notary is trying to make a very bad pun on the proverb: *Il ne faut pas courir deux lievres à la fois* = one should not have too many irons in the fire, or try to sit on two stools at once;—l. 20 *signer au contrat*, is not the same as *signer un contrat*.—P. 57, l. 2 *Ce qui s'était bu de vin* deserves a short note.—P. 53, l. 22 *philosophant à perte de raison* formed after *à perte de vue*, and meaning *ad infinitum* or 'world without end.'—P. 62, l. 19 *se porta fort pour*.—P. 63, l. 6 *lettres de naturalité*. The modern term is generally *naturalisation*;—l. 12 *flotte bleue*.—P. 73, l. 4 *madame la présidente y porte les . . . vous savez quoi*. I am not sure that that famous "average student" would know enough to supply *culottes*.—P. 93, l. 4 *L'Esprit me tripote là dans l'estomac*, means 'the Spirit makes me feel queer in the stomach'; *tripoter* not in dictionaries with this

meaning.—P. 94, l. 2 *la poule noire piquait*. *Picorait* is the more correct form.—P. 100, l. 21 *il faut en prendre et en laisser*, 'one must not overdo things.'—P. 105, l. 9 *en voilà un de cœur*. This *de* should be explained.—P. 107, l. 5 *c'est la bonne bête du bon Dieu*, popular meaning, 'foolish creature'; has nothing to do with *bête à bon Dieu* = lady bug.—P. 108, l. 4 *C'est comme la langue, disait cet ancien acteur*. Is it not Socrates to whom this saying about the tongue being the best and the worst thing, is attributed?—l. 16 *un peu fort de café, cela!* No note to this slang saying. Rigaud (*Dict. d'argot moderne*) says: "Fort de café, très fort, peu supportable. Misérable jeu de mots comme on en commettait tant il y a quelques années; de la même famille que: Elle est bonne . . . d'enfants, pour dire qu'une chose est amusante."—P. 112, l. 4 *crainte qu'il ne touche*, ungrammatical for *de crainte qu'il*, etc.—P. 114, l. 14 *escarboucles*.—P. 117, l. 15 *rapport à*, incorrect but much used by the illiterate for *à propos de*, concerning; cf. also p. 118, l. 26, and p. 123, l. 17.—P. 120, l. 4 *Quelle bête de loi!* Same as *Quelle loi bête, stupide*.—P. 125, l. 11 *l'argent de ses ports de lettres*. Puzzling to the students unless they know that before the introduction of the postage stamp (1849 in France) the receiver had to pay the postage of a letter;—l. 17 *nous n'avons pas un liard à qui que ce soit* might be translated in the notes.—P. 128, l. 21 *vieux de la vieille*, a veteran of the old guard.—P. 130, l. 2 *une tête de bois*, face not betraying any emotion or idea; cf. *trouver figure de bois*, find the door closed.—P. 153, l. 19 *et vous vous croyez capable de faire vos notes . . . mais vous ne feriez pas seulement les miennes*. A pun; the first *note* means musical notes, the second means bills.—P. 168, l. 14 *Allez-vous m'obstiner encore?* Even *obstiner* would be incorrect; the correct form would be: *allez-vous vous obstiner encore?*—P. 210, l. 25 *Quel dévorant!* A *dévorant* is a member of a *devoir* or laborer's association. Hardly if at all used to-day;—l. 28 *Aimait-il sa femme!* Equivalent to: *Comme il aimait*, etc.—P. 215, l. 25 *vous aurez votre débit de tabac*. Note should state that the sale of tobacco is a government monopoly, that the *débts* or *bureaux de tabac* are run by agents, often women, and often awarded by politicians.—P. 221, l. 21 *assigner en référé . . . pour voir dire*. The expression *assigner en référé* means 'to obtain a temporary injunction in urgent cases'; *voir dire*, legal term for 'obtain a decision.'—P. 227, l. 12 *Ce n'est pas la mort d'un homme*, about the

same as *ce n'est pas la mer à boire*.—P. 230, l. 16 *c'est pis qu'un fils de famille*, 'he is worse than spoiled millionaire's sons.'—P. 241, l. 20 *cette histoire . . . superposée à la précédente dont elle est la sœur jumelle*. Unintelligible for him who has not read *la Cousine Bette*, which together with *le Cousin Pons* forms *les Parents Pauvres*.—P. 242, ll. 12-13 *drogueries . . . drogues*. This is a play on words. Popinot has made his money in the drug business (*drogueries*) and now he says jokingly that he continues to deal in *drogues*, worthless pictures and bric-à-brac.

P. 3, note 5 should read: 'could not detect the framework in it' (the face).—P. 13, note 1. I have my doubts as to the accuracy of the statement that Balzac seems to use the subjunctive more frequently than any writer of his time. The rules for the use of the subjunctive are fairly well defined, and do not leave overmuch latitude.—P. 27, l. 16 reads: *Qu'avez-vous de nouveau, papa Monistrol? Avez-vous des dessus de porte?* The note explains: *le dessus de quelque chose*, the choice of something; here *dessus de porte*, 'door-top' or 'novelty.' A far-fetched explanation, or perhaps a confusion with *dessus du panier* which means indeed 'the cream of something.' As a matter of fact, Pons merely inquires whether the second-hand dealer has any painted panels such as are found over doors in the better-class French houses. Some of those panels painted by Watteau and others of the eighteenth century are highly prized.—Page 36, note 1. *The sou pour livre* is not one per cent., but five. See moreover page 38, l. 4 and l. 11.—Page 48, note 1. The best-known Montyon prize is not the one for the best book, but rather the one given for the most virtuous deed.—Page 50, note 1 states: In Balzac *en* refers both to persons and things. This is in no way characteristic of Balzac, but is quite common, and in the present instance offers nothing that is abnormal.—Page 81, note 1. *de quoi il retourne* does not mean 'what brings him to this.' It is a popular expression meaning 'what's up,' 'what's going on.' *Je m'en vais voir de quoi il retourne* = I am going to see how matters stand;—note 2. *sangé* in Mme. Cibot's speech means *changé* and not *sanglé*; cf. page 91 *Je m'en sarge*, for *charge*.—Page 102, note 2. *Pour lors* does not mean 'even then,' but simply *alors*.—Page 130, note 2. *une surprise* is not a jumping jack, but a jack-in-the-box.—Page 138, note 2. Mme Cibot's incorrect *monde-de-piété* is corrected by the

editor as "*monde-de-piété*"; the proper form is *mont-de-piété*.—Page 141, note 2. *c'est bien terrible à dire*. The note states: 'for *il est*,' which is an error; *c'* stands for *cela* and *il* would not be tolerated here.—Page 155, note 2 says *au jour d'aujourd'hui* = from day to day. It means 'nowadays.'—Page 180, l. 1. *je ne me fie qu'à vous pour me choisir un notaire . . . qui vienne recevoir . . . mon testament*. The editor calls this subjunctive one of wish or desire. It is a final subjunctive;—note 2 *économisoter*, save or hoard. The note should state that this is a neologism coined on the spur of the moment to rhyme with *chipotent*, *carottent*, *tripotent*.—Page 206, note 2 *un exprès*; not 'a special letter,' but 'a messenger.'—Page 210, note 1 *fait le lundi*. The editor explains: "keep Saint-Monday (Holy Week)." *Faire le lundi* is a very wide-spread and pernicious habit among the laboring classes in many European countries, of idling every Monday in order, no doubt, to rest up after Sunday's dissipation.—Page 214, ll. 31-32 the text reads: *je vais donner un coup de pied jusque chez monsieur*, and the editor translates this by: I am going to set my foot in the business. The meaning is in reality: I am going to run down to see Monsieur. *Donner un coup de pied jusque* is slang for 'run over or down to'; formed after *donner un coup de main*, *d'épaule*, 'lend a hand,' 'give a lift,' etc.—Page 217, note 2 *en os de boudin*, translated: "literally turn to pudding bones, i. e., go up in smoke." Unfortunately, there are no bones in the pudding, and the expression used by Mme Cibot is a mispronunciation of *eau de boudin*; *boudin* = sausage.—Page 224, note 1. The editor translates *une perruque soignée* by 'a fine wiggling, a blow.' The only meaning I know for the expression is: 'a fine scolding,' and that is moreover all that Topinard got.⁵

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⁵ The French of the questionnaire is in need of revision. So page 258, 20; 259, 38; 261, 66-67; 262, 84 and 90; 263, 98-99; 265, 138; 266, 159; 267, 182-183; 267, 186; 268, 192; 268, 193; 268, 205; 268, 206; 270, 229-230. Note also, p. 272 ("Sources of his knowledge"), *le physiologique* and *qu'est-ce qu'il avait toujours déjà fait?* p. 273 ("Characters"), *Que croyait Balzac souvent?*—*Que sait-on de la société actuelle du temps de Balzac et qu'il décrit?*

Montesquieu et l'esclavage. Etude sur les origines de l'opinion anti-esclavagiste en France au XVIII^e siècle, par RUSSELL PARSONS JAMESON. Paris, Hachette, 1911. In-8, 371 pp.

Le nouveau livre de M. Jameson est une contribution précieuse à l'histoire de l'anti-esclavagisme et représente une somme considérable de travail et de recherches. Je me hâte donc de déclarer que si, dans le détail, je ne me trouve point toujours d'accord avec l'auteur, je tiens tout d'abord à rendre hommage à sa conscience et à son scrupuleux souci de l'exactitude.

L'ouvrage a une portée beaucoup plus considérable que le titre ne le laisserait supposer: comme nous allons le voir, M. Jameson ne s'en est pas tenu à Montesquieu et à ses prédécesseurs immédiats, il est allé chercher très loin, trop loin même à mon avis, les origines des opinions de Montesquieu et a tracé une véritable histoire des doctrines sur l'esclavage, depuis le Ve siècle grec jusqu'à Montesquieu. Si nous ne nous plaignons pas de trouver ainsi réunis, en corps, des textes et des opinions que l'on n'a pas toujours le temps d'aller chercher dans les ouvrages spéciaux, il faut cependant reconnaître que le livre de M. Jameson y a perdu en unité et en composition. Sur les 371 pages que comprend cette étude, 212 sont consacrées à des travaux d'approche qui sont loin d'être inutiles, mais qui font paraître un peu maigre la part accordée à Montesquieu et semblent reléguer l'auteur de *l'Esprit des Lois* au second plan.

Je n'ai guère qualité pour juger de la première partie de ce travail. M. Jameson y étudie successivement l'esclavage dans l'antiquité, sa transformation en servage, les origines et le développement de la traite des noirs jusqu'à Montesquieu en s'en tenant dans le domaine des faits. Il reprend ensuite le même sujet et l'envisageant sous un nouvel aspect, montre quelle était sur ce point la législation française, puis analyse l'esclavage dans ses rapports

avec le droit, avec la religion et avec la littérature. On voit immédiatement que chacun de ces chapitres très serrés, pleins de faits et d'aperçus intéressants aurait pu fournir la matière d'une longue étude. On aurait donc mauvaise grâce à reprocher à M. Jameson d'avoir été incomplet; je me permettrai cependant de signaler quelques omissions qui m'ont particulièrement frappé.

S'il est vrai, comme le dit M. Jameson, dans son premier chapitre, qu'à Rome, à l'époque impériale, "on immolait des milliers d'esclaves dans les fêtes funèbres et les combats de l'amphithéâtre,"¹ encore n'aurait-il pas été inutile de dire que certains esclaves, précepteurs, secrétaires, copistes, ouvriers d'art, faisaient vraiment partie de la "*familia*" et étaient traités de façon plus douce. Il suffit de lire les lettres de Cicéron d'une part et de se rappeler les affranchis d'autre part, pour s'en convaincre. Il semble en tout cas qu'une question aussi complexe ne pouvait être traitée en quelques lignes et sans distinguer des époques.

Le second chapitre, sur les *Origines de la traite des noirs* est un excellent résumé historique; j'aurais cependant voulu que M. Jameson y insistât davantage sur le rôle joué en Espagne par Las Casas, au XVI^e siècle, alors qu'il ne lui accorde que deux lignes.² L'apôtre des Indiens pour qui Charles-Quint avait tant d'affection méritait mieux qu'une simple mention, d'autant que la *Brevissima relatio* traduite dans toutes les langues de l'Europe contribua certainement à créer un courant anti-esclavagiste. C'est une omission du même genre que je relèverai dans la partie consacrée aux casuistes.³ Il aurait été intéressant d'étudier au moins brièvement quelques-uns des prédécesseurs de Sanchez et en particulier Sepulveda, l'adversaire de Las Casas, et Victoria dont les *Relectiones* publiées à Lyon en 1557 renferment des discussions si curieuses sur le droit naturel des sauvages.

Si d'autre part, il est vrai que les écrivains humanitaires sont rares dans notre XVI^e siècle

¹ P. 19.² P. 33.³ Pp. 124 et seq.

français et s'il faut louer M. Jameson d'avoir rendu hommage au grand jurisconsulte Jean Bodin, je m'étonne qu'il ait passé aussi rapidement sur Montaigne.⁴ Nous lui accordons que le chapitre des *Cannibales* n'est qu'une satire à peine déguisée de nos mœurs; il est moins exact de dire qu'il ne paraît pas que Montaigne ait jamais songé à l'esclavage. Je renvoie sur ce point au chapitre des *Coches* qui contient en faveur des Indiens du Nouveau Monde un plaidoyer dont la note émue et indignée est des plus remarquables chez Montaigne.

Enfin, M. Jameson signale "l'entrée du sujet de l'esclavage dans la littérature courante" en 1735 à propos du discours d'un noir de la Jamaïque publié par l'abbé Prévost dans le *Pour et le Contre*. En réalité le discours qu'il analyse n'est qu'un lieu commun que l'on retrouverait dans les *Histoires* de Tacite, et plus près de Montesquieu chez Pierre Martyr, l'auteur des *Oceani Decades*, et surtout chez l'auteur du poème épique de *l'Araucana* Ercilla y Zúñiga, dont Voltaire avait analysé l'œuvre dans son *Essai sur la poésie épique*. Le discours de Moses Bom Saam reproduit par M. Jameson rappelle en particulier de façon frappante le discours de Colocolo traduit par Voltaire.

Laissant de côté ces questions de détail qui n'ont qu'une importance secondaire, il n'en est pas moins vrai que la première partie du travail de M. Jameson remplit parfaitement son but, qui est de nous montrer l'état de l'opinion publique au moment approximatif où Montesquieu compose le livre XV de *l'Esprit des Lois*. Bien que l'on eût fort discuté, et en particulier à Bordeaux, sur les nègres, et bien que l'on puisse trouver quelques protestations isolées contre la conquête des Indes Occidentales, il n'y avait pas à proprement parler de courant anti-esclavagiste et tout semblait s'opposer à la naissance d'un tel mouvement.

Avec la seconde partie nous entrons dans le vif du sujet. Avant de discuter les opinions de Montesquieu, M. Jameson a justement pensé qu'il était utile de nous remettre les textes sous les yeux; il l'a fait⁵ de façon sci-

entifique en donnant une véritable édition critique du livre XV de *l'Esprit des Lois*. Partant du texte de la première édition qu'il reproduit, et se servant des éditions postérieures et des documents précieux retrouvés et publiés par M. Barekhausen,⁶ M. Jameson a essayé et en bien des cas, malgré les difficultés de la tâche, a réussi à surprendre les procédés de composition de Montesquieu et à nous montrer l'évolution de sa pensée.

Avec beaucoup de justesse il fait tout d'abord remarquer que le titre donné par Montesquieu au livre XV ne répond pas au sujet traité dans ce livre. Promettant de nous expliquer "*Comment les lois de l'esclavage civil ont du rapport avec la nature du climat*," Montesquieu ne fait qu'effleurer la question et ne lui consacre qu'un maigre paragraphe.

De même, après avoir posé en fait "que l'esclavage n'est pas bon par sa nature, qu'il n'est utile ni au maître, ni à l'esclave" (Ch. I), Montesquieu dans le cours des chapitres suivants semble lui reconnaître un droit à l'existence quand il traite des abus de l'esclavage (Ch. XI) ou déclare que lois civiles doivent chercher "à en ôter les abus." (Ch. X).

Faut-il croire avec M. Jameson⁷ que Montesquieu aurait fait disparaître ces défauts de composition s'il avait eu le temps de mettre la dernière main à son œuvre? Nous ne le pensons pas. Montesquieu n'a pas dû s'embarrasser de ces contradictions qui, du reste, ne me paraissent pas avoir une très grande importance. Condamnant l'esclavage en principe, il devait certainement quand son tempérament conservateur reprenait le dessus, l'admettre en fait et même lui reconnaître quelques avantages.

Ce qui en réalité constitue la supériorité de Montesquieu sur ses nombreux prédécesseurs, c'est qu'il a introduit dans la discussion des théories esclavagistes un élément humain. Sans négliger la question juridique et si l'on peut dire théorique, Montesquieu, au moins

⁶ Montesquieu. *l'Esprit des lois et les archives de la Brède*. Bordeaux, 1904.

⁷ P. 259.

⁴ P. 143.

⁵ Pp. 219-247.

une fois, s'est départi de son impassibilité probablement voulue, dans le fameux Chapitre V qui traite plus spécialement "de l'esclavage des Nègres." Comme l'a fort bien fait voir M. Jameson, l'impression d'ensemble que l'on retire de la lecture du livre XV est toute à l'honneur de Montesquieu et les opinions en leur fond anti-esclavagistes de cette partie de *l'Esprit des Lois* nous apparaissent comme singulièrement hardies et généreuses quand on les replace dans leur temps. Il faut savoir gré à l'auteur de ce livre de nous avoir montré à l'aide de textes précis, et sans jamais se laisser aller à des conjectures hasardeuses, comment Montesquieu avait "progressé" et comment son esprit avait "profité" avec le temps, la réflexion et les lectures.

Nous renverrons à l'ouvrage même de M. Jameson pour l'étude des sources du livre XV et pour sa place dans *l'Esprit des Lois*; on y trouvera quelques chapitres d'une critique avisée et lucide qui font grand honneur à l'auteur de ce travail. Avec lui nous dirons en terminant que si Montesquieu semble avoir été trop hésitant, à notre gré, dans ses opinions anti-esclavagistes, il n'en a pas moins contribué pour beaucoup à créer le mouvement qui devait, après de longues années de lutte, aboutir à l'émancipation des noirs dans les possessions françaises. A ce titre on nous permettra de regretter que M. Jameson au lieu de donner de longs développements à l'étude des origines n'ait pas étudié plus en détail l'influence de Montesquieu sur les idées du XVIII^e siècle. Il nous promet de le faire bientôt et il est certainement qualifié pour un travail de ce genre.

Tel qu'il est, le livre M. Jameson éclaire singulièrement cette partie de l'œuvre de Montesquieu et rendra de très réels services à tous ceux qui dans l'avenir voudront étudier *l'Esprit des Lois*.

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Laokoon. Lessing, Herder, Goethe. Selections, edited with an Introduction and a Commentary by WILLIAM G. HOWARD. New York, Henry Holt and Co., 1910. 8vo., clxviii + 470 pp. (with an etching of the Laokoon group).

Among a multitude of nondescript and infelicitous text-books which appear in public from year to year there is found now and then one which is worthy of serious consideration, because it fills more than merely a commercial need. Such a book is the edition of Lessing's *Laokoon* by William Guild Howard of Harvard University. It is the work of a scholar and without of an enthusiast. An uncommon book.

It may not be perfectly correct to speak of this edition as if it were an edition of the *Laokoon* of Lessing only, when the book contains selections from three essays: Goethe, *Über Laokoon*; *Laokoon, oder über die Grenzen der Malerei und Poesie*, von Gotthold Ephraim Lessing; and *Erstes Wäldchen* of the *Kritische Wälder* the author of which is Herder. On the other hand it is right to think of Lessing alone or principally of Lessing in connection with this edition because the Introduction and the Commentary are built up around the essay of Lessing and after all Herder's essay is a criticism of Lessing's and Goethe's comparatively short discussion likewise presupposes an acquaintance with Lessing's arguments.

The idea of printing these essays together seems to be traceable to Hermann Grimm. Professor Thomas of Columbia University, who long ago instituted in the University of Michigan "A study of Lessing's *Laokoon* with comparison of the critiques of Herder and Goethe," is responsible for passing on the idea, until it finally resulted in the preparation of this book.

It was an admirable idea to have the three great movements, Rationalism (represented by Lessing's essay), Romanticism (represented by Herder's), and Classicism (represented by Goethe's), coöperating with each other and correcting each other in the solution of an esthetic problem. On one side of the cool, intellectual, almost un-esthetic Lessing, making fine distinctions, postulating poetic devices, incapable of sensuous delight we have arrayed Herder, the man of emotion and

instinct, coloring everything by his warmth of feeling, insisting upon the rights of individual and national peculiarity. On the other side stands Goethe, at one time and still sensitive to sensuous pleasure, but unlike the younger Goethe seeking in this "tragic idyll," as he names the marble group, a typical and symbolical significance. Three different men, but all of them "Beauty"-mad!

The date of the execution of the group, unquestionably the work of Agesander of Rhodes and his two sons Polydorus and Athenodorus, has been much disputed. Howard selects the year 50 B. C. as more probable than either of the two extreme dates 200 B. C. or 79-81, the time of Titus, which Lessing favored.

Howard shows also that the story representing both sons as perishing with the father is very ancient, and so the destruction of the three together was not an invention of Vergil as Lessing had believed.

Again Howard has been able to make use of a discovery by Dr. Ludwig Pollak of an antique arm representing the right arm of a Laocöon, the shape of which proves conclusively that the father's arm ought to be bent backward toward the tail of the serpent biting him in the hip.

If the difference between painting and poetry was a problem known to the ancients, Howard shows in the fourth chapter of his Introduction that Lessing's "ancients" did very little to formulate the difference. Aristotle furnishes no useful distinction. Cicero had no insight into the difference at all. Horace encouraged the confusion of the arts, though his fatal axiom "Ut pictura poesis" did not mean in the context what it came to mean later separated from the context. Quintilian has practically nothing to say. Simonides' witty antithesis that "painting is dumb poetry and poetry is a speaking picture" could not help equating painting and poetry, though there was no such intention. Even the quotation which Lessing gives on the title-page means less than Lessing made it mean.

The poorest chapter in the book because of its irrelevancy is the chapter entitled "'Poetic' Painting and Sculpture." Page 25, lines 11 ff., Lessing says he is fighting "Schilderungssucht" and "Allegoristerci." The central theme of this chapter ought to have been what Lessing calls "Allegoristerei." The material ought to have been subordinated to this theme; if refractory, it ought to have been assigned to the Notes. If Lessing had Rubens in mind, as Howard thinks, the discussion must necessarily have centred about him and not degenerated into a diffuse and prolix description of *Barock*, *Rococo* and *Zopfstil*. The last six lines of the chapter are more to the point than all the rest of it.

The thesis of "Schilderungssucht" is not as clearly worked out in the next chapter as it should be. It is very hard to see for many pages what all these paragraphs have to do with "pictorial" poetry and what is meant by "pictorial" poetry. Is it romantic extravagance, bombast, obscenity, unnaturalness, or what is it? We are surer of our ground when we strike such passages as this: "he (Wernicke) never indulged in frosty descriptions of the outward aspect of things." After that there follows a pertinent story of Brockes, Haller, Kleist, Thomson and Klopstock with their mania for description.

The chapter on "Lessing's Problem among the Moderns" is a "monstrum." To make it "übersichtlich" it ought to have been divided into three different parts, "Italy and France," "England," "Germany." The sharply defined thesis which Lessing insisted on is lacking here.

The anticipations of Lessing in France are mentioned, but Du Bos who might have made *Laokoon* superfluous, or Diderot who makes it absurd longer to refer to the parallel of the arts, or even Count Caylus, whom Lessing ridicules but whose writings contain passages which remind one of Lessing, ought to have been made more prominent to conform to the theme of the chapter.

We fare better in Howard's treatment of England.

In the next chapter we are not surprised to learn that Germany is suffering under the same delusion, that poetry is a species of painting; so we care little about Gottsched's definition of poetry which is without an inkling of prophecy. We are interested to hear that Lessing stands closer to Gottsched than to Bodmer and Breitinger who commend the very poetry which Lessing condemns, the *Alpen* of Haller. Howard has done well to bring this whole discussion into relation to the psychology of the eighteenth century as it is represented by Baumgarten's philosophy in which the lower powers of the soul and the higher powers of the mind are combined in the perception of beauty. The transition from Leibniz's monads to Baumgarten, from Baumgarten to Mendelssohn is not however carefully made.

Perhaps it may be said of the commentary more even than of the Introduction, that it is packed full of the richest material. The great regret is that such a valuable book could not have been indexed. There are many things which ought to have been made more accessible to the student. I shall refer to only a few of these most excellent expository paragraphs which to my mind would very profitably have taken the place of historical material in the Introduction; but of course that is very largely a matter of taste in arrangement; there is the discussion of "Bewunderung ist ein kalter Affekt," p. 345; the tran-

sitory, p. 353; "Bekleidung," p. 366; "Zeichen," the means of expression, p. 368; "Illusion," p. 388; the psychology of vision, p. 392; and many other short, as well as long comments on instructive and live esthetic themes.

It is too bad that the books described in many places in the Introduction and the Notes could not have been printed with the others at the end of the book. I refer especially to such books as Theodor Meyer, *Das Stilgesetz der Poesie*; Bryant, *On the Limits of Descriptive Writing*; the valuable articles which Professor Howard has himself contributed; and many others which are there referred to.

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KNOWLES-FAVARD, *Perfect French Possible*.
Boston: Heath, 1910. vi + 52 pp.

Those intending to use this little book should first read pp. 15-22, then return to pp. 1-14.¹ This lack of proper arrangement is unfortunate in a work that gives evidences of accurate knowledge and much study. Moreover, every teacher of French must sympathize with the aim of its authors; for they seek to teach pronunciation according to the results of recent scientific investigation but without using either technical expressions or special instruments. How far they have been successful is another question, however, and personally we cannot agree with their own statement that "no student of French can afford to do without this little book."²

To begin with, they have often been forced to build on insecure foundations. Given, for instance, the sound of *o* in French *côte* (international *o*), it is scientifically correct to form the *o* of French *donne* (intern. *ɔ*) by lowering the tongue and reducing the lip-rounding:³ then, with both *o* and *ɔ* given, one may, by combination with international *e* and *ɛ* produce intern. *ø* and *æ*.⁴ But the whole edifice is worthless unless the *o* of *côte* is properly mastered, and of this sound our authors are satisfied to say that it is the same as that of *o* in Eng. *ode*!⁵ Another serious defect in the very foundations of this system of French pronunciation is a lack of emphasis upon the far greater rounding of the lips in French than in

English. "Round the lips as for *ou* (Eng. *ooze*) and while holding them still and motionless try to say *i* (Eng. *cel*). The result will be *u*"⁶ (Fr. *ruc*). It is, of course, unnecessary to point out that Fr. *ou* is not Eng. *oo* or to refer to Rousset's "les lèvres très fermées."⁷ To teach the French nasals without having recourse to imitation is, we admit, difficult; but, as it seems hardly practical to tell students of French (not of physiology or phonetics) to "sing *â* for two beats, lower the soft palate, continuing two beats more,"⁸ we suggest as a starting point the "him-hm" which is used so frequently in the United States instead of "yes" (or "no" according to the accentuation). At any rate, it is unwise to teach "*oin* = *ou* + *in* = Eng. *wang*" or, as is done twice, *ien* = *Yan* in Eng. *Yankee*.⁹ Such teaching leads the pupil to form an unfortunate habit which it is very hard to cure.

We cannot, then, agree with the preface that "it [this book] is unique in that it gives infallible rules for the production of those sounds that cannot be approximated in English." It is original, however, in the rule it gives for *e* mute: "the *e* of a mute syllable is not pronounced . . . when that syllable follows a vowel sound."¹⁰ Taken in its context, this rule is not bad, especially if we remember the limitations put upon it two pages later. But we must remember that this does not go to the root of the matter, that (rarely, to be sure) the *e* may be followed by a consonant combination such as will not allow the prefixing even of a single consonant; whence the mistake of our authors in pronouncing "*rec(e)voir*," while the correct pronunciation retains the *e* (Passy, *rəsəvwar*), in striking contrast to *rec(e)vable* (*rəsvabl*) and *rec(e)veur* (*rəsvœr*).¹¹ The section on liaisons will answer many a question asked by our pupils every day; that on "linkings" might, we think, be reduced. A fifth and a sixth rule on page 35, under the heading "A liaison never occurs," would suffice to teach the student to pronounce *on est ici* but *Jea(n)est ici, après elle* but *ver(s) elle*; and that is all that is necessary. Those persons who believe that a Frenchman could make a guide stick to his own boat by repeating "pas d'elle y au Rhône que nous" will be interested in the supplement where "Cud eat eel" is said to represent the French translation for "What is he saying" and "Ray pay tale mow" = "Repeat the word." But, to speak only of rhythm, we would remind such persons that "in

¹ Exercises appear on these pages which require a knowledge of what follows, *e. g.*, the pronunciation of *eu*¹ (p. 6) is not given till p. 19; of *oi* (p. 9) not until p. 21; likewise for *eu*, *au*, *in*.

² *Perfect Fr. Poss.*, p. ii.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 18.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 19, designated by *eu*² and *eu*¹.

⁵ P. 17.

⁶ P. 18.

⁷ Rousselot and Laclotte, *Précis de Prononciation Française*, p. 37.

⁸ *Perf. Fr. Poss.*, p. 6.

⁹ P. 11 (note) and p. 20.

¹⁰ P. 29.

¹¹ V. Michaelis and Passy, *Dictionnaire phonétique de la langue française*.

French there is no such thing as word-stress or word-division,"¹² and that "en anglais on peut distinguer *an aim* (ən'eim) de *a name* (ə'neim)."¹³

In short, this little book is decidedly interesting; but, in order to profit by the good things it offers, a student must possess such a knowledge of French pronunciation as will permit him to use the sources from which the Perfect French Possible is drawn. And in that case, as the proverb goes, *Il vaut mieux s'adresser au bon Dieu qu'à ses saints*.

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CORRESPONDENCE

A SYNTACTICAL NOTE

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*,

SIRS:—In *Critical Contributions to Early English Syntax, Second Series* (Christiania, 1910), § 50, Dr. A. Trampe Bødtker calls attention to the opinions of Onions and Jespersen that the position of the preposition after the verb in a relative clause in ME., as in Orm 3472 f.,

. . . þatt land
þatt Crist wass borenn inne,

is due to Scandinavian influence, and shows that the corresponding construction is found in OE. in a few cases. He also shows that the shift in order of relative verb and preposition is illustrated by the infinitive construction. In my paper on the syntax of the infinitive in Chaucer (*Chaucer Soc., Second Series*, 44, London, 1909), p. 29, I have quoted from Wülffing several OE. examples of the kind, and on pp. 33–34 I cite a large number of examples from Chaucer that show the shift of the preposition to a place after the infinitive. This seems to corroborate Bødtker's view that foreign influence need not be assumed in order to account for the construction.

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NEVER LESS ALONE THAN WHEN ALONE

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*,

SIRS:—'Who now reads Cowley?' asks Pope. 'Read all Cowley,' advises Wordsworth. A part of the erudition that has been displayed in *Modern Language Notes* (24. 54, 123; 25. 28, 96) concerning the phrase, 'Never less alone than when alone,' might have been spared by following the injunction of Wordsworth. I quote a passage

from Cowley's essay, *Of Solitude* (*Essays and Plays of Abraham Cowley*, ed. A. R. Waller, p. 392):

Nunquam minus solus, quam cum solus, is now become a very vulgar saying. Every Man and almost every Boy for these seventeen hundred years, has had it in his mouth. But it was first spoken by the Excellent *Scipio*, who was without question a most Eloquent and Witty person, as well as the most Wise, most Worthy, most Happy, and the Greatest of all Mankind. His meaning no doubt was this, That he found more satisfaction to his mind, and more improvement of it by Solitude than by Company, and to shew that he spoke not this loosely or out of vanity, after he had made *Rome*, Mistriss of almost the whole World, he retired himself from it by a voluntary exile, and at a private house in the middle of a wood neer *Linternum*, passed the remainder of his Glorious life no less Gloriously.

The description of *Scipio's* place of retirement is borrowed from Seneca (*Epist.* 86).

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BRIEF MENTION

The first number of an Italian quarterly review, *Studi Critici di Filologia e Glottologia*, has recently appeared, with Teofilo Petriella as editor.¹ It is also announced that the Abbé Roussetot and H. Pernot are in charge of a new journal of experimental phonetics, the *Revue de phonétique*, which will be published in Paris.

Professor Friedrich Hanssen, of the University of Chile, has been known to us chiefly through his short studies on individual points of Old Spanish grammar and versification. Now we have the culmination of these shorter articles in the form of a *Spanische Grammatik auf historische Grundlage*,² which is a masterpiece of scholarship and patient research. While the Castilian and other dialects of Spain form the basis of the grammar, the author makes extensive use of the American Spanish dialects as corroborative material. In addition to the detailed study of phonology and morphology, the book is noteworthy for the treatment of syntax. The fund of illustrative material ranges from the earliest Spanish monuments to such recent authors as Blasco Ibañez, Valera, Echegaray, etc. An excellent word-index completes the volume.

¹ Naples: Discesa Sanità 20. Subscription, 15 lire per year.

² *Sammlung kurzer Lehrbücher der romanischen Sprachen und Literaturen*, VI. Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1910. 8vo., 278 pp.

¹² Sweet, *A Primer of Phonetics*, p. 95.

¹³ Passy, *Les Sons du Français*, p. 61.

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RICHARD BRATHWAITE'S *MERCURIUS BRITANICUS*

Recently there has come into my possession a copy of Richard Brathwaite's play *Mercurius Britanicus* (1641) with marginal notes in a contemporary hand identifying most of the characters with actual persons. Since the accuracy of these identifications can hardly be doubted, I wish to record them in the hope that they may prove of interest to students of Brathwaite, possibly to some future editor.

The play is almost wholly a political satire dealing allegorically with the decision of the twelve judges in the famous Ship-Money Case, precipitated by Hampden in 1637. The plot exhibits the judges under classical names as brought before the bar of justice, severely rebuked, and finally condemned. The scene is Smyrna. A *Prælude* (somewhat in the style of Jonson's Induction) between Palinurus and the Satyr, who is to speak the Prologue, opens the play. Act I pictures the gathering of persons to witness the trial. Two "familiar friends," two philosophers, and two rustics enter respectively, and after satirical comments on the judges, pass into the court-room. Act II, "the doore being opened, the curtaine drawne," presents the trial itself. First, however, the Ghost of Coriolanus delivers a solemn warning to "conferre pure justice." Then the prisoners are summoned one at a time and arraigned; but those judges that are dead appear as ghosts and are leniently dealt with. Throughout the trial the two philosophers in the audience (in the Jonsonian manner) make satirical comments. In Act III, the prisoners are brought together before the bar, and formal sentence is pronounced. Since "hanging is too good for them," they are banished to Ireland! Act IV is a humorous satire on the Puritans. A "conventicle of Plebeians" press into the court-room, pushing forward their spokesman, father Pinner [=Pryne?]. He pleads "First, that wee admit of no order in the Church.

Secondly, that all rites and ceremoniall reliques, to wit, Priests Garments, all sorts of musick bee abolished out of the Church. Lastly that there bee no set forme of prayer." But the Chorus chants: "Away with these triflers. . . . Get you home, follow your own affaires."

The characters identified in my copy are given below. In virtually every case there is clear and decisive internal evidence substantiating the identifications. I shall point out in a few cases examples of this corroborative evidence. Any one who is interested in discovering more should consult Howell's *State Trials*, iii, and *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series*, cccxvi.

Ghost of Coriolanus: "Earle of Straford."
Strafford was executed May 12, 1641.

Who once did flourish and did beare the bell
In these assemblies, as your selves can tell . . .
Behold him risen from his ghostly cell
Him, whom the bosterous Commons could not quell.
Nor whetted axe, nor Scaffold, nor black-rod.

The twelve prisoners, in the order in which they were summoned, are as follows:

Claudius: "Baron Weston Excheqr." Sir Richard Weston, Baron of the Exchequer.

Cratippus: "Judge Crawley C: Pleas." Sir Francis Crawley, Judge in the Common Pleas.

Corticius: "Judg Barkley K: Bench." Sir Robert Berkley, Justice of the Court of King's Bench.

Vigeti: "Judg Vernon C: Pleas." Sir George Vernon, Justice of the Common Pleas. "When he should argue, hee fained himself sick"; "when hee did enter the lists (hee most fortunately lost his arguments in the street)." For a confirmation of these statements see *State Trials*, iii.

Trivius: "Baron Trevor Excheqr." Sir Thomas Trevor, Baron of the Exchequer.

Corvus Acillius: "Judge Croke K: Bench." Sir George Croke, Justice of the King's Bench. Several puns make this identification clear. Cf.

p. 14 : "Crooked Acilius"; and p. 24 : "to wit *Curvus Acilius* . . . you had him, I say, for a precedent (although your steps were crooked) yet had you followed Crooke" . . .

Joachinus : "Judge Jones K: Bench." Sir William Jones (d. 1640), Judge of the King's Bench. Described in the play as dead.

Hortensius : "Judge Hutton C: Pleas." Sir Richard Hutton (d. 1639), Judge of the Common Pleas. Described as dead, and spoken of with honor. "Hee was so sincere a Guardian of his Actions, that hee lived and died untainted; the memory therefore of so good and worthy a Patron is to bee deplored with perpetuall elegies: he deservedly obtained this title; *An honest Iudge, The poore mans Patron and Protectour*, which title is a greater glory then the empery of the worlds Circumference; hee surprized envy by vertue, and carried honours to his grave." This is in keeping with the facts. Hutton gave judgment in favor of Hampden; and although for the sake of conformity he acquiesced in the decision of the other judges on the legality of the ship-money edict, he made known his private opinion that the edict was illegal.

Antrivius : "Baron Denham Excheqr." Sir John Denham (d. 1639), Baron of the Exchequer. Represented in the play as dead.

Damocles : "Cheife Baron Davenport Excheqr." Sir Humphrey Davenport, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. His conduct in the ship-money case is accurately described.

Chrysometres : "Cheife Justice Finch Co: Pleas." Sir John Finch, Chief Justice of the Court of Common Pleas. His flight from the country in 1640 is made much of; and his name is clearly indicated by the constant use of the imagery of bird life. "Hee is flowne into another Countrey; he left his nest for fear hee should have been apprehended in it, ever since his flight the speech is that he sings now in *France*. . . . Let Chrysometres long roost in transmarine parts before hee bee called home, we have too many such parates [parrots], we have been too indulgent to all such birds," etc.

I was puzzled at first by the fact that the twelve judges are here named exactly in the order

in which they argued the case, and in the opposite order of that in which they signed the decision. Later I discovered an explanation of this in the play : "Let them be brought forth in the same order as they did argue . . . we will begin first with the first, from the puny Iudge to the Lord Cheif Iustice."

One other character is identified in a marginal note :

Gliciscus Horologus : "Puny Baron Page alias Baron Teleclock."

I can find no record of this person, yet the accuracy of the identification seems to be indicated by the passage describing him—which I will quote as a fair example of the satire in the play :

"As for *Gliciscus*, I should rather have said *Gliris*, Judge *Dormant*, you know whom I meane, hee that sits for a sipher on the Bench, the barren Baron that hath little wit, and lesse honesty, because he was your tell-Clock (ô yee purple Iudges) his punishment shall bee to turne Sexton, and bee a Clock-keeper in the Countrey, for his simplicity pleads for temperate punishment."

Perhaps a few other facts about the play may not be out of keeping here.

The title-page of my copy reads : "*Mercurius Britannicus*, or The English Intelligencer. A Tragic-Comedy, AT PARIS. Acted with great *Applause*. [Ornament.] Printed in the yeare, 1641." The running title is "*Mercurius Britannicus*, or The English Intelligencer"; but prefixed to Act I is a half-title : "The Censure of the Iudges : or The Court Cure." The printer in a note To the Reader says : "If others set forth Editions under this Title, beleve mee, they are meerly adulterous : This Edition is onely true and genuine ; All other sordid and surreptitious." ¹

Other editions, however, were set forth, whether by the same printer or not I cannot determine. In the same year, 1641, four editions of the play in English and two in Latin were issued.² Since then, so far as I am aware, the

¹ This same statement appears in the Latin edition.

² See *British Museum Catalogue*; Greg records only three editions in English.

English version has not been reprinted; nor does it deserve this honor at the hands of the student of literature. The historian, however, will find the play of considerable interest as reflecting the attitude of the public towards the Ship-Money Edict and the twelve judges concerned. The Latin version has been reprinted in Baron Somers's *Collection of Scarce and Valuable Tracts*, 1751 (re-edited by Sir Walter Scott in 1811). This reprint is stated to be from the *Editio Secunda; accuratissimè revisa, castigata, et Præludi perquam faceto decorata*.

Though described on the title-page as having been "Acted with great Applause" (the Latin edition reads "summo cum applausu publici acta") the play seems to be nothing more than a closet drama, and to have been written and circulated as a political pamphlet. The statement on the title-page has little weight. It should be borne in mind, however, that Brathwaite had written plays for public presentation, and that this play, though ill suited to the purpose, may have been actually staged.

The date of composition may be fixed within certain limits. Since the Ghost of Strafford appears as one of the characters, the play must have been written after his execution, May 12, 1641; and since the printing was done in 1641, the composition must have taken place before the close of that year.

Though published anonymously, the play has been commonly assigned to Richard Brathwaite. *The Dictionary of National Biography*, however, does not mention it in discussing that author, nor include it in the list of his works. I should like to call attention to the extraordinarily high tribute paid in the play to Judge Hutton, Brathwaite's godfather and kinsman, to whom Brathwaite addressed his elegy *Astræas Teares*. The passages concerned speak eloquently for Brathwaite's authorship.

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ZU GOETHE'S *EGMONT*¹

Um mit H.'s *Frage*, p. 175 unten, zu beginnen: Die Bedeutung der Worte *Jeder Wein setzt Weinstein in den Füssen an mit der Zeit* ist mir nie unklar gewesen: 'Wenn der Mensch älter wird, dann gibt er, und wäre er die offenste und argloseste Natur, sich nicht mehr ganz so offen, so restlos wie er's in der Jugend zu tun gewohnt war. Etwas scheidet sich bei jedem Menschen aus den Erfahrungen und Beobachtungen, die er im Laufe seines Lebens macht, aus und bleibt in seinem Innersten zurück (unsichtbar für andere, wenn auch vielleicht, wie hier, vermutet von ihnen).' — Warum Goethe gerade dies Bild gewählt hat, ist doch klar: 'Etwas schönes,' deutet Egmont leise damit an, 'ist der kleine *Hinterhalt* eigentlich nicht, aber er bildet sich mit Naturnotwendigkeit.' Ganz verständnislos deutet H. 'jeden noch so klaren Wein' mit: *die sonst völlig uneigen-nützige Haltung beider*. Wie kommt er überhaupt auf beide? Zu *Hinterhalt* vergleiche man Grimm *Wb.*, iv, 2, 1504, 2.

Hätte statt *Weinstein* etwa *Kesselstein* da gestanden ('Jeder Kessel setzt Stein am Boden an mit der Zeit') — der letztere wird auch in Amerika bekannter sein als der erstere — dann würde ich nur an der Art des Bildes, nicht an dem *Anachronismus* Anstoss nehmen. Wenn man alle derartigen Anachronismen — ich bin im Zweifel, ob man das Wort hier überhaupt verwenden soll — aufzeigen wollte, dann dürfte kein einziges Goethe'sches Werk verschont bleiben, — um von grösseren und tieferen Anachronismen zu schweigen. Mir war's übrigens nicht so bekannt — und so wird's den meisten Lesern gehen, auch wenn sie in diesen Dingen, wie ich, etwas Bescheid wissen, — dass erst mit der Mitte des achtzehnten Jahrhunderts der *militärische Gleichschritt*, hauptsächlich in Preussen eingeführt sei. Aber H. fügt ja auch hinzu: *wieder eingeführt*. Er hätte uns darum auch darüber belehren sollen, wo und wann er zuerst aufgenommen war. Offenbar wechselt er hier Marsch und besondere Gelegenheiten, wozu der Einzug in, und der Marsch durch

¹ In reference to the article by Lee M. Hollander, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xxvi, pp. 174-176.

Städte gehörte, eine Gelegenheit, bei der der Holländer die spanischen Truppen beobachtet haben wird. Doch sehen wir davon ab. Ich habe hier ein Exemplar von *Eines Hochlöblichen Ober-Rheinischen Creyses* — Goethes Vaterstadt gehörte dazu! — *Kriegs-Exercitien*, also vom *Exercierreglement*, wie man heute sagen würde. Wenn es ein heutiger preussischer Leutnant sähe, es käme auch ihn ein Grauen an. Ein paar Auszüge werden nicht unwillkommen sein. Zunächst einer aus dem Abschnitt *Evolution*.

1.

Gebet acht / die Evolution zu machen.

Sobald diss Commando gegeben / muss das gantze Battalion stille seyn / ohne zu sprechen / noch andere Bewegungen zu machen / als die so befohlen werden / es seye mit dem Kopff / Leib / Händen und Füßen / und sollen auch den Commandirenden Officier oder Major allezeit ansehen / gleich wie bey dem Manual schon angewiesen.

2.

Traget wohl euer Gewehr.

Müssen das Gewehr / wie bey dem Manual angewiesen / wohl tragen / so / dass die Glieder und Reihen ihr Gewehr in egaler Linie haben / und behalten / und sämmtliches Gewehr / als wann es eines wäre / anzusehen seye.

109.

March.

Tretten auff einmahl mit dem lincken Fuss an / und marchiren langsam / biss wieder auff ihren vorigen Platz / observirend / dass in dem letzten Schritt der lincke Fuss voran nieder gesetzt werde / und erwarten das folgende Commando.

Dann noch ein Paragraph aus dem Abschnitt *Unterricht / was bey dem Marchiren und Schwencken zu beobachten*.

8.

Was das Marchiren nun antrifft, so muss der Mann allemahl mit dem lincken Fuss antreten, die Füße wohl aufheben, und das Gewehr wohl tragen, den Kopff wohl hoch halten, keineswegs aber rechts- oder links herum, sondern gerade vor sich sehen; und wann befohlen, recht- oder linker Hand aufzuschauen, nur das Auge dahin wenden, ein- wie allemahl nicht geschwinder, als

das anderemahl marchiren, aber auch nicht stille stehen, sondern, wann von dem vordersten mögten in etwas aufgehalten werden, sich wenigstens mit den Füßen bewegen und moviren.

16.

Imgleichen wann man noch 100 Schritt von dem Campement ist, oder aber wann man durch ein Haupt-Quartier, oder durch eine Stadt, wo Garnison lieget, marchiren solte, so begeben sich die Tambours wieder an ihre vorige Oerther, imgleichen schultern die Soldaten wiederum ihr Gewehr

Das sind nur ein paar Paragraphen, aus ein paar hundert ausgewählt. Um also den Gleichschritt, die stramm gradaus gerichteten Augen, straffe Gewehrhaltung usw. kennen zu lernen, brauchte Goethe nicht erst nach Berlin zu gehen: genau wie heute, hatte man das alles in Frankfurt gerade so schön. Auch sollte man sich doch einmal Goethes Quellen daraufhin ansehen, ob von Albas Truppen dort nicht auch eine ähnliche Schilderung entworfen wird. Jedenfalls darf man nicht eher von einem *Widerwillen des Frankfurters Goethe gegen die preussischen Grenadiere* sprechen, bevor man ihn nicht auf andere Weise nachgewiesen hat. Hier im *Egmont* handelt es sich nur um das Grauen des freien Holländers vor dem Geist, der in dem scharfen Drill der spanischen Soldateska zum Ausdruck kommt, vor der rücksichtslosen Einordnung des Einzelwillens in den von einem Mächtigen dirigierten Gesamtwillen.

Zu der zweiten von den Stellen aus *Egmont*, die H. bespricht, kann ich die Bemerkung nicht bergen, dass solche simplen Sätze überhaupt nicht besprochen werden sollten, selbst wenn sie ein paar des Deutschen offenbar nicht sehr kundige Herausgeber missverstanden haben. Ein jeder Gymnasiast, wenn er nur auf den Gegensatz zwischen der Art Oraniens und Egmonts geachtet hat, weiss, wie der erstere hier seine Worte meint.

Und so ist es auch mit der ersten Stelle. Ich kann mir nicht denken, dass es viele Kenner des Deutschen gebe, die nicht vor der Auffassung, ein *selbst verfehlter Schritt* sei soviel als *ein durch eignes Verschulden verfehlter* geschützt wären. Und wenn hundert Kommentatoren den Schnitzer begehen, dann zeigen sie eben alle hundert, dass

sie ihre Hände vom Kommentieren hätten lassen sollen. Hier braucht es keiner grossen syntaktischen Schulung: schon das Gefühl muss einem sagen, dass eine Bildung *selbst verfehelter Schritt* nach Analogie von *selbstgemachte Wurst* usw. unmöglich ist. Nicht mal in ein Wort sind *selbst* und *verfehlt* geschrieben, was doch unbedingt nötig wäre. Natürlich ist H's Auffassung im grossen und ganzen richtig; der Ton hat schnell über die Worte *ja ein selbst* hinwegzugleiten und je zur Hälfte auf *verfehelter* und *Schritt* zu fallen. Im Übrigen bietet jedes Wort H's Anlass zum Widerspruch.

Es liegt keine gewaltsame, um nicht zu sagen unmögliche Wortstellung vor! *Selbst* brauchte sich einzig und allein auf *verfehlt* zu beziehen (*modifizieren* nennt H. das!). *Verfehlt* heisst beinahe soviel wie 'unbeabsichtigt', der Gegensatz wäre also 'beabsichtigt'; 'Ein sogar unbeabsichtigter Schritt', was, pedantisch-arithmetisch angesehen, noch richtiger wäre als 'sogar ein unb. Schritt'. Und wie kühn ist die Behauptung, *es wäre aussichtslos, nach Parallelen für eine solche Sprachwillkür (!) suchen zu wollen*. Jeder, der über eine bescheidene Literaturkenntnis verfügt, vermag sie zu dutzenden beizubringen. *Es wäre aussichtslos . . . suchen zu wollen*: Herr H. sollte seiner eignen Sprache seine Bemühungen zuwenden. Zum Glück ist es *bisher übersehen, dass ein Schritt, den man selbst (und kein anderer) verfehlt, eine böse Tautologie ist!* Ein verfehelter Schritt, eine verfehlt Handlung, kann von mir oder von irgend einem andern herrühren; dass ein Schritt immer von dem getan sein muss, der von ihm spricht, leuchtet mir nicht ein; worin liegt also die Tautologie?

Und nun lese man von dem *etwas (!) kraftgenialischen Satz* und dem ganzen in Absatz 3 herbeicitierten Apparat! Die Stelle ist gewiss *rhythmisch (!)*: Aber *ja selbst ein verfehelter Schritt* ginge nicht an! Andererseits passte es dem Sinne nach sehr hübsch, wenn es hiesse *selbst ein* = 'selbst ein einziger verfehelter Schritt'. Und dass nicht ein *Donnerschlag etc.* gemeint ist, kann gar keinen Einfluss auf das Folgende haben, im Gegenteil: dem umfassenden, riesigen elementaren Ereignis dort wird hier ein einzelnes kleines gegenübergestellt. H. widerspricht sich ja auch selbst, im letzten Satze seines vierten Abschnitts.

Weiter: Dem Fatalismus Egmonts würde es durchaus nicht widersprechen, wenn er auch einen eignen Fehlschritt unter die Möglichkeiten rechnete, die ihn stürzen könnten. Ein merkwürdiger Fatalismus, der diese Möglichkeit ausschliesse! Aber ich frage jetzt: Wer würde denn den Fehlschritt tun? Doch kein anderer, als Egmont selbst! Also schliesst er ihn in die Möglichkeiten ein.

Alles Weitere, was H. über den Fall sagt, soll mit Schweigen bedeckt werden, vor allem der kleine Schlusssatz, mit *Übrigens* anfangend.

Es gibt Stellen im *Egmont*, an denen Interpretationskunst sich mit grösserem Rechte versuchen könnte, als diesen hier. Wo käme man hin, wenn man alle Einfachheiten der Art besprechen wollte!

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SOME EGMONT INTERPRETATIONS

In the June issue of *Modern Language Notes* for 1911 Dr. Hollander tries to cast new light upon several passages in Goethe's *Egmont*.

Whether he has succeeded in rescuing the most important passages from the Cimmerian darkness of misinterpretation which he believes has brooded over them hitherto remains to be seen.

Most of us, I fear, will continue to think "ein selbst verfehelter Schritt" a false step for which the person who makes it is responsible, and will not be frightened by any apparition of a 'böse Tautologie.' At any rate, we hardly dare assume that the naturalistic young Goethe would say 'ein selbst verfehelter Schritt' for 'selbst ein verfehelter Schritt' for metrical reasons.

This passage, like a host of others in Goethe's works, looks backward and forward. It is part of the organism of the play, not merely a link in the chain of this particular conversation. It looks back to the passage: "Und wenn ich ein Nachtwandler wäre, und auf dem gefährlichen Gipfel eines Hauses spazierte, ist es freundschaftlich, mich beim Namen zu rufen und mich zu warnen, zu wecken und zu töten?" When under the somnambule spell the self is so controlled and so

limited in its impressions of the outer world, that it takes the dizzy path with precision ; when wakened from the trance, the self is brought into complete relation to the outer world, and delivered over to its ordinary judgment of the complex of impressions, therefore becomes confused and uncertain and liable to misstep. Whose the responsibility ? His who waked him, or his own ? Certainly more directly his own than that of the warner ; "Ein selbst verfehelter Schritt."

It looks forward to that crisis in Egmont's remarkable career, when in spite of the amplest warnings he goes confidently into Alba's well-laid trap, and is executed, the victim of his misjudgment of men and political movements. Again whose false step, if not his own ?

But Dr. Hollander has other reasons for his very forced interpretation. To ascribe responsibility to Egmont for his misstep, is inconsistent with his fatalism. We might reply, to deny his responsibility, and lay the blame wholly upon Fate, *i. e.*, influences wholly external to himself, as Dr. Hollander seems to understand the term, is to destroy the last vestige of dramatic struggle in the play and degrade it to the level of a pure fate-drama. It is certain that Goethe never intended his spectators and readers to feel that Egmont is not responsible for the rejection of Orange's warnings. He most deliberately rejects that 'fremden Tropfen in seinem Blute' and knowingly seeks the one 'freundliche Mittel' to drive away the cares which Orange's insistent words have caused.

However, 'Schicksal' is not necessarily 'rein äusserlich,' as Dr. Hollander seems to imply. 'Soll ich fallen,' may refer merely to a future possibility, an unexpected eventuality which may nevertheless occur, and does not force us to assume that this fall is to be an act of external fate. There is nothing to exclude 'eigene Schuld' in the assumption of a possible fall.

Philosophically we may be determinists without making the blunder of assuming that human action is wholly conditioned by environment. A person is as much a reality as any lifeless thing, and modifies environment, while at the same time undergoing modification by environment. Human action is always this resultant of personality and environment. Environment, so far as it consists

of inanimate nature, is absolutely determined ; so far as it consists of personal wills, it is in the same category with the personality in question, either free or determined. The student of human affairs, who considers inheritance and early education, and realizes what character and habit imply, will be inclined to believe that all human wills are determined, that freedom is a mere figment of the ordinary uninformed intellect. If we believe that human wills are predetermined in volition by inherited character and the training which a home or a community has forced upon them with or without consent, then all human action must be assumed as determined. The fatalism in Goethe's drama is something of this sort. It does not exclude the subjective element, nor the sense of responsibility for what arises out of the subjective element, though the analytic intellect may judge such responsibility a delusion.

The passages in *Egmont* which give expression to the so-called fatalism of Goethe do not involve pure externality of fate. "O was sind wir Grossen auf der Woge der Menschheit ? Wir glauben sie zu beherrschen, und sie treibt uns auf und nieder, hin und her." Here the regent is expressing a common delusion, that princes govern their peoples, when in reality they have to shift and drift and do what they can, not always what they will. It is the same notion which Egmont entertains of Alba's coming regency. It does not imply fatalism at all. "Wie von unsichtbaren Geistern gepeitscht, gehen die Sonnenpferde der Zeit mit unseres Schicksals leichtem Wagen durch ; und uns bleibt nichts als mutig gefasst die Zügel festzuhalten und bald rechts, bald links, vom Steine hier, vom Sturze da, die Räder wegzulenken." A measure of directive power is left to the individual after all. "Es glaubt der Mensch sein Leben zu leiten, und sein Innerstes wird unwiderstehlich nach seinem Schicksale gezogen." Egmont does not say, and can not and dare not say, 'drawn by external fate.' When Ferdinand says : "Du hast dich selber getötet," Egmont admits, "Ich war gewarnt."

The fate which leads Egmont to ruin is *his own character*. If such a character makes a false step and plunges into ruin, it is certainly 'ein selbst verfehelter Schritt' and we can not make it otherwise by referring to the 'demonic element.' The

demonic element is just this unanalyzable self, this character, this personality, which seems to itself so free, and yet is so bound by its own nature that it works out its own destiny in incalculable ways in union with environment.

It is difficult to see either the 'unspeakable prosiness' of this conception, or a descent from the 'sublime to the ridiculous.'

With respect to the third passage, I fear that Dr. Hollander injects too much subtle meaning into it. Egmont is not talking statecraft or moral philosophy with Klärchen. When the latter refers to Egmont's relations to the regent she is in all probability probing a relationship which Egmont himself later calls 'Freundschaft, die fast Liebe war.' When Egmont declares that the regent always seeks 'Geheimnisse hinter seinem Betragen,' whereas he has none, she asks teasingly (with reference to Egmont's love for herself), 'so gar keine?' He replies, taking her cue: "Eh nun! Einen kleinen Hinterhalt." If this refers to Egmont's love for Klärchen, which is not worn on his sleeve for daws to peck at, then the 'Weinstein' passage does not require such subtle analysis. The meaning must not be beyond the intellectual reach of Klärchen. The simplest interpretation might prove the best. Every individual, in the course of time, enters into various private relations which are nobody else's business. They are the peculiar deposits of the individual's life. Goethe was usually rather fortunate in his use of comparisons, and was well enough acquainted with wine to distinguish between crystals and dregs. The formation of 'Weinstein' does not make the wine 'trübe,' and so the new interpretation rests upon the gratuitous assumption of ignorance on Goethe's part.

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A LATIN COUNTERPART OF THE ST. LÉGER STROPHE

The poem of *St. Léger*, which is supposed to have been written at Autun (Saône-et-Loire) in the last part of the tenth century, consists, as we know, of strophes of six octosyllabic lines which

rhyme or assonance two by two ($\frac{8}{aabbcc}$). The musical notation which accompanies it in its single manuscript, and its own expressions also, shows that it was composed for singing.¹ In terms of Latin prosody the verse is iambic dimeter. As a matter of fact, the line presents a regular alternation of unaccented and accented syllables, exception being made for the two lines which begin with "Domine Deu."²

Now, because the poem was sung, and also because its nature is religious and hortatory, there is every reason to suppose it was patterned on a model furnished it by some Latin hymn. That the records of Latin hymnology may not have yet disclosed any exact prototype would not constitute any serious objection to this view.³ For already in the seventh century the Bangor antiphony (about 690) knew a hymn which corresponds quite closely to *St. Léger*, composed as it is of strophes of six octosyllabic lines in monorhyme, with a refrain of two similar lines.⁴ Wilhelm

¹ We would recall the words of the first strophe:

Domine Deu devemps lauder
Et a sos sanz honor porter.
In su amor cantomps del sanz
Quae por lui augrent granz aanz.
Et or es temps et si est biens
Quae nos cantomps de sant Lethgier.

Graphically this particular strophe would read

uouuouu, uouuouu, etc.

But in the larger number of strophes the first line agrees rhythmically with the other five:

uouuouu,

so that we would have here an example of what J. B. Beck calls the second form of the first modus (*Die Melodien der Troubadours*, p. 116).

² See note 1. This was not Gaston Paris' opinion when he discussed the versification of *St. Léger* in *Romania*, I, pp. 292-296. For at that time he found three different accentual schemes:

uuuuuuu, uuuuuuu,

and rarely

uouuouu.

It is this third scheme, considered least frequent by Paris, which seems to me the standard.

³ Gaston Paris (*l. c.*) says indeed that there are such models, but fails to cite them. My own reading has been too restricted to be relied upon.

⁴ F. E. Warren, *Antiphony of Bangor* (London, 1895), II, p. 37. The first strophe contains eight octosyllabic lines. I quote the second, which offers the regular form:

Meyer, from whom I took this reference, gives the measure of this hymn as iambic dimeter.⁵ But it does not observe coincidence of quantity and accent. On the other hand, it consistently reveals four accents to a line in both strophe and refrain, and we might therefore infer a rhythm made up of an alternation of weak and strong tones, or graphically 02020202, a rhythm which holds for every strophe. If this inference is correct, the Bangor hymn is not far removed from the tone scheme of *St. Léger*.

Between the end of the seventh century and the end of the tenth there was time and to spare. During this interval we may suppose that devout poets did not fail to write hymns in strophes of six octosyllabic lines with alternation of weak and strong tones. That these compositions were not numerous may be argued from their absence from many standard collections, though this absence may be due to accident only and not to any lack of popularity. But to go further and assume the existence of strophes divided, as the *St. Léger* strophe is, into groups of lines rhyming together, requires more proof than mere correspondence in length of strophe and verse accentuation would furnish. And it is for the purpose of strengthening the general assumption that *St. Léger* had a Latin model that I would call attention to a Latin strophe of like structure and of the same approximate date.

In the year 997 Gerbert, archbishop of Rheims, sent a copy of Boethius' *Arithmetica* to Otto III, the young emperor of Germany. With the volume went also some verse of Gerbert's own. Otto answered the gift with a letter and the archbishop's poetry with a stanza, in which he regrets his deficient training in poetical composition, a deficiency which he promises to atone for in the near future :

Amavit Christus Comgillum,
Bene et ipse Dominum
Carum habuit Beognoum
Domnum ornavit Aedeum,
Elegit sanctum Sinlanum
Famosum mundi magistrum.

Refrain : Quos convocavit Dominus
Coelorum regni sedibus.

⁵ *Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, I, p. 221 ; also Gröber, *Grundriss*, II, p. 112.

Versus numquam composui,
Nec in studio habui.
Dum in usu habuero,
Et in eis viguero,
Quot habet viros Gallia,
Tot vobis mittam carmina.⁶

In number of lines to the strophe, in number of syllables to the line and in the arrangement of rhymes Otto's maiden attempt, as we see, is a strict counterpart to the framework of *St. Léger*. Of course there is this difference that Otto's verse was to be read and not sung. And because it was to be read, perhaps, the accentual scheme seems to vary. For the first four lines it would be 20200200, for the last two 20020200 or 02020200,⁷ it being understood that the signs mean accented and unaccented syllables respectively, and not long and short. Now this very variation in the accents of the stanza is a proof of the care with which Otto counted his syllables. They remain the same in number throughout, whatever changes of accents the lines undergo. Otto's model is not known. It could not be one of Gerbert's strophes, for they are metrical. But his model must have resembled, in all essentials, the model of the *St. Léger*, and both models probably belonged to the same period.

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PETER BUCHAN AND *IT WAS A' FOR OUR RIGHTFU' KING*

In commenting on Burns's Jacobite song, *It Was A' for Our Rightfu' King*, the editors of the Centenary Edition of Burns's poetry write as follows :

"The facsimile of the ms. of this noble and moving lyric was published in Scott Douglas's Edinburgh Edition ; and in stanza v, line 3, there is a deleted reading—'Upon my abs'—showing that Burns changed the line in the

⁶ J. Havet, *Lettres de Gerbert* (Paris, 1889), p. 172.

⁷ Undoubtedly Otto followed the same model as *St. Léger*. For were his strophe to be sung, the lines would show four accents :

20200202 and 20020202
or
02020202.

process of copying out. Apart from this, the touch of the master, either as marker or as editor and vamer, is manifest throughout. Yet Hogg, in his *Jacobite Relics*, gravely informs you that 'it is said to have been written by Captain Ogilvie,' of Invergubarity, who fought for James VII at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690.¹ Who said it? or when and where was it said? All that Hogg leaves to the imagination. It was certainly not said by either Burns or Johnson (who must have known; for there is no earlier copy than that which was written by Burns, and published in the *Museum*). We can scarce go wrong in assuming that Hogg's informant was Peter Buchan. Now, neither Hogg nor Buchan knew that Burns had sent the thing to the *Museum*. Moreover, his name had never been associated with it. Thus, the ingenious Buchan, still bent on fathering everything on somebody, had full scope for his idiosyncrasy. . . . Moreover, Hogg's statement, not only lacks the thinnest shadow of corroboration, but is demonstrably false; for the song in the *Museum* is modelled on the same originals as *A Red Red Rose*²; and these, as we have seen, trace back to the blackletter *Unkind Parents*, published, as Mr. Ebsworthe points out

(*Roxburghe Ballads*, vii. 554), before Captain Ogilvie could ever have 'turn'd him right and round about Upon the Irish shore.'"³

The rest of the note in the *Centenary* deals with the relations between Burns's lyric and the chap-book ballad *Mally Stewart*, and shows clearly the use Burns made of the earlier song.

The passage in this note to which I wish to call attention, is that which ascribes to Peter Buchan the "fathering" of the song upon Captain Ogilvie. This ascription, I am convinced, is quite unwarranted, for if Buchan had ever thought of Ogilvie in this connection, he could hardly have failed to make some reference to him in the notes to the song, a version of which is among the unpublished pieces in the Harvard University, *Buchan Ms.* no. 25241. 10. 5.⁴ Neither this redaction nor Buchan's comment on it has ever been published, so far as I can ascertain. I therefore reprint them entire, placing Burns's *Museum* version, the original, parallel.

BUCHAN

It's for our gude an' rightfu' king,
I cross'd fair Scotland's strand;
It's for our gude an' rightfu' king
I e'er saw Irish land, my dear,
I e'er saw Irish land.

Now a' is dane that can be dane,
And a' is dane in vain;
Fareweel my luve an' native land,
Now I maun cross the main, my dear,
Now I maun cross the main.

¹ Hogg's note, vol. i, p. 186, reads as follows: "This song is traditionally said to have been written by a Captain Ogilvie, related to the house of Invergubarity, who was with King James in his Irish Expedition, and was in the battle of the Boyne. He was a brave man, and fell in an engagement on the Rhine." The rest of Hogg's note has no reference to the authorship of the song.

² It is hard to see why the editors drag in these various songs, which surely did contribute to *A Red Red Rose*, as models for *It Was A' for Our Rightfu' King*, when the relationship between the latter and *Mally Stewart*, is, as

BURNS

It was a' for our rightfu' king
We left fair Scotland's strand;
It was a' for our rightfu' king,
We e'er saw Irish land,
My dear—
We e'er saw Irish land.

Now a' is done that men can do,
And a' is done in vain,
My love and Native Land fareweel,
For I maun cross the main,
My dear—
For I maun cross the main.

they point out, much closer. At least, the word "modelled" is misleading.

³ *Centenary*, III. 433. In this connection one is tempted to ask whether, if the *Unkind Parents* was certainly published before Captain Ogilvie reached Ireland, he might not have used it as a model, supposing him, for the moment, to have written the song?

⁴ This ms. contains material which Buchan published as *Ancient Ballads and Songs of the North of Scotland*, 2 vols., Edinburgh, 1828, and a number of pieces which he withheld from the press.

He turn'd his high horse head about
 All on the Irish shore ;
 An' gae the bridal reins a shake,
 Says,—Adieu for evermore, my dear,
 Says,—Adieu for evermore.

Now sodgers frae the wars return,
 An' sailors frae the main ;
 But I maun part wi' my true love,
 Nae mair to meet again, my dear,
 Nae mair to meet again.

Fan day is gane, an night is come,
 An' a fa'in fast asleep ;
 I maun spend my silent hours
 For my true love to weep, my dear,
 For my true love to weep.⁵

Buchan's note is as follows :

"This beautiful ballad I took down from the recitation of old James Ranken, who had learned it in his early years. My reason for particularizing the reciter of this ballad more than any of the others is, that since it was taken down, I have found a copy of it very much alike, in the notes to Canto third of *Rokeby*, a Poem,⁷ from which some people might have imagined I had copied it. The author of *Rokeby*, Walter Scott, Esq., now Sir Walter Scott, seems to think this ballad relates to the fortunes of some follower of the Steuart family. How far the worthy baronet is right, I will not pretend to say. Everyone has a right to judge, though not condemn, as he pleases."⁸

The existence of this "Rankinized" version of Burns's song,—for there can be no doubt, I believe, that the stanzas Rankin recited are simply clumsily disguised plagiarisms,⁹—and of

⁵ Buchan ms., p. 729.

⁶ *Centenary*, III, 182.

⁷ This is Burns's song, of which Scott seems unconsciously to have lifted four lines. He printed the entire song in his notes. See the Oxford edition of Scott's poems, p. 394.

⁸ Buchan ms., Notes, p. 219.

⁹ If one were inclined to believe in the genuineness of the version which Buchan himself later came to suspect, a fact indicated by his suppressing the song when he published his two volumes in 1828, I should point out to him (1) that the song does not appear in print till Vol. v of the *Museum* was published, in 1796, before which time no one seems to have dreamed of its existence; (2) that the differences between the two versions in stanza 3, line 1, and in stanza 5, lines 1 and 2, indicate pretty

He turn'd him right and round about
 Upon the Irish shore,
 And gae his bridle reins a shake,
 With adieu for evermore,
 My dear—
 And adieu for evermore!

The sodger frae the war returns,
 The sailor frae the main,
 But I hae parted frae my love
 Never to meet again,
 My dear—
 Never to meet again.

When day is gane, and night is come,
 And a' folk bound to sleep,
 I think on him that's far awa
 The lee-lang night, and weep,
 My dear—
 The lee-lang night and weep.⁶

Buchan's note, is interesting, since it relieves Buchan of responsibility for the Ogilvie myths. He will not "even pretend to say" whether or not the song refers to the fortunes of the Stuarts; had he dreamed of foisting the lyric upon the unfortunate cavalier, surely he would not have written as he did in his ms.

As a matter of fact, Buchan does not seem to have been guilty of intentional misrepresentation concerning the songs and ballads he published. James Rankine, the blind beggar whom he hired as collector, was notoriously untrustworthy, and occasionally deceived his employer. But Buchan intended to be honest. James Hogg, on the other hand, delighted in deception; his *Jacobite Relics* are full of egregious misstatements. To him we may safely look as the author of the Ogilvie legend, but not to Peter Buchan, whose name the editors of the *Centenary Burns* seem pleased to connect with Hogg's.

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clearly that Burns's version is the older. In these lines Burns was using, quite characteristically, the ordinary language of the popular ballads. (For examples of "turning right and round about" see *Young Hunting*, A, 16; *Willie and Lady Maissy*, B, 15; *Johnie Scot*, A, 14; *James Harris*, F, 3; for parallels to the other lines referred to consult Prof. Child's list of commonplaces.) The changes must have been made for the purpose of disguise. Were it necessary, more arguments to the same effect might easily be added.

A MEDITATION UPON DEATH, FOR
THE TOMB OF RALPH, LORD
CROMWELL (C. 1450),
LORD TREASURER
OF ENGLAND

(O Mors, Quam Amara est Memoria Tua)
MS. B. M. Harley, 116, fols. 152b-153b.

fol. 152b]

1

O] deth, hough better ys the mynde of the,
That mover arte of moornynge & of moon ;
Thou myndly myrrour, in whom all olde may see
The ways of youthe, in which thai haue mys-gone.
5 Thou arte the same remembrauncr allone,
Whom all astates and euery lawe degre
With daily diligence owe to awaite vpon,
For when thou clepiste all muste go with the.

2

Nought may preuayle, pompous prosperite,
10 Honour, ne heele, gemme ne precious stone,
Renoun, riches, rent, ne rialte,
For all that euer haue be of fleshe & bone
Thou hast, and wolt consume, not leuyng oon,
Who is alyve that can remembre thee
15 That ar preserued? y finde two allone,
Ennok and Ely, yit shall thai go with the.

3

For in the oure of oure natiuite
Thi subtile entre vs perseth euerychone,
With cleyrn continuell chalenginge thi fe,
20 And euery day we muste waite here vpon,
And while we lyve; yit haue we odir foon,
The feende, the flesh, and worldly vanite,
Cotidiane corasy, continvinge euer in oone,
Oure cely soule vnceasingly to sle.

4

25 Popes and prelates stand in perplexite,
And curyus clarkis, forth with the thai gone,
Crowned conquerours and odir of law degre,
Knyghtly in hir tymes; thou sparith noon,
Marchauntes, men of lawe, all vnder oone,
30 Leches, laborers, fayne wolde fro the fle,
fol. 153a]

Full wyse is he that can thinke her vpon,
And for him selfe provide, who so he be.

5

Beholde this myrrour in thi mynde, & se
This worldis transsitoric Joy that sone is gone,
35 Which in effecte is but aduersite,
And of twey wayes thou nedis must take oone.
Think of fre choise, god hath the lent allone

With witte and reson to reule thi liberte,
Yif thou go mys, odir blame thou none,
40 Thi selfe arte cause of all that grevith the.

6

O ye, that floure in hic felicitie,
For crystes sake remembreth her vpon,
Thenke that as fresh and lusty as ye be,
Er thei wer war, full sodanly haue gone,
45 For odir warnyng in this world is none,
But myude of deth or sore infirmite;
When thou lest wenest, thou shalt be calde vpon,
For of thine houre thou woste no certeinte.

7

This worthi lorde, of very polyce,
50 Sir Raufe lorde Cromwell, remembringe her vpon,
For all his lordshipp and gret stately se
Knowinge, by resoun, of oder rescous none,
For all his castelles & toures hie of stone,
For him, and for my lady, like as ye se,
55 This towmebe prouyded, ayen that thei shall gone,
In gracios oure gode graunte hir passage be!

8

Musc in this mirrour of mortalite,
Bothe olde and yonge, that loken her opon,
Lyfte vp your hertly eie, be-holde and se
60 These same right worthi, restinge vnder the stone,
Deuoutly pray for hem to criste allone 153b]
That gyltles for hir gylte sterfe on a tre,
Hem to preserue from all hir gostely foon,
And send hem pees in perpetuite.

Amen.

Collation of MS. B. M. Cotton, Caligula, A, II,
fols. 55b-56a.¹

1 how. bytter. 2 meure. mornynge. mone. of
[2] om. 3 mynly. old. se. 4 wayes. whych. goon.
5 art. remembrauncer] C. remembrance H. aloon.
6 states (sic). (given as doates in Varnhagen's
text, and naturally "ganz unverständlich"!)
low. 7 dayly. dylygence. weyte. 8 whan. clepest.
goo. 9 pompys ne prosperyte. 10 hele. precyous.
11 ryches. ryalte. 12 For] But C. flesch. 13 wylt.
leugngoos] C. lyvinge H. 14 kan. 15 fynde. but
two aloon. 16 3yt shall they. 17 yn. natuyte.
18 They. sotell. perschet. euerychon. 19 Wyth.
cleyrn] C. clene H. continuell. chalyngyng. py.
20 most. wayte. ther. 21 The whyle. 3yt. we]
om. C. oper. 22 fende. flesch. wordly vanyte.
23 Cotydyane corosy contynuyng euer yn oon.

¹ Printed from Caligula—without knowledge of the
Harley text—by H. Varnhagen in *Anglia* VII, Anzeiger
85.

24 sely. vnseasingly. 25 *and*] *om.* yn. prosperyte.
 26 curyous clerkes. they. 27 low. *oper.* 28 *pat*
 wer ryȝt knyȝtly yn har tyme. spareth non. 29
 oon. 30 labereres. fayn. wold. 31 kan. thenk.
 32 hymself. prouyde. who that. 33 Behold. thys.
 withyn thyself and. 34 Thys. world ys transsi-
 torie. Joye. gou. 35 Which yn. ys. aduersyte.
 36 two wayes. most nedyst. chese oon. 37 choyes.
 lent] yeue. alon. 38 wyt. rule. thy lyberte. 39
 goo mysse. other. non. 40 Thy self. art. *all*,
etc.] thyn ynnyquyte. 41 Oo. yn hye felcycyte.
 42 remembryth. apon. 43 Thenk. *that*] *om.*
 flesch. and] as. lusty folke as ye. 44 they. wher
 war. sodenly. hau. 45 other. yn thys. ys. non.
 46 mynd. yfyrmyte. 47 And whan ye leest wene
 ye way. calde apon. 48 *your* tyme ys sette non
 serteunte. 49-56 C. omits this stanza. 57 Thys.
 myrrour. mortalyte. 58 old. yong. loketh apon.
 59 eye. behold. 60 Thenk all mankend schall
 reste vnder erthe & stone. 61 Therefor I pray
 me. cryste alon. 62 That for our alther gylt deyð
 vpon a tre. 63 Vs. fro. ovr. gostly for. 64 vs.
 yn. perpetuyte. *Amen For charite.*

Note.—There were three Cromwells, father, son, and grandson who bore the Christian name Ralph. Their seat was at Tattershall in Lincolnshire, twelve miles northwest of Boston. The Norman castle was rebuilt by Sir Ralph 3d, in the reign of Henry VI. He likewise erected a lofty tower, with a spiral staircase, four miles to the north of his castle. The reference in line 53 seems therefore to point directly to this baron, who was much the most prominent man of the three, rising to be Treasurer of the Realm. In 17 Henry VI, Lord Cromwell founded the College of Tattershall, an act of piety which may well have commended him to the priestly writer of these lines. Associated with him in this was Judge William Paston (Dugdale, *Monasticon*, ed. 1846, VI, 1432) who was, I have elsewhere tried to show, a patron of Lydgate. This Lydgatean poem, while probably not by the monk, is strongly reminiscent of his work, and apparently influenced by his *Dance of Machabree*.

Sir Ralph's tomb, though not in its original position, and sadly mutilated, is still in the Church of his College. While our poem is the only evidence that the tomb was erected during his life-

time, it is known that his niece's tomb was so erected, from a clause in her will, and from the cutting of the date of her decease. The practice was common. The inscription on Sir Ralph's tomb, half of which is lacking, as one brass plate is gone, reads as follows :

Hic jacet Nobilis Barō Radulphus Cromw
 [ell Miles dñs de Cromwell quōdñ Thesaurarius]
 Anglie et fundator huius Collegii cum inclite
 [Consorte sua Margareta et una hered' dñi dayncourt]
 qui quidm Radulphus obiit quarto die mēs Jan-
 [uarii Anno dñi Milliō CCCC LVō Et p'dict Margareta]
 obiit XVō die mēs Septēbre Anno dñi Milliō CC
 [CC liiii Quor' aiās p'picietur Deus Amen.]

The Caligula text, printed by Varnhagen in *Anglia* years ago, lacks the all-important stanza about the Cromwells, and otherwise alters the poem to admit of a general application. It is evident that the poem in the earlier form was written to hang by the tomb until the inscription should be needed to record the demise of its builders. So far as I know, this is the only specimen in English mediæval literature of this use of poetry. Many of Lydgate's pieces were written to hang before images such as a crucifix, a "Pity," or the like; but none for this purpose. A representation of the Dance of Death may have accompanied the Cromwell poem.

A second unique feature of this poem is its rhyme-scheme a b a b b a b a, with the whole poem written on two rhymes.

I am indebted to the Rev. F. M. Yglesias, rector of Tattershall, for the tomb inscription and other details concerning it.

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Three Philosophical Poets—Lucretius, Dante, and Goethe. (Harvard Studies in Comparative Literature, Vol. I.) By GEORGE SANTAYANA. Harvard University, 1910. Pp. viii + 215.

"Comparative Literature" is a notoriously unhappy term to have been devised (or mistranslated) by reputable scholars, in order to designate the study of the intellectual relations between different peoples. But the name chances

to have a somewhat literal applicability to the volume with which the new series founded by Professor Schofield auspiciously opens. Professor Santayana's book is a contribution rather to literature than to learning. It is a comparison and criticism of three typical criticisms of life, written by a somewhat untechnical and temperamental philosopher who is also a poet and a master of English prose style. The author is, indeed, hardly so innocent of erudition, at least in the section on Dante, as in his preface he modestly gives himself out to be. But 'scholarship' is for Mr. Santayana a means to an end, and a means not to be accumulated beyond the requirements of the end. It is the fruit of reflection, not of research, that he offers. It is, perhaps, not wholly fortunate that the book is published as one of a series of learned works, since it is on that account a little less likely to reach the general public. And though it is a book which no specialist in Lucretius or Dante or Goethe can afford to leave unread, it should appeal also to a far wider circle of readers.

The criticism is by no means impressionistic. It has behind it the matured philosophy of the five volumes of *The Life of Reason*. That philosophy has been described as a humanistic materialism. Primary in it is a radical cleavage between facts and values, reality and human ideals. Nature is an exclusively mechanical system. Yet upon it, or within it, there has somehow supervened a system of values:—the preferences, tastes, rational estimates of good and bad, characteristic of man's mental life. To all natural processes these evaluations are curiously irrelevant; for in his most consistent moments. Mr. Santayana recognizes that even human nature in all its external expressions is but a part of nature, and therefore a part of the cosmic machine; "consciousness" (of which volition is an aspect), he has said, is merely "a lyric cry in the midst of business." Yet it would be too much to expect a mechanistic philosopher who is also a moralist to adhere to the rigor of this doctrine; upon human action his ideals are after all meant to have a bearing, and from the actual make-up of human nature they derive their content. But with respect to external nature, at least, those ideals are wholly autonomous; man is not called upon to feel any promiscuous piety

towards things as they are. Mr. Santayana's own scale of moral and æsthetic values is not such as usually goes with a *realwissenschaftlich*, mechanistic philosophy. With a Democritic metaphysics he combines an Aristotelian ethics—*minus* the residuum of Platonic otherworldliness that survives even in Aristotle. By what he calls "the illusion of progress," Mr. Santayana does not suffer himself to be deceived; and for the romantic restlessness and the romantic sentimental egoism his aversion is extreme. His notion of the good is of an essentially static and quasi-æsthetic sort:—a life lived liberally and filled with interests in objective ends and impersonal values, but lived also with restraint and discipline, with a certain Greek sense of the limitations of human existence, and without illusions about oneself or humanity or the universe.

To what the Germans would call "moments" in his philosophy, Mr. Santayana's three poets correspond; and Lucretius and Dante, at least, represent "positive" as well as "negative moments." Lucretius is the poet who more nearly than any other faced nature as it is:—not nature as a collection of landscapes or as an excuse for the pathetic fallacy, but nature in its causes and its total sweep—and thus in its nakedness, its vastness, and its alienness to the wistful hopes and sentiments of men. Thus to see nature in its truth was to see something of at least the negative side of human life in its truth. But "Lucretius' notion of what is positively worth while or attainable is very meagre." Dante, on the other hand, has a profoundly false conception of reality, since his universe is built up by conceiving ideal values as furnishing both the general framework and the origin of the world of facts. But though his philosophy "was not a serious description of nature or evolution, it was a serious judgment upon them." His ethical discernment, half Aristotelian in its sources, was, it is true, much vitiated by Platonistic mysticism, by a Hebraic excess of wrath against individuals, and by a desire—which is perhaps an idol of the tribe—to visit upon moral folly retributions other than its own intrinsic consequences. Yet in the realm of moral values he remains a great master—"the master of those who know by experience what is worth knowing by experience."

Goethe's *Faust*, however, seems to represent

chiefly (not quite exclusively) a "negative moment" in the critic's philosophy. At the outset, indeed, some very handsome and not unsympathetic things are said of the poet and his masterpiece; but the sequel compels one to suspect that these eulogies are a little perfunctory. Thus we are told that "Goethe was the wisest of mankind, too wise, perhaps, to be a philosopher in the technical sense." Yet we presently find an explicit philosophy, an "official moral," attributed to the *Faust*; and we are pretty plainly told that 'wisdom' is precisely what that philosophy most conspicuously lacks. The poet's hero, whose story is confessedly a sort of spiritual autobiography told in allegory, is represented as incapable of learning even the most elementary wisdom from any amount of experience,—the wisdom of the Delphic γνῶθι σαυτόν, the knowledge of the natural limitations of man's lot and of his powers and legitimate desires. A vast acquaintance with the raw material of life it is admitted that Goethe had, and a frequent episodic sagacity about the incidents of it. But in its general character the career of Faust is "a career of folly"; and, however joyfully the angelic hosts may sing over the final *Erlösung* of the hero, from folly he remains (in Mr. Santayana's eyes) unredeemed at the end. Accordingly, as philosopher and moralist Goethe is ranked the lowest of the three poets. In *Faust* we have merely the undigested elements of the life of reason—"the turbid flux of sense, the cry of the heart, the first tentative notions of art and science." For the ideal of the poem, as construed by Mr. Santayana, is the ideal of keeping moving for motion's sake, of pursuing ever new experiences, not, perhaps, without regard to their relative intensities, but quite without regard to their rational significance. Doubtless Faust *immer strebend sich bemüht*; but he does not strive anywhither in particular, nor does he, by all his striving, ever gain or seek to gain any radical transformation of his own character or "any revolution in his fortunes, as if in heaven he were going to be differently employed than on earth." How Faust will eventually conduct himself even in heaven, Mr. Santayana predicts, in a delightfully witty passage too long to quote. Faust's last act on earth, at all events—the culmination (as Mr. Santayana might aptly have

quoted from Eckermann) of what Goethe considered *eine immer höhere und reinere Tätigkeit bis ans Ende*—is, as the critic notes, a piece of cowardly rascality slightly mitigated by hypocrisy. The hero, as Eckermann tells us that the poet did not deny, behaved at the last very much after the fashion of King Ahab—who has not commonly passed for an ideal type of human nature.

Mr. Santayana's lecture on Goethe is thus an incident in the assault upon romanticism now going briskly forward in many quarters. But to treat *Faust* as a sort of Bible of sentimental romanticism is a somewhat paradoxical thing. The "official moral" which the critic finds in the play is not only different from, it is almost the contrary of, the moral conventionally drawn. On the ground of his dying speech Faust is often represented as making an edifying end in the character of a utilitarian philanthropist, finding his own happiness chiefly in his prevision of the happiness of humanity to which his labors are to contribute. (Faust's last words can, in fact, be closely paralleled from the biography of—Jeremy Bentham!) The hero has come down to earth, he has learned through experience the vanity of unbounded desires and unchastened passions, has come to find his ideal in controlled will and in creative work within the normal limits of human action. Not so does Mr. Santayana read the *haec fabula docet*. He finds that the old man's interest in the future generations of industrious burghers who are to dwell behind his leaky dykes is still "a masterful, irresponsible interest. . . . He calls the thing he wants for others good because he now wants to bestow it on them, not because they naturally want it for themselves." "He would continue, if life could last, doing things that in some respects he would be obliged to regret; but he would banish that regret easily, in the pursuit of some new interest, and on the whole, he would not regret having been obliged to regret them."

If *Faust* is to be taken (as Mr. Santayana takes it) as a self-contained whole, in abstraction from all the rest of Goethe and from the results of all recent *Faust*-analysis, this account of its general spirit and ethical import seems to me as defensible as any other, and more defensible than the usual school-book version of its moral. But

of course the play ought not so to be taken—though to say this is to say, what is the fact, that the poet's selection of incident and allegorical material even in the Second Part fails to convey coherently and unequivocally any one, consistent, philosophical conception. The teaching of Goethe cannot so simply be read off from the actual behavior of his hero as can the teaching of Lucretius or Dante from their directly didactic and incomparably better unified poems. His dominant idea repeatedly disguised itself in the form of similar but essentially distinct ideas. Yet, of course, a dominant idea is there; and through it Goethe helped bring about a species of *Umwertung aller Werte* which most minds that have learned much from the past century's reflection have accepted, but to which Mr. Santayana seemingly remains irreconcilable. It consists of an apotheosis of the notion of becoming, of a conviction that the ultimate values of existence lie not in the goal but in the process and in the inner experiences which accompany it, of a hatred of that finality and *αἰράνεια* which, in one way or another, most Greek ethics conceived as the supreme good. These are matters about which philologists presumably do not much concern themselves, and they need not, therefore, be discussed here. But it is pertinent to point out that a conscious and reflective adoption of these 'romantic' ideals is quite a different thing from a childlike immersion in the "turbid flux of sense"—a fact which Mr. Santayana hardly sufficiently notes. To have the same sort of mystical feeling, and even austere devotion, towards "striving" and the *vereilender Wert* of every-day human experience that Dante had towards the timeless, incomprehensible abstraction of *l'eterno valore* (surely a far less rational thing to feel mystically about)—this is far from equivalent to being merely limited to "life in its immediacy." And it was this transfiguration of the immediate which was characteristic of Goethe, not the sort of simple-hearted restriction to the immediate which Mr. Santayana often seems to ascribe to him. The reader of much of the chapter on Goethe might easily suppose that poet to be characterized chiefly by a sort of barbaric *naïveté*. But, whatever else Goethe was, he was not *naïf*; nor is it through *naïveté* that the modern world has so

largely come to a certain way of thinking about the nature of good and the nature of things, which the author of *Faust* confusedly foreshadowed.

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Eructavit. An Old French Metrical Paraphrase of Psalm XLIV, published from all the known manuscripts and attributed to Adam de Perseigne, by T. ATKINSON JENKINS. Dresden, Max Niemeyer, 1909. 8vo., xlv + 128 pp. (Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur, Band 20.)

In undertaking a critical edition of the old French poem *Eructavit*, Professor Jenkins has chosen a task which presents many difficulties. An anonymous work, containing a far-fetched exposition of the forty-fourth Psalm of the Vulgate, and possessing little literary value, it is interesting as one of the few literary texts written in the eastern dialect. But as not one of the fourteen manuscripts in which it is preserved was written in the original dialect of the author, a reconstruction of the text was the most important duty of an editor, and in this reconstruction Professor Jenkins has shown commendable judgment.

The poem affords only slight evidence of the date and place of writing. The allusions to "ma dame de Champagne" (v. 3) and to "la jantis suer le roi de France" (v. 2079) are beyond doubt addressed to that famous patroness of literature, Marie de Champagne, the sister of Philip Augustus (1179-1223). That the author was an ecclesiastic is a certainty, that he wrote the paraphrase when Marie was mourning for the death of her husband (1181) is made probable by the fact that the psalm on which it is based was used in church services not only on Christmas morning, as noted by the author (vv. 15 ff.), but also on the Festival of Mary Magdalene, the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, the Commemoration of the Virgin, and the Blessing of the Vestments of Widows, according to the Westminster Missal,¹ which was

¹ *Missale ad usum ecclesie Westmonasteriensis*, ed. J. W. Legg (Henry Bradshaw Society), fasc. I, 58; II, 873, 1096; III, 1322; II, 1208; III, 1671.

in all probability similar to that used in the entourage of a court which had such close relations with that of England. The editor has rejected (xi) with good reason the conjecture that because St. Pierre-le-Vif at Sens is mentioned in connection with the apostles to France, Savinian and Potentian, the writer was connected with that monastic foundation. The *Acta* of these twin saints—descendants of the Dioscuri—composed not earlier than the beginning of the eleventh century,² would have had its intended effect anywhere in the sees forming part of the archbishopric for whose benefit it was forged by the end of the twelfth century, in substituting their apostolate to France for that of St. Martin, found in the earliest apostolic catalogues. In following the *Acta*, one of the sources of the poem not considered by the editor, the author has not made other radical divergences from it. St. James still appears as the apostle to Syria (vv. 793-4); the tradition of his apostolate to Spain, due to a Spanish forger,³ which was to play such a part in French epic poetry of the following century, is evidently quite unknown to him. But to attribute the poem to Adam de Perseigne is simply a conjecture. There is no internal evidence in its support, and if one considers the other testimony adduced it should be noted that the connection of Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the half-brother of Marie (xiv, xvi), could have only been official, when Adam is named "confessor noster" in two charters granted to the abbey of Perseigne in 1198 by the king,⁴ as the latter is said by the Coggeshall Chronicle⁵ not to have taken communion for seven years before his death in 1199.

In connection with the plea of the author for a more humane treatment of the Jews (x), it is to be noted that the legend of Isaiah's martyrdom by sawing, which was not so well known in the Middle Ages as is implied by Professor Jenkins (106), had a rabbinical source. The first part of the legend has a close verbal similarity to the

version in the *Historia scholastica*⁶ of Petrus Comestor († 1179), which might well have been known to the French author, since as early as 1195 Hugh Pudsey, Bishop of Durham, left to the church of Durham an "Abbreviatio scholasticæ Historiæ."⁷ But the *Historia* does not contain any suggestion of the episode told in the verses:

En cele angoisse ou il estoit
Quant li soierre s'arestoit,
Prist le prophete une granz sois;
Mais por ce que li cuiverz rois
Ne soffri qu'an li donast boivre,
Deu commança a ramantoivre.
Par cez paroles le proia
Et Damedés li anvoia
Un fil d'iaue devers le ciel,
Sœf et douce come miel.
Si tost comme il l'ot avalee
Si en fu l'ame a Deu alee (2111-2122);

which evidently had as its source the anecdote given as a supplement to Comestor's account by Higden in his *Polychronicon*:

Tradunt Hebraei quod dum Isayas extra Jerusalelem juxta fontem Siloae secaretur, petivit aquam sibi dari, qua non concessa, Deus de coelo misit aquam in os ejus, et sic expiravit.⁸

The ultimate authority for this anecdote was a Latin compilation, resembling in many respects the *Historia*, of which it was one of the main sources as it was of the biblical poem of Macé de la Charité⁹ and of other works.¹⁰ This compilation was probably written by a Christian in Champagne, where Troyes was the centre of Jewish rabbinical studies in the twelfth century,¹¹ and where, since the beginning of the same century, there had been friendly intercourse between Jew-

⁶ Migne, *Patrol. lat.*, cxcviii, 1414.

⁷ *Publications of the Surtees Society*, II, *Wills and Inventories*, 4. The earliest copy in a French collection is that entered in the catalogue of Corbie, made c. 1200 (Delisle, *Bibl. de l'Ecole des Chartes*, S. 5, I, 506; on date see 395).

⁸ Ed. Lumby, III, 76. The editor (xi) does not suggest its source.

⁹ Cf. G. Paris, *Hist. litt. de la France*, xxviii, 209, 214.

¹⁰ I have discussed at length in a study of another rabbinical story, found in Occidental literature, the contents, sources, and use made of this hypothetical work. It will appear in an early number of the *Zeit. f. rom. Philologie*.

¹¹ Renan and Neubauer, *Hist. litt.*, xxvii, 434-444, 475 ff., 482.

² L. Duchesne, *Bulletin critique*, XIII, 121 ff.

³ Duchesne, *Annales du Midi*, XII, 145 ff.

⁴ *Cartulaire de l'abbaye Cistercienne de Perseigne*, 43, 81; cf. *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, etc., ed. J. H. Round, I, 363, n. 2.

⁵ Ed. Stevenson, 96; cf. Ramsay, *The Angevin Empire*, 366, n. 1.

ish savants and the Christian clergy.¹² And it is better to attribute to this source the author's inspiration for making Isaiah the author of the *Gloria Patri*, than to the *Ascensio Isaiae*, which was unknown to the Occident for so many centuries.

In the study of the language (xxxv ff.) there are points which call for comment. It was a wise plan to follow the arrangement made by Foerster in the Introduction to the *Cligès*, but in speaking of the distinction between *e* and *ē* (6), so evident in the rhyme, it would have been better, instead of stating that it was contrary to Chrétien's usage, to note that the *Eructavit* is another text to be added to those noted by Foerster¹³ as making this distinction. In *hom, hon*, 947, 1651, the word is a substantive, and *om, on* represents *ō*, while *an, en* represents *ē*, the indefinite *on* and the two sounds should not be treated under the same heading (4). The development of *e + J* into *oi* as well as into *i* is not so remarkable as the editor states (8, 16a), but is a common double development in the south-eastern French dialects. For the same reason, the statement (21): "As *e + i* > *i* it is reasonable to infer that tonic *proie*, *proient* presuppose pretonic *proier* (not *preier* nor *prier*)" is questionable. It is better to accept the evidence of different manuscripts which give the double development in which the pretonic forms whose endings are tonic have been formed on analogy with the stem-accented forms.

More noteworthy than *ou* for *o* in A (11) is the development of an *i* before a palatal in *toiviche* and *bouiviche*, a peculiarity which also appears in *boiviche* and *toiviche* of E. *Fuer : cuer : defuer* by the side of *fors* (17) is too general a phenomenon to be noted as a dialectic peculiarity. The cause of the rhyme *cuide : homicide* (18) might be mentioned: the shifting of the accent to the second part of the diphthong. The rhymes *fil : peril : fil : essil* are noticeable, as elsewhere *l'* rhymes only with itself.

Upon the difference between the cithara and the psalterium and their symbolism in the church fathers, the editor (p. 97) has failed to use an

informing note in van Hamel's edition of *Les Lamentations de Matheolus*.¹⁴ For further confirmation of Professor Jenkins's conjecture (99; *Romania*, xxxix, 83-6) that the author's use of *melite* (Malta) with the sense "place of safety," "salvation from sin," was a reminiscence of the second book of the *De actibus apostolorum* of Arator, one has only to remember that this work was held up as a model of Christian composition, praised or pilfered from by a succession of writers, beginning with Fortunatus and ending with Roger Bacon.¹⁵ Copies of it were very common in medieval libraries,¹⁶ where it was sometimes found separate,¹⁷ sometimes together with other Christian poets, Prudentius, Sedulius, Prosper and Juvenius;¹⁸ and more rarely with primary books of instruction such as Cato, Avianus and Theodulus.¹⁹ Its appearance in such collections as at least the latter is explained by the oft-repeated commendation of its use as a textbook, which was first given it in the twelfth century, the date also of glosses on it, probably written in France, where it was most generally known.²⁰ If several copies of the work are found in some monastic libraries,²¹ it was because they were doubtless loaned as copies of other elementary school books to the students of the monastic school.²² Manitius's observation that

¹⁴ Vol. II, 154-5, 263.

¹⁵ M. Manitius, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, I, 166-7, 190, 349, 424, 509, 580, 602, 618; cf. Ebert, *Lit. d. Mittelalters*, II, 70, n., 132; III, 115, 498, n.

¹⁶ Manitius, 167.

¹⁷ G. Becker, *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui*, 3, 41, 52, 131, 133, 141, 142, 152, 174, 175, 186, 192, 197, 208, 227, 229, 242, 252, 275.

¹⁸ Becker, *op. cit.*, 13, 28, 76, 81, 131, 134, 152, 191, 203, 249; M.-R. James, *The Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover*, 42, 367, 487.

¹⁹ Becker, 62, 70, 249; Hamilton, *Modern Philology*, VII, 178.

²⁰ Manitius, 167. That the third book of the *Labyrinthus* in which the work of Arator is commended as a school-book (59-60) was not due to the authorship of Evrard de Béthune (Manitius, *l. c.*; Jenkins, *Rom.*, xxxix, 84, n.) has been pointed out a number of times (Hamilton, *op. cit.*, 176).

²¹ Becker, *op. cit.*, 123; James, *op. cit.*, 9, 364.

²² Ingulphus, *Historia Croylandensis* in Gale, *Rerum Anglicarum Scriptorum Veterum*, Tom. 1, 104-5: "Pro minoribus autem libris, scilicet Psalteriis, Donatis, Catinibus, et similibus Poeticis, ac quaternis de Cantu ad pueros et cognatos Monachorum accomodandis etiam

¹² D. Kaufmann, *Jubelschrift zum 90. Geburtstag des Dr. L. Zunz*, 147 ff.; *Rev. des études juives*, XVIII, 131-3.

¹³ *Zeit. f. rom. Philologie*, xxviii, 508; and now xxxv, 477, n. 3.

outside of the episcopal libraries, copies were generally to be found in Benedictine cloisters, almost never in the foundation of the Cistercian and other orders, is an indication of the status of the author, useless as a criterion in the case of Adam de Perseigne, who was a Benedictine before becoming a Cistercian. Longinus is not mentioned in *John*, xix, 34 (101), and since the editor has credited his author with an acquaintance with the *Evangelium Nicodemi* (xxii-xxiii, 98), why has he not found the source of the two verses (1249-1250):

Quant il atocha au costé
Dont Longis ot le fer osté

in the verses of the apocryphal work, "Accipiens autem Longinus miles lanceam aperuit latus eius,"²³ although the name "Longis" and the legend in regard to it were very common in medieval French literature.

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JOSEPH WIEHR, *Hebbel und Ibsen in ihren Anschauungen verglichen*. Thesis Presented to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania. Stuttgart, 1908. 183 pp., 8°.

This thesis seeks to compare the ethical, sociological, and psychological views of Ibsen and Hebbel as the author gathers them from the dramas of both poets and from the diaries and letters of Hebbel. The rich Ibsen "Nachlasz"

Cantori et Custodi almariorum cuicumque prohibemus districtius sub inobedientiae poena ne saltem sine licentia Prioris ultra unum diem alicui accommodentur aut tradantur." This passage only appears in this edition of a chronicle, of which the authenticity is more than dubious. It is not found in the only extant manuscript, which was the source of Savile's and Birch's editions (see *Rer. Angl. Scriptores post Bedam*, MDXCVI, fol. 519 vers.), as has been pointed out to me by my friend Professor E. K. Rand. The passage has not been traced to its source, nor has an analogous monastic practise been noted (J. W. Clark, *Care of Books*, 64-75), but it has an independent value as denoting the contemporary practise of the fifteenth century, when the forgery was written.

²³ Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*, 2d. ed., p. 362.

which has modified our views of the poet considerably had not at the time appeared. Under the headings of Weltanschauung; Stellung zur Religion; Sittlichkeit; Staat, Gesellschaft, Individuum; Die Frau und die Ehe, he seeks to formulate the affinities and divergences of these two great thinkers and writers of the nineteenth century. Verbosity and a strong and annoying tendency to irrelevance frequently cloud the issue. The conclusion, as stated in general terms is: "In den Anschauungen Hebbels und Ibsens finden wir eine weitgehende Uebereinstimmung, doch wo dieselbe fehlt, treffen wir in der Regel auf einen absoluten Gegensatz" (p. 174). W. shows that basically the view of life of the two dramatists is identical: a conception of a dualistic world, in which a continual struggle is being waged between the "All" and the individual (pp. 25 ff.). Both looked upon the present state of society pessimistically, but hoped for a betterment of conditions in the future. They differed radically, however, in the method of procedure. This in Ibsen's case was a revolutionary attack on social conditions, which he depicted as unmitigatedly wrong and in need of immediate change. Hebbel, on the other hand, from the vantage ground of his "zauberkräftige Formel" (p. 8), saw the cause and justification of both the convention and the attack. Confusing in this connection is W.'s statement (p. 20) "dasz er (Hebbel) soziale Umstände nicht als berechtigte Gegenmacht ansieht," a cryptic remark not substantiated by any examples. Moreover, W. goes too far when he says: "Ibsen war selbst zu sehr Partei und stellte sich, wenigstens in seinen sozialen Dramen, mit Entschiedenheit auf die Seite der Gegner des Bestehenden" (p. 65). Ibsen criticises not only the social conventions which are the object of attack but also the critics who attack them. And if we may well say with W. that Hebbel "es zuwege brachte, allen Parteien recht zu geben" (p. 65), we may say of Ibsen that he shows all sides to be in the wrong. W.'s failure to perceive this leads him into unnecessary and wearisome disquisitions on the fallacies of Nora, Helene Alving, etc., whom he seems to regard as Ibsen's ideals of what human beings should be. A study of Anzengruber's *Pfarrer von Kirchfeld* might have shown W. the differ-

ence between an author who really champions one side of a problem and a critic of the whole of life like Ibsen. W. might then not have stigmatized the source of *Puppenheim*, as given by Brandes, as a "kümmerliche Alltagsgeschichte" (p. 159). For the artist who chose the attic-studio of Helmer Ekdal for loving description, such a term hardly exists.

W. shows that, as time went on, Ibsen became more revolutionary in his attacks on society, Hebbel growing less aggressive. For this amelioration of feeling on the part of Hebbel, W. kindly supplies the personal motive that as society began to smile upon the poet, he became its advocate (pp. 90 f.). In discussing the two poets' attitude on the question of the freedom of the will, W. makes a good distinction. Hebbel he shows to be a determinist (though with occasional contradictions), his characters all obeying an "absolute necessity," while Ibsen's people are "unfrei," being under the pressure of conventions, circumstances, the will of others (pp. 48 ff.). As to their position towards women, W. concludes that Hebbel never and Ibsen only at one period of his life favored the "emancipation" of woman, but that both agreed in demanding for her recognition as an individual (p. 146 f.). This statement is only partially satisfactory. As Woerner has shown, Ibsen was the culmination and Hebbel, with Kleist, the transition of a movement which began with the Romanticists and which revolutionized the conventional attitude towards the "sex-war," the evolution of the "grande amoureuse" of the past into the modern comrade of man (Woerner, II, p. 257). Moreover, it is necessary here to distinguish between the theoretical words of a writer and his literary creations. Kleist presented in his *Nathalie* a person far superior to his conception of women as we see it in his letters. Here, eighteenth century thinking and nineteenth century feeling were at war. The same is sometimes true of Hebbel. He claims far more for *Mariamne* and *Rhodope* as regards independence of action and demands for recognition, than many of his utterances in the diaries and letters would suggest.

Of a number of errors and hasty conclusions, a few of the more disturbing are: the confusion of *Gyges* and *Kandaules* in the discussion of Hebbel's *Gyges und sein Ring* (p. 65 and again p. 88).

To claim that Ibsen invented the "returning traveller or newly arrived stranger for the purpose of exposition" (p. 17) sounds a bit innocent. We need but think of *Hamlet* where Horatio's return serves this purpose. To say that Ibsen's drama has had but slight influence on the literary productivity of England (p. 16) is to wipe out of existence almost all of the modern English drama: Bernard Shaw as well as Jones and Pinero. The firstnamed freely acknowledged his indebtedness; in fact, whole plays like *Man and Superman* are Ibsen anglicized, while the others may be called Ibsen lemonaded.

The points which Wiehr makes are largely obscured and made inaccessible to the reader by the undue space given to disquisitions on general subjects for the purpose of making us acquainted with W.'s own views on questions like Socialism and Democracy followed by an attack on "haltlose Phantasten" like Tolstoi, who expect the salvation of mankind from the masses (pp. 107 f., 129); on the emancipation of women and woman's place in creation (p. 129); on marriage (pp. 159 f.); on the advantages of city life (p. 165), etc., etc. All this garrulity, however valuable, is less interesting to the reader than the views of Hebbel and Ibsen on these subjects. Regrettable also is the flip-pantly journalistic tone together with a note of personal virulence which mars what should be a calmly scientific exposition (pp. 127, 129, 136, 137, 154, 155, 170, 173, etc.). After pages devoted to a very personal and subjective arraignment of Hebbel in his action towards *Elise Lensing* (pp. 100-102, 133-137), W. amusingly says: "Ich denke nicht daran, über Hebbels Handlungsweise zu Gericht ziehen zu wollen" (p. 135). W. is most liberal in furnishing mean and petty motives not only to Hebbel and Ibsen but to all who may disagree with him (pp. 90, 116 f., 131, 168).

The conclusion which W. reached and which might have been reached in 50 instead of 183 pages, is that Hebbel and Ibsen both attacked society on behalf of the individual, but made that attack from opposite points of departure: Ibsen as revolutionist, Hebbel as evolutionist. The point that should have been more emphasized is that their great service to mankind and to art lies in the fact that both held up for searching criticism

old and revered institutions, and that both laid the center of gravity on the inner life and not on outer conventions. Ibsen, as Woerner has shown, was the volunteer asked for in Hebbel's *Gyges*, who should dare to break "den Schlaf der Welt" and wrest away worthless but cherished playthings.

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Das Passé Défini und Imparfait im Altfranzösischen, von P. SCHAECHTELIN. Halle: Niemeyer, 1911. 83 pp. Beiheft 30 zur ZRP.

The author of the work under discussion states that he has attempted to determine the exact syntactical meaning of the imperfect and past definite in Old and Modern French, hoping to discover and help to measure any variation of usage between the two periods in respect to these tenses. Dissatisfied with preceding works upon the subject, he has chosen the thirteenth century as a field of study, and from its literature has selected the three historians Villehardouin, Joinville, and Henri de Valenciennes. All of these he has used in the edition of N. de Wailly, whose translations into Modern French have served him as a basis of comparison between the usage in the two periods. As a result of this investigation Schaechtelin has come to conclusions which may here be presented in a slightly different order to meet the demands of condensed exposition.

The past definite is essentially a narrative tense, and as such the idea of succession (Reihenbegriff) is inseparable from it. Therefore, unless used with other past definites, the verbal form (which for convenience of distinction will be termed the preterite in English) is not a past definite, but rather an "isolated perfect" which is not narrative, but on the contrary explanatory, like the imperfect, from which, however, it differs in not being contemporaneous. Even when a preterite occurs with other preterite forms, we have an isolated perfect and not a past definite to deal with unless the narrative advances. Moreover, just as the past definite is at times found in an inchoative sense, besides its ordinary meaning, so the isolated perfect shows both usages, as seen

in the following passage taken from Nisard's *Caesar*, VI, 30 :

La fortune peut beaucoup en toute chose, et surtout à la guerre. Car si ce fut un grand hasard de surprendre Ambiorix . . . ce fut (isolated perfect inchoative) aussi pour lui un grand bonheur qu' . . . il pût échapper à la mort.

It will be seen that the isolated perfect is subjective, explanatory ; it is especially common in the case of the auxiliaries, and from it arose the extended use of the past indefinite, which was also originally explanatory.

The second point that Schaechtelin investigates is the nature of inchoative value ; his results are derived especially from a study of the auxiliaries. The argument is based upon the Indo-European etymology of Latin *fui*, which means originally "to grow." This root does not occur in all of the tenses, hence the inchoative value did not spread to the other, non-perfect forms of the verb ; indeed, so powerful was the auxiliary *fut* in French that it kept *avoir* from having an inchoative meaning throughout, although the latter is etymologically fitted for such a value by its connection with the Greek root "to seize." *Etre* and *avoir*, therefore, kept the inchoative meaning in the perfect ; in Old French, and even at the present day, they are found in the preterite more often than other verbs ; all other cases of inchoative meaning must be traced to analogy with *fut*, sometimes aided by etymological elements lying dormant in the verb itself (p. 51). Not all verbs are capable of receiving this double meaning, nor does it exist throughout the verb ; thus *statum* (> *été*) is never inchoative, except in the case of *j' ai été* + participle, where the inchoative meaning is derived from its use to replace *je fus* + participle. It is essential to distinguish the inchoative value of *fut* from its purely narrative, past definite use, which, independent of any verbal meaning, gives succession.

The pluperfect and past definite correspond exactly to the simple tenses of the auxiliaries. The extended use of the past anterior as a narrative tense in Old French gave rise, upon its decline, to the development of a new form. *J'eus fait* might be either inchoative or not. How-

ever, *j'eus* could be replaced by *j' ai eu* only in the inchoative sense, since the past indefinite of *avoir* is popularly restricted to the inchoative meaning. In other cases the past anterior was replaced by the pluperfect as *j'eus* has been replaced by *j' avais*. *J' ai eu fait* can occur only for inchoative meaning, and this form is therefore not rightly classed by Diez as a double compound tense parallel to *j' avais eu fait*, etc.

As a result of his comparison, the author decides that the meaning of the tenses was the same in Old French as now. Among the causes that led to a much more frequent use of the past definite in Old French he mentions (1) the historical character of the texts; (2) the subordination of explanation to the giving of succession; (3) the accuracy and vividness of style; (4) adherence to the root meaning of words and to the nature of the past definite.

On the whole, Schaechtelin finds greater subjective play in the older period, a freedom which was lost during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when classical influence determined fixedly the form of expression.

In the presentation of his material the author satisfactorily shows the exact shade of meaning which he attaches to the given example, and insists upon the importance of the point of view. He rightly refuses to accept a double meaning in the verb as an explanation of inchoative value and correctly states that this latter phenomenon can not be the basis for an essential differentiation between the imperfect and past definite, and that furthermore there is nothing in the form of the past definite or past indefinite to give inchoative value.

Schaechtelin's theories, however, lead to an involved system, and it has been thought best in this discussion to omit from consideration a fifth class of preterites—a preterite inchoative, used with narrative past definites, but itself giving contemporaneous, explanatory material; nor will further mention be made of the "isolated past anterior."

Although it is of prime importance to attach definite meanings to words, it is possible to be too subtle in this respect. The analysis of definitions on pp. 6 and 9 is not always free from this objection. That this dissatisfaction with terms arises at times from a misunderstanding of the original

is plain in the translation, on pp. 53-54, of "a tense attribute" by "eine attributive Zeit," an expression unintelligible in this connection. Nor is Schaechtelin warranted in correcting Landgraf (p. 57). It is to be regretted, further, that he holds old and erroneous theories of tense, according to which the speaker stations himself in the past when using the historical present, and in the present for the imperfect.¹ The chief criticisms of this monograph, however, must bear upon the fundamental points treated.

That an isolated perfect of the kind described exists is unquestioned; also that the emphasis in it is upon the completion of the activity. This well-known preterite derives its value directly from the Latin perfect, which was a composite form, including *s*-perfects, *v*-perfects, reduplicated perfects, and the participial *-tus* forms for passives and deponents. The French past definite, which resulted from the Latin perfect, might naturally be expected to show the values of the original tense. Schaechtelin's rejection of the isolated perfect from the realm of the past definite, as not forming any part of it, can not be justified historically, and can be accounted for only by the arbitrary definition which he has adopted, according to which succession is a *sine qua non* of the past definite.

The contention, however, that the past definite must give a narrative and can not stand alone, is no more fallacious than is Schaechtelin's conception of the imperfect. The latter tense is for him a relative one, not used alone, but dependent upon some past definite, often understood, and giving explanatory material or information considered as such. He asserts that repetition has nothing to do with the character of the imperfect and has never influenced it. As a proof of this is given the fact that a repeated act may be expressed in the past definite if it marks a step forward (p. 26).

Schaechtelin thus seems to overlook altogether the element of stress as a determining factor. Naturally his theories do not allow him to conceive of the pictorial imperfect,² which he tries to

¹ Cf. Clédat, *Annuaire de la Faculté des Lettres de Lyon*, I, fasc. II, p. 62.

² Cf. Fornaciari, R., *L'Imperfetto Storico*. *Studi Romanzi*, fasc. 2, pp. 27-39. Armstrong, *Modern Philology*, VI, p. 47.

explain by reference to some other verb unconnected in reality with the tense used (cf. middle of p. 13).

It must be kept in mind that while the imperfect stresses duration, repetition, the past definite is, thanks to its Latin source, the past tense *par excellence*. Though it may lend itself to the stressing of such verbal phases as completion, or inception, it is often used to give simple past action without stress.³ It is for this reason that Schaechtelin's division of all preterites into two classes is unsatisfactory. The residual perfect is the real explanation in many of the cases which Schaechtelin found difficult. It lies at the basis of the formal expressions mentioned on p. 45, the later disappearance of which was due to the more careful stressing of various elements. Explained by the residual perfect, rebellious cases which Schaechtelin strove to fit into the theory already outlined or which he condemned in the translation as incorrect, are readily understood. The imperfects at the bottom of p. 27 and top of p. 28 are a good illustration of stress on repetition; they are independent of *vit. Tint*, p. 37, gives merely an unstressed past fact; *distinguaient*, p. 41, might be translated: they could distinguish one another; the past definite would give simply the past occurrence of the action. The numerous examples of *ot* and *fu*, mentioned on p. 76, are due to lack of stress, as is shown by Schaechtelin's observation that in dependent clauses, the imperfect is usual; i. e., the imperfect was used where the subordinate relation made durative elements prominent. Other notable examples are: *savait* and *sut*, p. 25; *distrent*, p. 27; *fu* and *aprocha*, p. 28; *vaut*, p. 40; *durent*, p. 47; *ot*, p. 72; *eurent*, p. 73; *fu*, p. 78.

It is necessary, before proceeding further in the consideration of Schaechtelin's views on inchoative value, to reject from his lists all such examples as *fut ouvert* (p. 57); *fut entreprise* (p. 73); *fu nez*, *fu morz* (pp. 81-82). That the passive and deponent forms have nothing to do with inchoative meaning, but arose from entirely independent causes, is now completely assured.⁴

³ Cf. Vandaele, H., *Syntaxe des temps et des modes en français*. Besançon, 1906, p. 2. Also Armstrong, o. c., pp. 49-50.

⁴ This proof is furnished by the work of Herzog, E., *Das to-Partizip im Altromanischen*, in *Prinzipienfragen der*

Schaechtelin asserts positively that the past indefinite of *être* can never be inchoative (p. 53). This statement, although seemingly made necessary by the author's theory, is proved untenable by the facts. The following example will suffice here as an illustration.⁵ *Eh bien, quand j' ai été père, j' ai compris Dieu.* Balzac, *Père Goriot* (Heath), p. 152. (His children were still alive.) The author is wrong in denying inchoative value to *aimer*; even in the past definite he refuses to accept such a meaning (p. 51), and it is in fact not present in the case he cites on p. 42. The real inchoative use, however, is not infrequent in this verb. Moreover, it would be equally hard upon Schaechtelin's theory, to account for the following reflexive used inchoatively: *C'est pourtant comme cela qu'on s' a i m e , etc.* Hugo, *Les Misérables* (Heath), p. 205.

The same desire to prove that *statim* never allows the idea of growth or change in the forms where it occurs as *été* leads to the denial that *être* is ever used in the sense of *aller*, although it is later admitted that a somewhat similar meaning is found in the past definite alone (p. 56). This usage of *être* has probably nothing to do with inchoative value, but shows how readily an additional shade of meaning is derived from the context when favored by the nature of the tense. The general statement, nevertheless, demands correction. The following example can leave no doubt as to its value in this case: *Je suis quasi grand'mère, c'est un état où l'on n'est guère l'objet de la médisance: quand on a été jusque-là sans se décrier, on se peut vanter d'avoir achevé sa carrière.* Mme. de Sévigné, *Lettres*, II, 5 (Grands Ecrivains edition). The use of an infinitive of purpose shows further that the verb is considered one of motion in the following example: ⁶ *A peine suis-je arrivé à Paris, qu' on a été dire à l'o-*

Romanischen Sprachwissenschaft. Beiheft 26 zur ZRPh., Halle, 1910. The hesitation in Latin between *sum* + participle and *fui* + participle is definitely against the idea of inchoative value. Cf. pp. 97-106; 135-163. For reference to *fu morz*, *fu nez*, cf. pp. 158-159.

⁵ For other examples, parallel to those which Schaechtelin accepts in the past definite, also of *aimer*, see Laubscher, *The Past Tenses in French*, Balto., 1909, pp. 25-27.

⁶ It can not but appear remarkable that Schaechtelin should refer to such infinitives of purpose as "objects" (p. 55). His statement as to their use seems doubtful.

reille d'un grand ministre, etc. Voltaire, *Oeuvres*, Paris, 1876, Vol. x, p. 126, column 2.

Inchoative value is a phenomenon much more extended than would be supposed from this work (p. 51). I have tried elsewhere to show that it occurs in all tenses, in varying degrees, and is an additional shade of meaning favored by the context and admitted by the verb.⁷ The Indo-European etymology of *fut* can not be used as proof in this discussion, for the kindred English "to be" and German "bin" show no particular fitness for such meaning. The inchoative value in general is not an analogy, but is a widespread possibility among verbs.

The explanation of the double compound form of the past indefinite next demands attention. The following four examples are the only ones which I have noted in the examination of a considerable number of texts. *Quand M. Fouquet a eu cessé de parler, Pussort s'est levé, etc.* Sév., o. c., I, 459. *Quand il a été parti, M. le chancelier a dit, etc.* *Ibid.*, I, 461. *Il n'a pas manqué de les faire porter chez le messager deux heures après qu'il a été party de Paris.* Balzac, *Lettres*, p. 154 (Paris, 1873). *Et c'est après qu'il a été parti que M. de Climal s'est fâché, etc.* Marivaux, *La vie de Marianne*, p. 107 (Paris, Charpentier, n. d.).

It is noteworthy that in these passages there is no approach to inchoative value, and that the combination formed with *avoir* seems infrequent compared with the compound of *être*. That *j'ai eu* was used popularly in the time of Mme. de Sévigné without inchoative value, even if it is not now (cf. p. 68), is shown in the expression: *Un bonheur que vous n'avez pas eu, etc.* Sév., *ibid.*, II, 112.

The examples given above show that these double compound forms are parallel to the other *surcomposés*. In every case they are used to show action anterior to a past indefinite, in analogy to the common construction in which a past indefinite gives time previous to a present. Schachtelin's conclusions as to *j'ai eu aimé* upon the basis of *j'ai eu coupé les cheveux* is unfounded. He

has been misled by the latter construction, which may be seen well in Commynes, *Mémoires* (Paris, 1840), p. 68: *Tous ceux de la maison de Warwic et de Sombresset y ont eu les testes tranchées ou mors en bataille.* This is entirely independent of the tense under discussion, and is not to be considered here.

In conclusion, it must be added that too much has been said in the work of fine stylistic devices in the older language at the expense of the modern tongue. The present language has a more accurate insight into the relation of things, and stresses these where the older language vacillated. The less frequent appearance of the past definite is the result, not of artificial rules (cf. p. 83), but of the decreased residual value of the tense as the language becomes more and more accurate in its desire to stress the various aspects of an activity, while there is no loss of liberty in expression as a result.

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Concessive Constructions in Old English Prose.

JOSEPHINE MAY BURNHAM. New York: Holt and Company, 1911. [Yale Studies in English, xxxix.] 8vo., 135 pp.

Dr. Burnham's thesis, the fourth study of Old English syntax to issue from Professor Albert S. Cook's Seminar, is a very meritorious piece of work. Like her predecessors, she has laid under tribute the whole list of available prose texts, about fifty-five in all. The mere reading of so much material is no small task. In addition to this, her subject is one most difficult of delimitation; for the concessive idea, beyond any other, perhaps, is elusive as a will-o'-wisp, and appears in as many varying shapes and shades of luminosity.

In her portrayal of this phenomenon, Dr. Burnham has employed due delicacy of discernment and due caution in approach. If the image she can catch is not always clear and sharp in outline, the fault is attributable not to herself or her method, but rather to the inherent impossibility of fitting into four-square analytical category an essence so ethereal. She has, in consequence,

⁷ Cf. o. c., pp. 16-40. Inchoative value is in no way derived from its use in a series, in succession, although it readily occurs here. Schachtelin has misunderstood the meaning of p. 39; cf. Schachtelin, p. 52, note.

frankly abandoned for the most part the statistical and tabular element usually found helpful in essays of this kind, and has also, in comparison with others, given by quotation or citation relatively scant illustrative material. However, one feels instinctively that she herself has carefully pondered all, and has let little that is of significance escape her.

In consequence, the omission of this does not mar, though one may feel that its inclusion would have given added perfection. A monograph must give data for inference, even though inference itself be left unstated or else condensed for lack of space. Only thus can come to the user repose and the utter abandon of confidence at every turn. And just this quality is sometimes lacking. To illustrate, no one would question the author's conclusion on page 25 that the optative nearly always follows *ðeah*, and that the indicative may occur, in fact, does occur in 10 cases out of 700. But, just the same, who does not long for a quotation (or at least a citation in the Appendix, where stand others certainly less noteworthy) of these very exceptions to the rule? And this longing is all the more acute because of the author's ample justification (see page 24, end) of two of these rare indicatives—*Boethius*, 31. 10 and *Lives of Saints*, 1. 150. 35. Let us hope that she will yet publish from her notes a list of all indicatives after *ðeah* (*ðe*) concessive.

Chapter I is introductory in nature. First therein is stated the relation of the concessive clause to that of condition: "The conditional sentence contains a hypothesis and a conclusion contingent upon the truth of that hypothesis; the concessive sentence contains a hypothesis, or a fact, and a conclusion independent thereof." In like manner, concession may lie close akin to cause: "when a negative assertion or command is expressed, with a reason tending to an opposite conclusion, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether the minor clause is causal or concessive"; as in *Ælfric's Homilies*, 2. 216. 24, *ne yrsige he nateshwon wið us, ðeah ðe* ('because' or 'though') *we Godes bebodu mannum geopenian*.

With like brevity and clarity the inter-relationship of concessive clauses among themselves is next formulated. All concessions, when classi-

fied according to the speaker's approach to the sentence, fall into three groups: the simple, the disjunctive, and the indefinite. "The simple concession contains a fact or notion *in spite of* which the main proposition stands"; as in *Boethius*, 106. 14 *ðeah he eall wille, he ne mæg*. The disjunctive, or alternative concession introduces mutually exclusive possibilities, *in spite of either* of which the proposition is maintained; as in *Soliloquies* 24. 1, *sam ic wylle, sam ic nelle, ic sceal secgan nide riht*. The indefinite concession generalizes the situation: the main proposition is asserted *in spite of any possibility*, no matter what the case may be; as in *Codex Diplomaticus*, 4. 118. 17, *ga land and feoh into sancte Augustine . . . si abbod se ðe si*.

Upon this three-fold distinction is the larger structure of the book based; Chapter II treats of the simple concession; Chapters III and IV, of the disjunctive; and in Chapter V are discussed the elusive and Protean indefinite concessions. The remaining chapters—VI to IX—treat specific constructions which for clearest presentation are not amenable to one of the three classes just mentioned.

Chapter II treats of the simple concessive clause. It is introduced usually by *ðeah* or *ðeah ðe*, the latter being preferred by *Ælfric* (who uses also almost exclusively *ðy læs ðe*, instead of *ðy læs*, before the final clause).¹ Rarely *swa ðeah* and *swa ðeah ðæt* (*ðe*) have concessive force. Almost unique and very doubtful are *hwæðere* and its compounds. *ðeah* (*ðe*) may be reinforced by a prefixed *eall*, *eac swylce*, *ge*, or *and*, or else by a following *nu*. Any concessive conjunctive may be balanced by a correlative word or phrase in the main clause: such are *ðeah*, *swa ðeah*, *hwæðere*, (*swa*) *ðeah*, *huru*, for *eallum ðisum*, and certain comparative expressions, frequently stereotyped, such as *na ðy læs*. Dr. Burnham's list here seems to be complete, though she might have added *ðeah ðe . . . huru ðinga*, of *Homilien und Heiligenleben* 141. 86.

Due mention is next made of *ðeah* idiomatic, meaning *if* interrogative after expressions of wonder, and *whether* after *nytan*, *uncuð*, and possibly *weald*, as in *Psalm* 50. 6, *nis hit nan wundor ðeah*

¹ See pages 94-99 of my *The Expression of Purpose in Old English Prose*. Holt & Co., 1903.

ðu sy god; *Boethius* 101. 6, wundrian ðeah we spyrien; *id.* 64. 9, ic nat ðeah ðu wenc.

The mode of the simple concession is shown to be nearly always optative, whether the clause be one of fact or of hypothesis. A very few indicatives occur—just where and why one cannot help wishing to know. I happen to recall three such, in each case with a negative major clause: *Exodus* 11. 9, ne hyrð Fara inc, ðeah ðe fela tacnu sind gewordene; *Beowulf* 1613, ne nom he . . . maðin-æhta ma, ðeah he ðær monige geseah; *John* 21. 11, ða (temporal-concessive) hyra swa fæla wæs, næs ðæt net tobrocen.

Chapter III discusses the disjunctive clause of concession, introduced by *sam* and by the correlated *swa . . . swa . . . swæðer*; as in *Soliloquies* 24. 1, sam ic wylle, sam ic nelle, ic sceal secgan nide riht; *Boethius* 110. 27, forðæm ðæt is se betsta anwald ðæt mon mæge and wilc wel don, swa læssan spedum, swa maran, swæðer he hæbbe. The mode in the first type, when determinable, is always optative; in the second, both indicative and optative are found, though the latter is far more frequent.

Chapter IV presents the inverted concessive clause without conjunction. Such are practically always disjunctive, like those in Chapter III; e. g., *Ælfric's Homilies* 1. 532. 7, we sceolon, wylle we nelle we, arisan (cf. modern English 'willy nilly'). In a few late passages, a series of inverted concessive clauses is followed by an indefinite clause of the same form as the indefinite concessions treated in the paragraph below. The indefinite clause sums up not only the cases named, but all possible cases; as in *Laws* 282. 13, bete man georne be ðæm ðe seo dæd sy, sy hit ðurh feohtlac, si hit ðurh reafiac, sig ðurh ðæt ðe hit sy. For simple concessions, however, in Old English the inverted paratactic clause was not used, though it appears within the Middle English period: cf. Scott, *Talisman*, ch. 28, by this hand thou shalt, wert thou the proudest Plantagenet of the line. Whether disjunctive or indefinite, the mode of the inverted verb is invariably optative. This, Dr. Burnham with commendable caution suggests, may possibly be of hortatory origin.

Chapter V presents the third type, indefinite concessions. These are native and rather archaic, abounding in the *Laws*, *Chronicles*, and

Charters. They originate in an indefinite clause of permission, which lends itself to concessive use by a logical process somewhat as follows:—"I give my consent to some undefined procedure; that means that I accept the consequences. The idea of some contrasted result taking place *in spite* of this procedure—though it be only acceptance of consequences—is involved in the nature of such a permission." Such clauses of permissory or quasi-permissory form are always found to contain an integral indefinite (or interrogative) pronoun, or an indefinite adverb or adverbial expression, as illustrated in the following:—*Codex Diplomaticus* 3. 362. 29, sy efre seo ælmesse gelest gearhwæinlice, age land seðe age; *id.* 4. 299. 13, swa hwylc man swa ða socne ahe, sanctus Benedictus habbe his freedom; *id.* 4. 226. 24, ic habbe gcunnen Wulfrice ðæt abbodrice in Hely . . ., sitte his mann ðer ðær he sitte; *Chronicles* 220. 16, nan man ne dorste slcan oðerne man, hæfde he næfre swa mycel yfel gedon.

The mode of the indefinite concession is usually the optative, of permissory origin, though the indicative occasionally is found, as in *Institutes* 353. 22, Swa hwylc man swa cennende wif freo gedeð, ðæt bearn bið swa-ðeah a ðcow (Quamquam quis . . . fecerit, infans tamen semper erit servus).

In Chapter VI are considered "Clauses of other kinds adapted to concessive use." These are the following: (1) The relative clause may have concessive force merely through its logical relation to the context. In many cases, however, the concessive idea is emphasized . . . by such particles as *ðonne*, *hwæðere*, (*swa*) *ðeah*, *huru*, *nu*, *ær* (*or*), etc.; or by means of demonstrative pronouns: *Bede* 440. 31, hwelchwugu god dede, ða he hwæðre . . . aðeostrade (bona aliqua fecit, quæ tamen . . . obnubilant); *Boethius* 116. 26, ða menn ðe ðisum leasungum gelefdon, ðeah wisston. (2) The temporal clause, introduced by *ða* (*ða*), *siddan*, *mid* *ðy*, *mittes*, *ðonne*, and *nu*, often passes into concessive function. The usual correlating particles may stand in the major clause to focus more sharply the concessive idea:—*Wulfstan* 12. 14, ða ða ðæt wæs ðæt deofol ðæt folc swa mistlice dwelede . . . ða wæs ðeah an mægð ðe æfre weorðode ðone soðan godd. (3) The local clause, also, may under the same conditions become concessive:—*Apothegms* 24, ðær ðær ðu neode irsian

scyle, gemetiga ðæt ðeah. (4) So the conditional, as in Leigh Hunt, *Wishingcap Papers*, p. 240, Garth was often at Hampstead, if he never lived there :—*Benedictinerregel* 54. 13, gif hwylc broðor unasceadelice hwæs bidde, he ðeah . . . him ne geunrotsige. (5) A correlated clause of comparison, formally modal, may be virtually concessive :—*Dialogues* 116. 21, swa ic swyðor drince, swa me swyðor ðyrsteð. (6) A definite expression of degree may pass into a logical concession :—*Orosius* 152. 16, swa ealde swa hie ða wæron hie gefuhton.

Of these six types, most clearly native are the correlatives with *swa*, (5). The most clearly derived from Latin is the conditional concession, (4). The remaining four forms "seem to have risen, in some degree, independently, but to have had their chief development in translation." As to mode, the great majority of the clauses in each of the six types—apart from conditional concessions, (4)—have the indicative. "Each . . . follows in this rather its own individual usage." The mode is thus unaffected by the concessive idea.

Chapter VII presents paratactic clauses of concession, whether coördinated by means of a conjunction, or whether merely juxtaposed, with no connective whatever. This usage is naturally characteristic of the loose-built style of such texts as *Orosius* and the *Chronicles*. Examples are :—*Chronicles* 48. 29, he his feorh generede and ðeah he wæs oft gewundad ; *De Temporibus* 13. 10, seo sunne ða stod . . . ac se dæg eode forð ; *Lives of Saints* 1. 458. 226, sum wer wæs betogen ðæt he wære on stale—wæs swa ðeah unscyldig. The concession may be coördinated with even a subordinate clause, as in *Wulfstan* 219. 19, ðam bið wa æfre geborenum, ðe hit secgan can and ne wille.

In Chapter VIII is discussed the concessive use of phrases and single words. These condensed concessions are somewhat rare, and are interesting because of their persistence into modern speech. The phrases so used are prepositional and fall into two classes. In the one the concessive meaning is to be felt merely from the context ; in the other it is more nearly inherent in the preposition employed, usually *for*, expressing an ineffective cause, and hence a concession. Illustrations are :—*Chronicles* 136. 17, ac for eallum ðisum (in spite of this)

se here ferde ; *id.* 440. 10, buton ðam (in spite of that) hi hergodan ; *Lives of Saints* 1. 332. 167, he is forði (nevertheless) be feorða. Also, appositive nouns, adjectives, and participles may appear with more or less of concessive force :—*Ælfric's Homilies* 1. 588. 28, ic wundrige ðe, snotere wer (though a wise man), ðæt ðu ðyssere lare fylan wilt ; *Benedictinerregel* 13. 12, forðon ge ðeow ge freoh ealle we synd on Criste ; *Matthew* 13. 13, lociende hig ne geseoð. The absolute participle is possibly concessive in such sentences as *John* 20. 26, se Hælend com, belocenun durum.

I have purposely spared comment, believing that the above résumé will best present the excellence of the study. However, I cannot suppress the wish that Dr. Burnham may soon find it in her heart to prepare another similar essay—perhaps, upon the expression of comparison and manner in Old English, a labor for which she is admirably fitted by virtue of the keen vision and the accurate sense of syntactical value she has shown in this present volume.

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Spanish Short Stories, edited with introduction, notes and vocabulary, by ELIJAH CLARENCE HILLS and LOUISE REINHARDT. Boston, D. C. Heath and Co., 1910. xviii + 323 pp. (Text, 200 pp.)

Numerous collections of Spanish stories have been published in text-book form. The present volume differs from others in its distinct literary aim. The editors offer, in fact, by criticism and by illustration, a survey of Spanish prose fiction in the second half of the nineteenth century. The *Introduction* by Prof. Hills is a careful and judicious study of Spanish fiction from 1800 down to Blasco Ibáñez. The essentially regional nature of the realistic novel is duly demonstrated, and the characterizations of individual authors are especially apt and just. Two paragraphs at the close are devoted to the little-known subject of fiction in Spanish America.

The same knowledge and literary taste appear

in the selection of material. The intention has evidently been to exhibit the short-story genre with as much fullness and variety as possible. No extracts from novels are included, and each story is practically complete in its original form (except for the selections from the *Escenas montañesas*). Of the fourteen stories, two (among the best) are by Spanish-American authors; Larra, Bécquer, Trueba, Campillo, Alarcón, Fernán Caballero, Pereda, Pardo Bazán, Pérez Galdós and Blasco Ibáñez are represented by one example each, and Palacio Valdés by two. In other words, Valera is the only prominent name we miss; and we understand that no entirely suitable tale of his, short and complete, could be found. The collection includes such sterling specimens of the narrator's art as Larra's *Castellano viejo*, Palacio Valdés' *Los Puritanos* and Campillo's *Vino y frailes*; Spanish realism at its best appears in the extracts from Pereda's *La Leva*. The desire to represent as many authors as possible entails the weakness of certain numbers, which could hardly hold up their heads in a European literary congress. One might wish it possible to represent Trueba and Fernán Caballero by short examples containing less dross in proportion to the gold, but it is safe to suppose that the editors conducted their search with all human diligence.

The stories are meant to be arranged in order of difficulty, and in a general way the end is attained. Use in the class-room indicates however that *El Castellano viejo* should stand nearer the end of the series; *El Voto* likewise is doubtless too near the front cover.

The editorial work is uniformly thorough and painstaking. The *Notes* deal almost entirely with grammatical difficulties; idioms and biographical and geographical comment are placed in the *Vocabulary*. The latter is unusually large (approximately 5800 words: cf. among other large vocabularies, *El capitán Ribot*, ca. 4400; *Marianela*, 4800; *La Barraca*, 5000; *Doña Perfecta*, 6800), and its size indicates sufficiently that these stories should not be attempted by beginners. Special locutions are rendered with much care.

The following suggestions and corrections, slight in comparison with the bulk of the book, are offered.

Notes. 19, n. 2, ¡*Qué había de huir!* is better rendered 'of course I haven't run away!' 56, n. 1, not 'this was not the time for complianee', but 'for dreaming'. 58, n. 2, is not very illuminating; there are passages in Cervantes' *Gitanilla* which tell much more about gypsies' ability to transform animals. 60, n. 1; an explanation of the construction of *se lo quedará el patrón* would be valuable, if one can be found. 66, n. 3; since mention is made of the little-known painter Juan Bautista Maino, it would be well to state the period in which he lived (1569-1649) and that the picture in question is in the Prado. 68, n. 1; a better rendering would be 'which were still no more than hopes'. 98, l. 17; the antecedent of *ésas* should be pointed out. 102, l. 13; *lo contrapuesto* needs comment; does it mean 'the contradictory nature'? 111, n. 4, should be transferred to 100, l. 25, where the phrase first occurs. 151, n. 1; the reference probably is to the festival of San Isidro; cf. K. L. Bates, *Spanish Highways and Byways*, p. 228. 173, n. 1, displays ignorance of the existence of the verb *trincar*, 'to swallow' from the Germanic stem *trinken*.

Vocabulary. The following omissions have been noted (words similar in form to English are not given): 18, 24, *temperatura*, '(warm) weather.' 106, 25, *hocico*, 'snout'. 128, 30, *loza*, 'porcelain' (and the meaning 'porcelain' should be removed from under *losa*). 154, 4, *corro*, 'group'. 175, 11, *previo*, 'presupposing'. 175, 12, *orientarse*, 'to find one's bearings'. 186, 1, *mentado*, 'famous'. 188, 21 and 193, 18, *fiel*, 'faithful'. 191, 19, *celaje*, 'cloud'. 193, 21, *plan*, 'plain' (a rare meaning). 194, 28, *peón*, 'laborer'. 196, 2, *tras*, 'behind'. 198, 12, *tascar*, 'to champ'.

In the following cases the second important member of a phrase is omitted from the vocabulary, the whole phrase being given under the first member. Both words should have a place in the vocabulary. 83, 1, *empotrada en un poyo*; 144, 8, *timbales de macarrones*; 157, 17, *columnilla salomónica*; 164, 3, *ropas de desperdicio*; 169, 20, *pan de munición*; 170, 6, *abrir en canal*; 190, 3, *cuadras planas*.

Additions and corrections: 1, 2, *Elías*, 'Elijah'. 30, 5, *burro mohino*, 'hinny'. 79, 1, *Dos Hermanas*; there should be an item concerning the location of this village, made famous by the third

act of *El Burlador de Sevilla*. 107, 4, *cubrir el expediente*, 'to save appearances'; not 'to cloak over the affair'. 107, 21, *tumbarse*, 'to lodge or be lodged'. 117, 8, *vino moro*; the origin of the meaning 'pure wine' should be explained. 157, 12, *sillería*, 'choir-stalls'. 173, 2, *trincar*, 'to drink' (cf. above under *Notes*). 173, 9-10, *sofsear á leña*, rather 'to cudgel' than 'to beat into kindling-wood'. 182, 22, *entregada*, 'bound-girl'. 185, 28; does *poner verde á alguno* mean 'to accuse one of perversity' or rather 'to flay, scold severely'? 190, 7, *patillas*, 'side-whiskers'. 191, 20, *agasajo*, 'gift'. 194, 18, *cigarro*, 'cigarette'.

Misprints. xiii, 7 from below, *Trafálgar*, read *Trafalgar*. xvi, 10, read *La hermana San Sulpicio*. 36, 22, *a*, read *á*. 37, 16, *sera*, read *será*. 43, 24, *Como*, read *Cómo*. 49, 27, *que*, read *qué*. 80, 3, *árabes*; read *árabes*, . 95, 2, *propria*, read *propia*. 132, 13, *mi*, read *mí*. 134, 1, omit *de*. 173, 28, *qualquiera*, read *cualquiera*. 191, 3, *arteza*, read *artesa*. 195, 15, *castilla*, read *Castilla*. In the Vocabulary, under *bachiller*, for *de humanidades* read *en humanidades* (192, 7). Under *Genieys*, for *Aviron* read *Aveyron*.

This is certainly one of the most scholarly and best edited collections of miscellaneous short stories now accessible for advanced reading.

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The Riddles of the Exeter Book, edited with introduction, notes, and glossary by FREDERICK TUPPER, JR., Professor of the English Language and Literature in the University of Vermont. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1910. The Albion Series. Pp. cxi + 292.

This volume, the latest addition to the Albion Series, is the first separate edition of an extremely difficult text. Since the publication of Thorpe's *Codex Exoniensis* (1842), however, the Riddles have been the subject of many studies, so that this edition has been preceded by much clearing of the ground. Professor Tupper's own preliminary studies for this edition, comprise articles in *Modern Language Notes*, xviii, 1-8, 97-106;

xxi, 97-105; *The Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xviii, 211-272; and *Modern Philology*, ii, 561-572; and his supplementary article in *Modern Language Notes*, xxv, 235-241, "The Cynewulfian Runes of the First Riddle." To these will hardly be denied the chief importance among the preceding contributions, being entitled to this place by reason of their scientific method, their painstaking thoroughness, and their fruitfulness.

The text here offered presents advantages over that of previous editions. Accuracy has been obtained by first-hand examination of the manuscript. The editor has also been able to diminish to some extent the *lacunae* in the damaged portions of the text, for since the manuscript had been last collated the strips of vellum pasted over the manuscript at such places have become loosened, and it has been found possible to read some letters previously concealed. Further, the readings in some places now illegible have been recovered from the transcript, hitherto unaccountably neglected, made in 1831-1832, and preserved in the British Museum. On the other hand, Professor Tupper has carefully refrained from accepting or proposing conjectures prompted by any predetermined notion of a solution or by any *a priori* metrical theory. Readers will recall his vigorous protest against text-tinkering in *The Publications of the Modern Language Association*, xxv, 164-181.

The editor gives (in indexes) all the solutions that have at any time been proposed. He gives a number of new solutions of his own; e. g., to *Riddles* 14, 74, and 95, previously published, and to 20, 37, 40, 42, 56, and 71. In arriving at these solutions, and in deciding between divergent solutions offered by others, he has followed the obviously correct principle that the answer to an eighth-century riddle is not necessarily to be obtained by making the guess that seems best to a twentieth-century reader, but is rather to be reached by acquainting oneself with the entire mass of riddle-literature extant at that time and with folk-riddles of later date. In this way the investigator acquires the point of view of the people among whom these riddles circulated. The best aid to the understanding of these old riddles is a knowledge of the customary *motifs* of

the Latin riddles that preceded them, and of the answer to be expected when this or that attribute is ascribed to the unknown *x* of the riddle. It is Professor Tupper's wide reading in the Latin riddles beginning with Symphosius and in folk-riddles, and his constant adherence to sound principles in applying this reading, that give his solutions an authority beyond that of guesses, however shrewd.

The edition is generously annotated. As the subjects of these poems, that is, the answers to the riddles, include weapons, garments, musical instruments, sacred utensils, articles of food and drink, beasts, birds, fishes, insects, trees, and plants, the editor has embraced the occasion to give ample information drawn from writings, museum objects, and manuscript illustrations of the Old English period, and from modern treatises.

At the time of publishing this edition Professor Tupper accepted the view propounded by Mr. Henry Bradley, that *Riddle 1* is not a riddle but an epic fragment. With this premise he concluded, as the result of a very minute study (pp. lxxiii-lxxix) that the *Riddles*, with the exception of 36, 41, and 67, are the work of one author, a Northumbrian, not Cynewulf, and perhaps of the first half of the eighth century, this date, however, being "an inviting surmise, unsustained by proof." The argument for unity of authorship is especially well presented. The differences in language between the *Riddles* and the poems containing the runic signature of Cynewulf are declared to have little value as evidence, either singly or in combination. In the sentence on page lix, "On account of the many noteworthy differences between the speech of the problems [*Riddles*] and that of Cynewulf, he [Madert] reaches the conclusion . . . that these poems are not the work of that writer," the word "noteworthy" must be taken as a quasi-quotation from Madert, not as an indication of the editor's own opinion. The one difference from recognized Cynewulfian usage which is offered without any impugning of its merit as evidence is the occurrence, noted by Herzfeld, of a stressed short syllable in the second foot of type A, when no secondary stress precedes. Of this sixteen instances are cited (p. lx, note *). Yet we are told (p.

lix), "The evidence of meter, language, and style certainly speaks against the theory of Cynewulfian authorship." This must now seem to the editor to have been incautious, but apart from this sentence, it would be hard to find anything of which he need repent, although in his subsequent article, already cited, he has changed his opinion completely with regard to a point fundamental to the whole question of authorship, namely, the nature and interpretation of *Riddle 1*. It is the irony of fate that this discovery should have been made too late to be incorporated in the present volume. Professor Tupper now finds in *Riddle 1* a charade *Cyn-wulf*, and also a runic acrostic in the order FNLCYWU, the runes being represented by synonyms of their names (*luc* = *feoh* = *F*; *ðreat* = *nȳd* = *N*; etc.). Thus Cynewulf, like Aldhelm, has announced at the beginning his authorship of the series of riddles. Professor Tupper shows that, intricate and far-fetched as the solution appears, it is no stranger than what we encounter in authentic Icelandic acrostics of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The difficulty of *Riddle 1* is thus not like that of an ordinary riddle, where any one can see the appropriateness of the answer, once it is known, but like that of a mathematical problem, in which the difficulty persists even though the result to be attained is known.

The glossary omits *ðeana* (59. 13; 88. 10), *hangellan* (45. 6), and *wīfum* (26. 1).

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Practical Lessons in French Grammar, by TH. COLIN and A. SÉRAFON. Boston, New York, Chicago, Sanborn & Co., 1910. 16mo., xiv + 354 pp.¹

This new French grammar contains much that is commendable and evidences the authors' thorough knowledge of American class-room and college-entrance requirements. It never loses sight of the fact that French is a living language, to be spoken and written by the student, not merely to be read and translated. The texts, generally connected narratives, on which the oral and written

¹This review is based on a revised and corrected edition, with the same imprint, but issued in 1911.

exercises are based, are interesting, well-chosen, and well-graded, and should give the student a most serviceable working vocabulary. The provision made for "original composition" is a valuable feature. The "facts of the language" are often presented with felicitous originality, *e. g.*, partitive expressions, p. 83; inflection of regular verbs, p. 254, etc.

In the hope that a third edition will further perfect a book which will undoubtedly find many friends, the following remarks and suggestions are offered.

In spite of the thorough revision of the chapter on pronunciation in the second edition, much remains to be added. Moreover, greater care should be exercised in the choice of examples: *musée*, *vie*, *bleue*, *joue*, etc., are unsatisfactory examples for long vowels. In spite of note 3, the lengthening of final vowels by a following silent *e* is generally considered a dialect characteristic,² and *berger* seems to have even less justification. The definition "*r . . .* [is] either trilled or uvular," makes a misleading confusion between place and manner of articulation. Each *r* can be trilled or untrilled.

Among the rules for syllabication, p. xxxiii, some statement concerning cases like *es-pèce*, *es-time*, *res-te*, is imperative; otherwise, students do not understand why these *e*'s take no accent, while one is required in words like *é-change*, *rè-gne*, etc. The function of accent-marks is so important and their use is so intimately connected with the so-called irregularities of French inflection that they deserve more attention than is here accorded.

The avoiding of hiatus is given undue prominence in the chapter on euphony. One might contend that even the elision of articles is not the result of an aversion to hiatus in the language. And if, *e. g.*, the *t* in *a-t-elle* were imperatively demanded by "euphony," why not also in the case of *à elle*, *à eux*? The false point of view entails actual error in the statement (p. xxiii, 48) that adjectives like *beau*, *fou*, "have a second masculine form to be used before a vowel or an

h-mute." Since a knowledge of the alternation between *l* and *u* before consonants (and the peculiar use of a final *x* after *u*) would enable the students to understand not only these adjectives, but also contraction of articles, almost all irregular plurals and many irregular verb-forms, they seem entitled to it. The brief allusion (p. 25 N. B.) to the *el*, *ol* forms as "*old*," whereas they have first been designated as "*second*," can but confuse the students.

The whole treatment of the modes and tenses would be materially improved by a thorough revision. Only a few of the remarks that might be made can find a place here.

Conditional sentences are not adequately treated. They fully deserve a chapter to themselves. It is difficult to understand the necessity for the statement, p. 128, "that the subjunctive is never used in an *if*-clause," since no class can do the required reading without coming across numerous examples of pluperfect subjunctives so used. This erroneous statement is not remedied by the footnote, p. 201, "*avoir* and *être* have a literary conditional which has the same force as the imperfect subjunctive." But "*il eût fait fortune*" is not the imperfect subjunctive of *avoir*; it is the pluperfect subjunctive of *faire*. This same confusion between the tense of the auxiliary and the complete verb is found, p. 137, 126, where "when you have finished" is given as an example of an English *present* substituted for a French *future*. Moreover, the tendency to consider compound tenses as a subordinate variety of the simple tenses is noticeable elsewhere. On pages 144 and 145, a note assigns the uses of the imperfect to the pluperfect, and a brief remark assigns the uses of the past definite to the past anterior. The one example of the pluperfect, p. 144, "*des oiseaux qu'elles avaient pris*" cannot, however, be explained by any of the statements found there. The idea of action (or state) in continuation in the past which is fundamental and constant with the imperfect, is "accidental" with the pluperfect (*cp.* "*il avait tué son ennemi du premier coup*," and "*il avait dormi toute la nuit*"), and will greatly depend on the "*Aktionsart*" of the verb, and on the context. The "constant" with the pluperfect is the idea of completion prior to a past point of time. Moreover, the idea of

²See, *e. g.*, Beyer, *Französische Phonetik*, p. 104 Anm.; Michaelis and Passy, *Dictionnaire Phonétique*, p. 313 and 316 (where this peculiarity is ascribed to Swiss and Belgian pronunciation).

"duration prior to completion" sometimes conveyed by the pluperfect, is different from the idea of "progressive stage" from a past standpoint, with no thought of completion, expressed by the imperfect. They should not be confused.

In the table on p. 239, no place is provided for the French "future-to-a-past," (il dit *qu'il viendrait*) a frequent and most important tense-use, which certainly deserves as much recognition as the English "progressive" conjugation.

Finally, the remark can be made that while the general arrangement of the conjugation of verbs is one of the attractive features of the book, the absorption of *-oir* verbs by the irregular *-ir* verbs is not to be commended. Historically, it is not justifiable and, practically, the students should not be misled into considering *-oir* the equivalent of *ir*.

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Chicago.

La Connaissance de la Nature et du Monde au Moyen-Age, par CH. V. LANGLOIS. Paris, Hachette, 1911. 12mo., xxiv + 400 pp.

This volume is the third and last of a series, of which the first and second have been reviewed in these columns.¹ The general plan of the author is to make known, as he says in his preface to the present work, *par une méthode nouvelle*, certain special phases of medieval French history, and of the thirteenth century in particular, which the lettered public knows least about.

There are six chapters in the book, having to do respectively with these authors and subjects: Philippe de Thaon's *Lapidaire* and *Bestiaire*; the *Image du Monde*; Barthélemy l'Anglais; the *Roman de Sidrach*; Placides et Timeo and the *Livre du Trésor*. The volume closes with a bibliography of modern studies on nature phenomena in the literatures of the Middle Ages.

The method of demonstration employed by M. Langlois is not an entirely new one. The original element of his work lies in the peculiarly ingenious way he has of adapting his data, under one cover, to the needs of the scholar and the layman. There is an abridged rendering into modern French of each medieval text, which affords material, for the general reader, of even greater interest than that contained in the two volumes previously published in this series. By this means, the author makes clear to men of the present day what ideas concerning the physical world existed in the minds of thoughtful men in the Middle Ages—men who were cultivated and intelligent although unfa-

miliar with the higher researches in this realm of speculation. The point therefore of this work is not to give a history of the sciences and their development in the thirteenth century, but to pass in review those writings, in the vernacular, on natural phenomena which aimed to popularize the sciences or reproduced the common beliefs of men with reference to nature.

The author has thought it undesirable to take account of medieval compilations in Latin such as those of Neckam, Albertus Magnus, and Vincent of Beauvais, ill-suited to the general needs of the age owing to their vastness and technical character. The French adaptors or translators of less involved writings such as the *Imago Mundi* of Honorius took occasion to add to the original certain ideas and reflections of their own in conformity with those of the French readers for whom they wrote. It was French versions of this type which gave nearly all classes of men, from the time of Saint Louis up to the sixteenth century, an opportunity to learn about the world. On account of these considerations, M. Langlois has chosen for his volume the five principal French encyclopaedias mentioned above, together with the two works of Philippe de Thaon. The work of Barthélemy l'Anglais: *De proprietatibus rerum*, divided into nineteen books, although translated into French by Jehan de Corbechon only in 1372, is included in this volume on account of the prodigious vogue it enjoyed in France in the thirteenth century. The synopsis in modern French of Barthélemy, given by M. Langlois, shows, as well as any writing can, the crudity and weirdness of medieval thought when compared with the ordinary every-day knowledge in modern times of biology, physics and astronomy, and, in particular, of geography. The analysis of the *Roman de Sidrach* produces a similar effect with its strangely confused notions about ethics and theology. Almost the same thing might be said of the *Livre du Trésor*, although Brunetto is a more cautious writer and refrains from many of the absurdities incident to this class of literature.

Each chapter has a preface in which M. Langlois gives especial evidence of the technical erudition which characterizes all his work; the preface to the *Image du Monde* treats of the three redactions of this famous work and gives many important data concerning authorship and other problems of a philological character. The discussion upon the nationality of Barthélemy and the question as to who was the French author of the book of Sidrach are carefully outlined, with the various opinions of authorities quoted and fairly considered so as to give as complete a treatment of the problems as possible.

Of the six writers analyzed in the volume,

¹ XIX, 134-136; XXIII, 249-251.

only two have been made accessible to the student in modern editions, so that the present work of M. Langlois will hold its place for some time to come as an authoritative book of reference in this field.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THOUGHT AND AFTERTHOUGHT IN BROWNING'S

Paracelsus

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—I have drawn attention, in your columns and elsewhere, to the influence exercised by Elizabeth Barrett upon Robert Browning, especially in the deepening and clarifying of his religious convictions. I should like to add to my argument a stray fact, which may be regarded by some as merely a curious coincidence, but seems to me of greater significance. In *Paracelsus*, Book II, after the lines 648–9, spoken by Aprile:

Yes; I see now. God is the PERFECT POET,
Who in His person acts His own creations.

Browning added in the edition of 1849 the following passage:

Shall Man refuse to be ought less than God?
Man's weakness is his glory—for the strength
Which raises him to heaven and near God's self
Came spite of it; God's strength his glory is,
For thence came with our weakness sympathy
Which brought God down to earth, a man like us.

In the edition of 1863, the interpolation was suppressed. The addition and the omission are alike noteworthy, I think. I am indebted for the textual information to the edition of Browning's *Paracelsus* recently published in London by Miss Margaret L. Lee and Miss Katharine B. Locock.

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A NEGLECTED KLOPSTOCK–MILTON PARALLEL

To the Editors of *Mod. Lang. Notes*.

SIRS:—The following parallel has, I believe, escaped the notice of the commentators of Klopstock. Of the angel Chebar we read (*Messias*, XII, 510 ff.):

"Ihm sanken herab, wie Schatten, die Flügel,
Ohne zu tönen, und ohne zu duften des ewigen Frühlings
Süsse Gerüche, nicht mehr mit des Himmels Bläue
beströmet,
Tiefend nicht mehr von goldenen Tropfen."

This is clearly reminiscent of the angel Raphael of whom Milton sings:

"the pair [sc. of wings] that clad
Each shoulder broad came mantling o'er his breast

With regal ornament; the middle pair
round
Skirted his loins and thighs with downy gold
And colors dipt in heaven.
Like Maia's son he stood,
And shook his plumes, that heavenly fragrance filled
The circuit wide." (*Paradise Lost*, v, 278 ff.)

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BRIEF MENTION

A Study of Words, by E. M. Blackburn, M. A. (Longmans, Green, & Co., 1911), is a student's dictionary of English words, with concise definitions arranged in the order of the development of meaning from the primary or radical significance, which is made clear by a brief indication of the etymology. In other words, it is a concise, etymological dictionary, constructed with special reference to the clear apprehension of the exact meaning and the approved use of words. But it is the wish of the compiler to have his book taken to be not a dictionary but a method of studying words deductively, starting with the derivation and proceeding thence through meanings. The method is illustrated in the preface by the series of meanings carried by the word *pitch*. It is not well to omit the etymology of a word when it is doubtful, for the conjectured source is usually arrived at by specially careful study. In the case of *pitch*, the etymology is, however, omitted, and there is no suggestion of a connection with *pike* and *peak* (altho *peek* is referred to in the preface, it is not found in the body of the work). It is doubtful whether this dictionary fills a want. Its limitations are disappointing: "Many common words, and most uncommon ones, have been omitted, and the rarer words of other languages than ours have been avoided. Sometimes derivation without meaning is given, and sometimes meaning without derivation. In cases of doubtful origin, not more than one explanation is offered, and alternative possibilities are not discussed."

No doubt will be entertained of the usefulness of *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Current English*. Adapted by H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler from *The Oxford Dictionary* (Clarendon Press, 1911). This is a marvel of condensation, accomplished by skilful hands and with the laudable purpose of putting the average man into possession of a large portion of the extraordinary work of the editors of the great *Oxford Dictionary*. As a dictionary for the school-satchel this handy volume far surpasses all others in fulness and accuracy.

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